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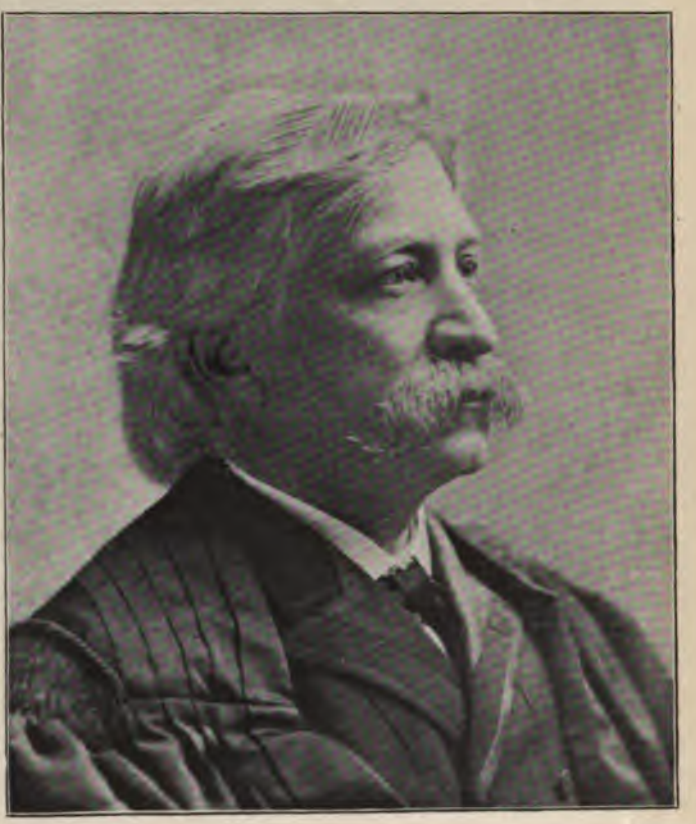

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JANUARY, 1896.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

BY REV. C. A. L. RICHARDS, D.D.

"And they prayed and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen. . . . And they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias."—Acts i. 24.

IF there are any New Testament precedents as to the election of officers it will be well to consider them. We need not follow them precisely, but we may catch their spirit and readjust their methods to the present conditions of our modern life.

We have before us in the quotation a report of the first Christian election. Already corruption and unfaithfulness in office had shamed the little body of citizens in Christ's commonwealth. The highest position among them had been held by an unworthy occupant, who had proved treacherous to the common cause, and at last had abandoned his post by suicide, which was confession. That post must be filled. His office was to be taken by another. No distinct parties had formed themselves. The remaining apostles acted as a sort of nominating committee, therefore, and suggested two men for the approval of the faithful. They were both presumably fit men. In those days, when names were significant, it was something that one was known as a son of Wisdom, and surnamed Just or Upright, and the other called a gift of God. Such we may believe they were—the one a sober, thoughtful man of stern integrity, the other perhaps a man of enthusiastic mood with an inward consciousness of a divine mission, and each worthy of confidence. It might seem

a matter of indifference, which of two thus commended and characterized should be chosen. Yet none the less the choice was referred to God in prayer in honest faith that his guidance would be granted. And, solemnized by the act of prayer, the people gave forth their lots, or cast their votes as we should say, and Matthias was chosen, and took his place in the Apostolic Council.

But it may be said this was the election of a bishop, and no precedent for political elections. Certainly it was not an imperial or municipal election, for as yet there was no such thing as a Christian state or city. But it was the choice of the only ruler believers had to choose and suggests by analogy what had been their procedure on any similar occasion. For religion in those simple days pervaded the whole man. Believers were all of a piece and looked for God's sanction everywhere. They felt that the law of love to God and man applied to all human relations. They would appeal to the Holy Spirit for guidance in their devotions and their business, in the thoughts of their hearts and the deeds of their everyday life.

Where they cast lots we give votes. Where they referred the decision to a divine Power, overruling the operations of chance, we may rightly refer the choice to the same divine Power, working through the higher medium of the judgment and will of men. We believe his spirit guides the minds and hearts of those who seek him, and that his providence overrules all things for the good of his people. No Christian man should cast a ballot, therefore, upon which he would hesitate to invoke the divine blessing. If prayer and the ward meetings are incongruous conceptions, so much the worse for modern politics, so much more the need of purifying and reforming them.

Perhaps we should understand a believer's duty better if we ask what is a vote. The dictionaries tell us that the word is derived from the same root from which the word vow is taken. And the common source suggests that a vote, like a vow, is a solemn act, an act of the judgment and conscience not lightly to be undertaken. It is a devotion or consecration of one's best thought and resolve to the public welfare.

If presumably good and fit men are offered us for choice, our vote expresses and enforces our honest conviction as to which is the fitter and the better, more likely to honor God and serve faithfully the brethren. If true and wise men are not thus set before us, our vote should, so far as we can make it, express our sense of the unfitness of those proposed for our choice. If, when the bishopric of Judas fell vacant, any disciple felt sure that neither Matthias nor Barsabas was worthy of the office, I think he would rightly cast his lot for Luke or Mark or Apollos. For not otherwise could he truthfully declare his judgment and call upon God to decide the election.

In those days the state was pagan, and the thought of a Christian empire or municipality a remote and improbable dream. The centuries have rolled on and the dream is a reality. However imperfectly fashioned, ours is a Christian community, and we and our fellows, nominally believers in Jesus, through a system of representative government are, in an overwhelming majority, its rulers. The responsibility of governing is upon Christian people, for where they are agreed and determined they control. An election is our opportunity of giving effect to our honest judgment of men and measures. It is not so much our right and privilege to take part in it as it is our bounden duty and service. It is a trust committed to us, to be discharged without fear or favor.

And remember that it is in each case a trust for a specific purpose. A municipal election is of the nature of a question addressed to every one of us for our honest judgment upon local affairs. We have no right to withhold that judgment by not voting; no right to neglect all reasonable opportunities for forming an intelligent judgment; no right to let personal liking for this man or that man bias our choice. He may be our brother, our friend, our next-door neighbor, our partner in business, he may be the most delightful companion, the shrewdest of wits, the most eloquent of orators, but the question which our fellow-citizens ask us is, Do we believe him fit to help govern us, the fittest of the candidates proposed to us? We have no right to consult our church prejudices and say, I will

never vote for an agnostic or a Roman Catholic, I will always favor a Methodist or Baptist or churchman. We have no right to be biased by any pecuniary consideration, whether it be a direct bribe of money paid for voting, or a hope of a fat contract, or the prospect of increase of profit in our business as the result of a certain line of policy. It is upon no such question our solemn vote is recorded. It is solely and simply upon the question, Is the choice of this man or that, and the promotion through him of certain measures, likely to further the common good, the public benefit in this community? He may heighten the value of our stock of goods, of the plant in our factory, of an investment in certain lands or securities, but these are extraneous considerations, which the Christian citizen will wholly disregard. He will refuse to be bribed by self-interest in any form. He will ask only, Will the man of my choice best forward the true interest of my fellows and make our city or state in any way a better home for all sorts and conditions of men?

There is one form of delusion in this regard which I cannot fail to notice. We hear at every municipal election eloquent and urgent appeals to vote as a Democrat or as a Republican, and thus strengthen a national party. But your vote is your voice, is your answer to a specific question as to local affairs with which national issues have nothing to do. You are asked what will you do with the streets or with the electric railroads, with the sewers, with the city debt, with the saloons and the gambling houses. As an honest man can you answer, I believe in state rights, I demand a revenue tariff, I want Mr. This or That for senator in Congress or for president, I hate England, I am indignant with Turkey, I am jealous of Japan, I covet Cuba, I desire to record my historic judgment of the Civil War that ended thirty-one years ago? That is a shabby evasion of the question, which in the fear of God you are bound to answer, the question, What do you think of city government in this particular year of the Christian era? To be warped by any fealty to a national party upon a local issue is to lose sight of your direct duty to help form a right public judgment on things here at

home. It is so far to forget your responsibility and abuse your specific trust. The question is not which is the more important, the national or the local issue, but upon which you are called to adjudicate. There may be fifty things more important than the choice of a director in a bank, or an insurance company, but if you have a vote upon that choice it is not honest or right to subordinate the interests of that corporation to any outside matter whatever. In a municipal election your duty is solely to the city.

It is a truism to say that the perils of our republican form of government, our democratic rule of the people, for and by the people, mainly proceed from a lack of conscience upon the part of otherwise honorable citizens in the discharge of their trust as voters. The corrupt politicians, those who make their living by managing the machine, are sure to cast their ballots. They mean to succeed and use the known methods of success. They have few scruples. They look upon politics as a game and play their cards to win. They look upon politics as a trade, and industriously pursue it. They are true to their mean ideal, and so far more faithful than the respectable men who shirk their responsibility at the lightest excuse. What is the use of having a higher ideal and being false to it? of punctiliously obeying law and neglecting the great trust of securing those who will duly frame and administer just and righteous law? of becoming an accomplice of knaves and rogues by employing them for party ends, or by any lack of vigilance and fidelity in their rebuke? Such failure on the part of strong and true men tempts weak and undecided men to become rogues and knaves. Careless citizens choose corrupt officials. The criminal indifference of decent men is the chief cause of that widespread municipal corruption which is our national disgrace.

The consequences are very grave. Our city authorities affect a very large part of our life. Our state government, our national government comparatively little concern us. Their influence is remote and indirect. But our municipal government is directly felt upon our business, our homes, upon our characters and lives.

We are not yet disembodied spirits, and while we inhabit these earthly frames, we are not to scorn them, but faithfully to guard them. How much our city government has to do with the physical health upon which the happiness and usefulness of its citizens depend! By needless taxation it can deprive the poor man of necessary comforts in food and clothing and burden the rich man who could find better uses for his wealth. It can expend his money upon costly buildings and showy improvements, can squander it in wasteful contracts and neglect the deep lying sewers, the disposal of the sewage, the insuring of pure water, the paving, cleaning, watering of the streets, the removal of nuisances, the overpopulation of districts, the providing of air-spaces and playgrounds, the ventilation of schoolhouses, the due precautions against the spread of disease. It can permit or forbid the multitudinous noises of jangling bells and factory and locomotive whistles, of jarring cannonades, of riotous midnight carousals, which for the pleasure of a few disturb the rest and wear out the nerves of the many. It can insure purity of food and unadulterated drugs and liquors.

The city government is no less influential upon our intellectual life. It can forward or depress the schools. It can foster or hinder our libraries. It can establish, if we will, galleries of art and museums of science. It can consider the purely material, or the higher side of life also, its province. It can expend thousands of dollars annually for the amusement of the people upon their national birthday, or devote like sums to supply them instruction and enlightenment throughout the whole year.

But, above all, our municipal government concerns us as a strong moral factor in the life of the community. It has control of our public charity and can breed idlers and paupers or further self-respecting industry and independence. It controls our amusements and can sanction the best or the worst at its pleasure, can forbid or suffer the corrupting ballet and the indecent poster. It cannot eradicate vice, but it can make the way of the transgressor hard. It can make gambling perilous and unattractive. It can secure inexperienced youths from

traps and pitfalls in the open streets. It can close saloons. It can refuse licenses to those who foster vice and deliberately plot the ruin of families. It can see to it that right laws are made and wrong laws repealed and all laws enforced while they stand on the statute book. It can set an example of reverence to law by strictest abiding by the law. It can thus permanently affect the character of the community. We do not enough recognize the formative, the educational value of well-framed and well-administered law. The public conscience is largely developed through legal injunctions and prohibitions faithfully required. I am not sure that the choice of our bishops and clergy is as influential upon the character of this community as the choice of its city officials. We go deeper with a few, they are felt more widely by the many. The policeman for a large part of our population is the visible embodiment of law. If the children that swarm in our densely-peopled quarters find that his uniform always covers one who is relentless toward flagrant vice and secret crime, who is quick to protect innocence and shelter weakness; if they learn from their earliest years that an office at the city hall means, in all cases, worth and character, that city officials have not bought their place, and are not there through any "pull" or favor, but have been chosen to represent authority and law because of their recognized purity, intelligence, and judgment, our ambitious imitative youth will be inspired with a new impulse. He is ready to catch the tone of those set over him. If he sees them seeking power to use it selfishly, to further schemes of personal promotion, to grow rich on public plunder, to corrupt other men, he will be tempted to follow their path. But teach him a better lesson, let a public official be always a devoted servant of the common weal, and impulsive youth will catch a nobler inspiration and seek to become the worthy citizen, the man of light and leading, whom the people will gladly entrust with power. So mighty is the influence, physical, intellectual, and moral of sound men in high places.

I am not declaring dogmatic theology, or ecclesiastical polemics, or abstract ethics, nor am I advocating party politics. I am preaching applied Christianity; the gospel for the need of

the time; plain and practical instruction in righteousness. I emphasize the thought that Christian people must carry their conscience and their judgment, their love of God and their neighbor into every department of their life. It used to be said in the days of our national peril from civil war, to all soldiers who would use the rights of citizens, vote as you shoot. Back your bullet and your bayonet by your ballot, aimed at the same mark. And so I would say to those who are Christian soldiers and citizens, vote as you would pray. Back your religious profession with your political action. Go in one and the same consecrated spirit to the Lord's Table and to the polls. You cannot serve God and Mammon or Belial or Lucifer or any less created spirit. You cannot divide yourself into any duplex personality and be a corrupt voter and an upright disciple. Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde are a horrible dream, not a conceivable reality. When the politician is a damned soul, where and what shall the disciple be? Yet men give bribes or wink at bribery, furnish a lump sum and look carefully the other way lest they should see what becomes of it; choose or suffer others to choose corrupt officials, employ dirty tools and expect dirty work from them, say this is my vote, my voice, knowing that it is not the act of their conscience, and none the less hope to retain a Christian reputation undimmed and a Christian character untainted. It cannot be. There is no leaving our religion outside the ward room and resuming it as we go away, to church or home. It will be missing or mutilated when we look for it. When we put our cross against the name of a candidate we are putting a significant mark indeed. We may do it idly or perfunctorily, but it is the sign of our redemption, it is the symbol of the love of God for men. Dare we use it thoughtlessly or unworthily? Must it not mean, This is my solemn judgment, an act of faith in the presence of my Lord? Must it not mean, Here, once more, I bear my cross and do my work for truth and righteousness; to Thee, O Disposer of our lots, I leave the issue; "Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these Thou hast chosen"?

C. A. L. RICHARDS.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT: A DUAL ORGANIZATION.

BY H. H. PERRY.

IT is the fashion to speak of certain questions relating to the nature of the Constitution as having been settled by the war. "The arbitrament of arms" is in every one's mouth. But it would be unfortunate to admit that any interpretation of a written document rested upon the result of a physical conflict for its ultimate sanction. The trouble is, that if we concede that the Civil War gave any new meaning to our organic law, we are at sea in determining the exact extent of its operation, inasmuch as no treaty of peace has made it definite. Physical force may overturn a constitution, but can never vary the unerring laws of thought to be applied to its construction. If, while we retain the Constitution, we are at liberty to expound it, not solely in accordance with the rules of logic, but according to undefined notions of what has been settled by a conflict of arms, we forever give up the sacred principle—precious since Magna Charta—a reliance upon the contents of written guarantees—and we have a construction with one foot on solid land and the other on unstable water.

Thanks to good lawyers both on and off the bench, no such loose method of interpretation has yet found a place in our jurisprudence, and we still have preserved to us a written Constitution, as the palladium of our liberties and our institutions. The amendments resulting from the war are couched in definite language; as construed by the Supreme Court they are on the lines of the Constitution as originally framed, and make no change in the nature of the federal system. But the popular impression—shared by many eminent writers and speakers on the subject—seems to be that the vexed controversy which existed since its formation as to the true theory of our government

was incapable of solution save by the sword. It shall be my purpose to show that we can find in the Constitution itself a conclusive and satisfactory explanation of its nature without resorting to any objectionable ground of construction.

There have been all along two great schools of interpretation. It may be stated that each has been more successful in attacking the view advanced by the other than in sustaining its own. The position of the one which may be called the Southern School, represented preëminently by Calhoun, was that the Union was a compact between sovereign states. It was impossible to deny that the states had been distinct and independent sovereignties. It was difficult to show when and where they had in terms surrendered their sovereignty, and still more difficult to combat the logical conclusion of the states rights advocates, that being sovereign each state had the inherent right to determine when there had been an infraction of the terms of the compact and to withdraw at pleasure from its association with the other states. The doctrines flowing from this theory of the Constitution have been practically abandoned by all, and would not require notice were they not still defended as correct in the abstract by so many eminent thinkers in the South, and even conceded to be tenable by some northern writers, but admitted by both to have been forever overturned by the arbitrament of arms.

In order to escape the conclusions from this view of the government, the leaders of what may be called the Northern School, Story and Webster, took the position that, if never before united, the American people, in forming the Constitution, became for the purposes of the Union one nation, meaning thereby one people in the aggregate, in the same manner in which the people of each state are one people for state purposes. I do not mis-state the position of this school. Their object was to meet the argument from the separate sovereignties of the states by the view that there had been a consolidation as to federal purposes into one people, and that therefore sovereignty, for some purposes at least, belonged to them as one whole. Webster indeed demonstrated with magnificent ability that the conclusions of the Calhoun school were inconsistent with the

great fact that the Constitution had created a government and clothed it within its scope with sovereign powers; but those conclusions flowing logically from Calhoun's great premise, Webster went further and contradicted that premise, that the Constitution was a compact between distinct states by the position that it was established by the "people of the United States," in the aggregate, acting in their collective capacity.* From his day to this writers on the Constitution have continued to rest the unity and indestructible character of our system upon the same foundation. But this conception is unsupported by the facts of history and utterly at variance with several provisions of the Constitution. It has been often successfully combated. Chief Justice Marshall, a mighty champion of the rights and powers of the general government, said: "No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of compounding the American people into one mass. When they act, they act in their states." He was speaking of federal action. (See McCulloch *vs.* Maryland—4 Wheaton, 416.) Calhoun, though erroneous in his own conception of the nature of the Constitution, did great service by his masterly refutation of this theory of the Union.

It is an essential feature of federal government that the people of the several states do not in any sense become consolidated into one mass for any purpose, and though acting jointly, as we shall see, in establishing a general government, they acted "not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct states to which they belong."†

Nor is this distinction a mere flourish of words. A false philosophy eventually leads to errors in practice. "When any number of men have made a community, they have thereby made that community one body, with a power to act as one body, which is only by the will and determination of the majority."‡ The theory that the people of the United States are merged into one great community to any extent, while it may

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* Webster's Reply to Hayne. Benton's Abridgment, Volume X, page 448.

† *Federalist*, No. 39.

‡ Locke in "Civil Government," § 96.

profess to recognize the sovereignty of the individual states as to matters left within their control, necessarily enthrones the will of the aggregate mass and reduces the states to mere departments, which were originally allowed their powers and continue to exercise them by the authority of the nation at large and by permission of the national Constitution. This view, if accepted, would by insensible degrees destroy the states or put them in the position virtually in which they were placed by Alexander Hamilton, in his draft of a constitution, which provided that the governors should be appointed by the president. If it be conceived that the rights of the states are derived, directly or indirectly, from the whole people, it is only a short step further to construe them in some emergency as subordinate to the will or necessities of the whole people. There is little danger of such a result, if it is understood that we have a Union, not out of states but of states, a nation—but a nation of separate peoples—for then the reserved rights of the states must always be recognized as self-existent, independent, and inviolable.

It is to be regretted that the Civil War is often looked upon as having been a contest between the two irreconcilable theories of the government, which have been herein presented, and that the result was the triumph of the latter. The war, whatever its practical effect in putting at rest the contentions of the extreme states rights advocates, did not set up the counter theory which destroys the federative character of the Union. That feature of our system has ever attracted the admiration of the world, and is the sheet anchor of our system. This alone secures its elasticity and its capacity for unlimited extension and preserves local self-government.

Count DeMontelambert, the eminent French publicist, though an ardent partisan of the North, warmly declared that if the effect of our Civil War would be to encroach "upon the sovereign independence of the states, it would excite universal indignation and turn aside the sympathies of all the Liberals of Europe."* "I fear for them"—the American people—he says, "the perils

* "Victory of the North," page 25.

of centralization, the natural foundation of despotism." "American liberty divided into several centers of life, thought, and action would have many guarantees of endurance." "The Constitution of 1789 substituted for a collection of sovereignties one people not uniform but composed of different states." "To limit the central government to functions strictly necessary by scrupulously respecting the local liberties of the different states, is the first duty of American statesmen." It is only by resisting the temptation to lessen or limit the federal principle, he further says, "and by preserving an unyielding fidelity to the federal tradition that America will remain worthy of her glory and her destiny."

It is no less important that we should recognize the supremacy of the general government within its scope and the indissoluble character of the Union. To the Union has justly been attributed our growth and prosperity as a people. It is the sure bulwark of our greatness and safety. The doctrine of the constitutional right of secession should disappear as completely from our philosophy as it has from the field of practical politics, but it is not necessary, in order to refute the view of the Constitution, from which this doctrine arose, to sacrifice the federal principle of our institutions. The error of the Calhoun school was not in asserting that it was a Union between states, but in conceiving of it as being a Union between the states, in the capacity of complete political societies.

To catch the right view, let us consider that the kind of union entered into between the states was quite different from anything before in the history of the world. There had been examples of two or more states uniting and making one—each losing in the process its identity as a distinct community. Such was the incorporate union of Scotland and England, resulting in the single state of Great Britain. There were also examples of states uniting in a confederation—becoming as to foreign countries one nation by virtue of their agreement to act together, but each remaining a complete and perfect state. This was the form of the early Grecian confederations; this was the form of union between the provinces of the Netherlands; this was in

fact our form of government under the Articles of Confederation; this was the form of a confederate republic, extolled by De Montesquieu, as having all the internal advantages of a republic and all the external force of a monarchy.

A necessary incident of such an association of states is that each state retains a complete political organization, and therefore its sovereignty; consequently it has the right to judge for itself as to all questions relating to the compact, and may withdraw from the Union at will. Such an act might or might not amount to a violation of plighted faith, but could never be termed revolution or rebellion. Such a confederacy, says Montesquieu, might be destroyed on one side but not on the other. The Union might be dissolved but the individual states would still remain perfect and unimpaired. Our southern political writers have based their argument, in support of the extreme doctrines of that school, upon the assumption that such is the character of our system. (See Alexander H. Stephens's "War Between the States.")

But the unhappy experience of the country with the defects of the old Confederation and the necessities of the occasion caused the framers of the Constitution to devise a plan of government far different from the confederated republic of Montesquieu. What they did determine on seems to have been almost an inspiration. It was in the first place to strengthen the general government by endowing it with power not only to legislate for the states but to legislate for and act upon individuals. Formerly the general government had no such direct power. Nay, more, it was to establish a general government with power to intervene between the people and their own local governments, to protect them against the encroachments by their local legislatures upon certain cardinal rights and against the tyranny of a factious majority in their own states. This was embodied in a provision by which the United States secured to the people of each state a republican form of government and in the provisions against *ex post facto* laws, etc. The principle was extended in the fourteenth amendment. Here was the novel spectacle of a guarantee reciprocally given by the people

of the respective states against their several local governments.

It seems strange to us at this day that any student of our institutions could not perceive that the introduction of these two features involved an entirely new departure and was altogether inconsistent with the continuation of the former status of the associated states. It involved not simply a change in the superstructure, but a change in the foundation. A resort was absolutely necessary to the original action of the people, the very basis of all organization. There must be a new Genesis!

The state governments being themselves only the agents of the people, were not competent to subject them to the power of an independent legislature, reaching every foot of their territory and acting directly upon the citizen, not only without the coöperation of the local governments, but if need be in defiance of them. The right to exercise such a function of sovereignty could only be granted by the people. "The legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others."*

Again, the erection of an independent authority to stand between the citizen and the state government could only be effected by going behind the state government to the source of all power, the people themselves. This was a decidedly new advance by which a second government was called into being as a check upon the first. Hence it seems clear that the adoption of the Constitution was not so much the formation of a league between the states, but, as Webster justly put it, the creation of an original government by the direct action of the people. Here lies the distinction between a federal government—using the term in its proper sense—and any form of confederation. A confederation is a union between states already perfectly organized and retaining such organization. It is effected by the action of the state governments. The common government so created, if it can be properly called a government, is but an agency of the several state governments and exercises only powers derived from the state governments. Practically it can only legislate

* Locke, § 141.

subject to their approval. A federation is a union between the peoples of several states interlocking with each other behind their local organizations, acting not as perfectly organized societies but in their unorganized capacity. The general government so formed, though created by the joint action of several peoples instead of the action of a single people, nevertheless rests as truly as the state governments upon the direct action of the people behind all organization, and its powers are in no sense derivative, but are original and inherent and exactly of the same nature as the powers of the local government. Just as a single people create by their will a several government and by that act become organized into a single state—so several people by their joint wills create a general government, and by that act become organized into a composite or federal state. Such a union, therefore, is not a means by which people already organized form an external alliance but a means whereby they become organized. Nevertheless, although so uniting, they do not unite as individuals; and herein such a union differs from a consolidated republic. In a consolidated republic, the people of all the territory, being merged into one community, are united as individuals for the purpose of exercising all or a part of the powers of government. In such a case the whole people act as one body, possess one will, and create a general government by the action of a single will. In a federal republic there is a joint action of several wills in creating a general government. The latter represents, therefore, not the will or power of the people in the aggregate but the power of several peoples to the extent of their joint action, and the foundation upon which it rests is strictly limited by the Constitution, which expresses the extent of this joint action and cannot be broadened one hair's breadth beyond. A state government on the other hand, it may be said in passing, representing the whole power of a single people, not specifically granted to the general government, may exercise all the powers of that community except when limited by the state constitution. But the important thing to be kept in mind, in reference to the state government, is that there being in a federal republic no consolidation of the several

peoples into a single community, the state government exists not by sufferance of the people at large but is created by the independent action of the people of a separate community, and its powers, therefore, are also inherent and original.

Webster and Story argued that because the Union was not made between the state governments, it was therefore a union between individuals, and there is consequently one homogeneous nation. Calhoun said it is not a union between individuals, therefore it is a union between organized states, and consequently only a compact or league. Each reached a radically erroneous conclusion, though the premise of each was correct. It is not a union between perfectly organized states, acting through their governments; but it is not therefore a union between the people as individuals.

The history of the adoption of the Constitution shows that no individual acted except as a part of the community to which he belonged. The will of each community was a unit, into which all individual wills were merged; and the general government was formed not by the action of the whole people as a unit, but by the action of several units—to-wit: the several wills of different communities. Nor did they agree to ever act in any other manner. The Constitution did not provide for any future action by the people of the Union as one whole. In every provision it contemplates action by the people as composing the different communities to which they belong. The people of the different states did not, therefore, in organizing, form themselves into one community for any purpose, though it was perfectly competent for them to so do.

On the other hand, was the conclusion of Calhoun correct? Did they because they acted in the beginning as separate communities and remained such even for federal action, retain their separate existence as independent sovereign states? Disquisition, Calhoun's Works, Vol. I., page 117.

There is a sense, it is true, in which the several states continued to be states and continued to be sovereign, and these terms are applied to them with reference to their reserved powers, but too much stress must not be placed upon these ex-

pressions when so used. We fall into error when we attach a strictly scientific meaning to words which are not intended to be so taken, even though found in solemn documents. A state has been properly defined by Alexander H. Stephens, page 204, "War Between the States," as "a community organized with all the powers and functions of government within itself." Certainly the adoption of the Constitution did not leave the states in possession of the complete powers of government, nor was the Union formed between people acting as states already organized, but between people who by the very act of union, not only jointly organized a general government, but by the same act severally reorganized their own state governments. Everything went back to first principles. The fact that the several state legislatures assented to the Constitution cuts no figure. It rests for its authority as all admit upon the action of the people of the several states in conventions assembled. The adoption of the Constitution was in reality a reorganization, *ab initio*. It was a revolution. Calhoun asserted that the Constitution made "no change in the relation of the states as they existed under the Confederation; there was only a different organization." But how much is involved in that word "only"! "The states," he says, "preceded the United States, which were created by their agency." But he overlooked the fact that while chronologically the states were anterior, the effect of the new organization made them logically coetaneous with the United States. It was as if the people of the several states had erased all that was done before, dissolved their own organizations, independent and complete, up to that time, and by virtue of which they had been perfect political societies, stripped their own state governments of certain powers, and as peoples in their revolutionary capacity reorganized in a twofold manner—organizing jointly with each other into a general state and organizing severally into individual states. The structure of our political society, therefore, presents two organizations—one formed by the joint action of several distinct communities; the other by the action of a single community—producing two governments; each resting on the same original basis; each

sovereign in its sphere; neither subordinate; the two coördinate. It took both to make a complete organization. It took both not only "to make a complete government," as Calhoun conceded, but it took both to make a complete state.

Under the Articles of Confederation a state could withdraw and still be perfect, because as an organization it possessed all the powers of government and had simply delegated certain powers to the central government; it had a state government competent to exercise such powers if resumed. But after the Constitution the people of no individual state were organized to exercise all the functions of government within themselves; they had erected a new state government without certain essential powers; they had created a new and exclusive organ jointly with the people of other states for the exercise of those powers. The whole political structure of society had been remodeled and no longer could any state be said to be a perfect organization in itself. It was complete only as part of the Union.

The people of the several communities did not therefore remain separate states in the true sense of the term. Did they retain their sovereignty? Sovereignty is not an entity to be granted or reserved by mention. It necessarily exists where the construction of a society puts it. Jefferson Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," pages 40-1, lays it down as an elementary truth "that political sovereignty does not reside in unorganized or partially organized masses of individuals, but in the people of regularly and permanently organized states." The people of any community assume permanent sovereignty only by becoming a completely organized body politic—they are sovereign by virtue of being organized to exert sovereign powers. The people of each state in the Union are sovereign for certain purposes jointly with the people of the other states as organized into the United States; they are sovereign as to their reserved powers within their state organizations; they are only completely organized and therefore only completely sovereign as members of the Union.

It is manifest that short of revolution there could be no dismemberment of such a system. The people inhabiting the ter-

ritory comprising what was formerly a distinct and perfect state might undertake to withdraw from the Union, but they could not in doing so act as a state. Outside of the Union they have no organization as a perfect state, but are merely a "partially organized mass of individuals," to use the language of Davis.

It is true the people of any community, in originally organizing into a body politic, act for the time being in a sovereign capacity. And it must be admitted that the people of each state so acted in forming the Union up to the point of organization. But when the original and supreme will of any people has organized into a government, the sovereignty of the community is merged into the body politic or society so organized. It can only be resumed by the people *en masse* by a revolution.

"The great end of men's entering into society being the enjoyment of their properties in peace and safety and the great instrument of that being the laws established in that society, the first and fundamental law is the establishing of the legislative power. This legislative is not only the supreme power of the commonwealth, but is sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community have once placed it."*

Had the people of the several states, each acting in such original sovereign capacity, agreed to form together a single incorporate state, as they had the power to do, all will admit there could afterwards have been no withdrawal from such an organization. Would their separate sovereignty have then been retained? No one will so pretend. When acting in the same capacity they formed with the people of other states an organization equally fundamental and original, though compound and not consolidated, the same result followed. Had they as perfect states entered into a compact and each retained its complete organization, the arrangement would have been secondary —there would have resulted a league, and any state could withdraw at will. But the direct creation of a government with independent sovereign and exclusive powers was an original or-

* Locke in "Civil Government," page 134.

ganization—it was the crystallization of the forces of the communities into organized society. The disruption of the bands of such society is revolution.

It has been urged that several of the states, in ratifying the Constitution, adopted resolutions "asserting that the powers given in the Constitution being granted by the people, they had the right to resume them when necessary to their happiness." These could only amount to a reassertion of the general right of revolution. If they meant more, like clauses in a grant repugnant to the body, they amounted to nothing. People cannot escape the necessary and logical results of a solemn act by declarations inconsistent therewith. We must form our judgment by what is actually done. Often men build "better than they know."

So far as the principles of our Constitution may have been involved in the war, it may be said that while the patriots in the North were animated by a commendable zeal for the preservation of the Union, the people of the South were stirred by a jealous devotion to the reserved rights of the states, which they honestly believed to be imperiled. The victory of one side, the bloody protest by the other, the heroism of both, have doubtless served to plant deep in the public mind a just recognition of both the great cardinal principles underlying our institutions, upon the proper understanding of which the future of our country depends.

I am aware that the proper analysis of the relations of federated states has engaged the attention of some of the ablest writers on jurisprudence, and the ground has been thoroughly gone over. It would be presumptuous to think I could contribute anything new to the great current of thought which has passed through this subject; but I have endeavored to extract from its discussion that presentation which seems to me best to preserve and harmonize the essential principles of our system of government. I have advanced no theory, but simply called attention to certain undeniable facts in the nature and construction of that system. If we keep these steadily in view, we see rise before us the true image of a federal state.

It does not consist on the one hand of the incorporate union of several communities, even for specific purposes—nor on the other of the mere association of states already perfect under a common government. It is a complex but original political society, into which the people of distinct communities organize themselves, forming jointly a general government for special purposes and creating severally individual governments for the remaining purposes of organized society—the two governments being each original, each sovereign in its sphere, and being both necessary to a perfect organization and to complete statehood—an august and indissoluble structure pervaded through its entire framework with the direct sovereignty of the people and the inviolable sanctity of fundamental law, opposing against foreign aggression a solid exterior, and in its internal arrangement preserving liberty by a unique division of powers between two organs of authority.

Such is the model which it has been the glory of our country to exhibit to the world. May it not be said that this form of government has been divinely provided as the habitation for liberty, regulated by law? In it modern democracy will find room for safe and unlimited expansion; private rights will find security against the license of absolute republicanism and individual and local interests opportunity for development within the most extended states. Under its colossal arches the whole earth will eventually find unity and peace with freedom.

H. H. PERRY.

OUR ARISTOCRACY.

BY ROBERT N. REEVES.

"Riches are attended with luxury, and luxury ends in despotism."—ERASMUS.

THE people of the United States, enjoying as they do their free institutions, should be the last to be confronted with a problem of aristocracy; nevertheless, it is a well-known fact, as well as a remarkable and a dangerous one, that we are rapidly drifting away from our old social democracy and becoming worshipers at the shrine of wealth and titles. This fact is more noticeable in our large cities, where the greatest wealth is concentrated and where the wealthiest and oldest families reside.

Of course, every intelligent American citizen knows that under the present laws of our country it is impossible to establish an aristocracy like that of England. As long as our federal constitution stands unchanged, just so long will an aristocracy by right of birth be an impossibility in this country. But while it is true that aristocracy sanctioned by our laws is dead, it is also true that there is a spirit of aristocracy abroad in our land that is sanctioned and kept alive by a vast majority of our very wealthy citizens, who, urged on by a flattering press, see no harm in becoming Anglomaniacs and building up an aristocracy of wealth in the midst of our democratic institutions. The only explanation that can be given for this un-American spirit is the rapid accumulation of enormous private fortunes—fortunes which dwarf the magnificent incomes of the wealthiest European kings, princes, or emperors.

These fortunes, inherited as they are and will be by descendants for generations, are fast forming rich families whose wealth acquired so easily nearly always combines a spirit of contempt for those who have not the power to enjoy the same grandeur and luxury which they themselves enjoy. It is true that such a spirit of contempt is made absurd when we remember that the

foundations for these immense fortunes were laid but twenty-five or fifty years ago by men who were in the humblest of pursuits.

In a country like ours it is a blessing that the poor can so easily attain the greatest riches and the highest honors, but this blessing is soon transformed into a curse when the families of these same men employ their wealth in a mad, vain endeavor to outrival each other, parade themselves before the public, ape the fashions of foreign countries, and marry their daughters to titled foreigners; all to the mystery and astonishment of the average American, who has not the privilege of knowing the secrets of his wealthy countrymen and who still prefers the memory or acquaintance of our statesmen and authors to that of the most aristocratic of princes or wealthiest of plutocrats. It is a fact that cannot be denied that our very wealthy citizens are becoming chronic disparagers of whatsoever is American and slavish admirers of all that is European.

Let it be announced that a titled foreigner is about to visit our country, and it is surprising how peculiarly vigilant our plutocrats are in hunting up and patronizing this interesting personage. For weeks previous to his arrival society is busy preparing for his visit. The newspapers are filled with his doings, as well as all particulars of the preparations that are being made for his entertainment.

The instant he lands at New York he is an object of idolatry. The plutocrats see in him a different being than themselves. Women hover about him like moths about a light; the men, if we may so call them, ape his every move. In every manner possible they humiliate the American citizen. Wherever he stops curious crowds throng the neighborhood anxious to see a real live nobleman. He cannot take a walk or a drive unless he becomes the center of a fawning crowd, who eagerly watch his movements and then run off to practice them upon the first acquaintance they chance to meet.

It is astonishing to what an extent this snobbish spirit is catered to by Americans. It is seen on our streets, on our railroads, in our stores, in our hospitals, in our churches, and it is seen even in the selection of our graveyards.

One of the largest jewelry houses in the United States recently displayed a miniature painting of the Prince of Wales, the highest titled aristocrat in the world. These, the jeweler said, were becoming very fashionable among the "upper set." Think of American womanhood slandered by a few society leaders, by women who chose to wear at their throats the portrait of a man whose manners are far better than his morals.

Many instances of "total depravity" among our people may be cited.

Beau Brummell is put upon the stage and the words of that miserable creature are listened to with delight and almost veneration. Shields and coat of arms are painted upon private carriages and numberless devises, fashions, and manners show only too plainly the tendency of our people.

The press itself is not free from this plutocratic fever. Upon the death of the late secretary of state, Walter Q. Gresham, a certain western newspaper devoted but two columns in announcing the death, while a few months later it devoted almost an entire front page in describing the marriage of a lady of wealth to a French nobleman.

Another western paper, published in Chicago, prints every morning half a column or more of reading matter entitled "Queer Sprigs of Gentility." Under this heading there is gathered a lot of nonsense about earls, dukes, marquises, etc.; enough from which a good-sized volume might be compiled. Often these articles consist of nothing more than bits of royal scandal or examples of royal extravagance appalling to the mind of every fair-minded, democratic American citizen. These articles, no doubt, are read eagerly by the fastidious belles of society, as well as by thousands of poor ill-advised shopgirls who receive their only ideas of royalty from reading such trash.

The following description of a conveyance owned by one of America's multi-millionaires appeared some time ago in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and was immediately copied by an army of American newspapers. It illustrates the doings of a wealthy American citizen abroad:

A few minutes before ten o'clock this morning one of the most per-

fectly appointed and splendidly horsed coaches that has been seen in London this year drove up to the door of the Metropole. The horses were four beautifully matched bright bays, with two grand creatures at the pole. The coachman and guard were as perfect in their way as the wheelers. They were dressed in blue coats that fitted without a wrinkle, and white breeches that did not crease even at the back of the knees. Their faces were round and smooth and sleek and clean shaven, and their complexions were exquisite pink and white. The harness, gold plated, bore little gold horses, each one with the initial "C" framed in stars. On each of the doors of the resplendent vehicle was the monogram "A. C.," and on the hind panel was a device of the union jack and stars and stripes mingling graceful folds above the initials "A. C." This device suggested the noble dream of Anglo-American unification.

Surely Europeans have good reasons to ask the Americans where they keep their boasted simplicity!

Even the church is not free from the dominating influence of this detestable spirit of our rich Americans. Caste is greater in the churches in this country than it is in England where title forms a passport. There are rapidly becoming churches for the rich and churches for the poor. Great churches are built containing costly decorations and luxurious furnishings. Finely upholstered seats are partitioned off and rented at an enormous price, thus allowing a genteel audience to commune with the Lord *en famille*, while the "common herd" is kept in the rear, if not out of the church entirely. In this way the wealthy owner of a pew can always be sure to hear from the lips of his highly salaried pastor all the teachings of Christ (the friend of the poor) without straining his ears or offending his dignity by sitting beside some person unknown to him, not quite so well born, so wealthy, or so finely dressed. How embarrassing a place heaven would be to one of our aristocratic pew-holders should he find that the celestial paradise was also occupied by persons who may have died paupers.

Now then, what does all this aristocratic feeling mean? Samuel Johnson once said that he who has built for use till use is supplied must begin to build for vanity. Are the Americans money-mad and having secured money in plenty are they going mad in their endeavors to secure something that will place them upon a pedestal above their fellow-men? If so, we can never

stop the craving of our very wealthy toward an aristocracy. For any social life which has for its object a life spent in the vain and envious desire to outdo a neighbor in pomp, glitter, and clamor is in spirit and in fact an aristocracy—a bubble aristocracy perhaps, but nevertheless an aristocracy. Our country, though in its infancy, has already more large fortunes than any other country on the globe; more money in the hands of a few than any other nation. Families of enormous wealth have sprung up like mushrooms and it is not likely that they will die as soon; on the contrary, these family fortunes will increase.

We have laws of inheritance, and to preserve an increase in family riches requires but common sense and a clerk-like routine until at last it becomes an institution—an institution of aristocracy right in the midst of our republican equality.

What will it mean in fifty or one hundred years? Already our country is too strongly marked with the aristocracy which this enormous wealth has produced. We can readily see that a pride of the most odious kind is fast being engendered in the hearts of those families who have risen so suddenly to affluence and social distinction, and the most objectionable feature is that money is always the mere ground of distinction, for our aristocracy are far from being well educated.

It may be human nature, but it is none the less true that as their wealth increases their pride invariably becomes greater. They desire to forget their former associates, lose themselves in the false aristocracy of wealth and become mere grovelers at the feet of title and European customs. Wealth having been achieved, their great desire seems to be to add fresh luster to the family name by giving the hand of a daughter in marriage to some nobleman. Girls are told to look upon work as a disgrace and the only achievements in life desirable seem to be to dress fashionably, to court titles, read novels, and marry some one on the same social scale, morals and brains not counting.

Young men are taught to look down with contempt upon the means by which their fathers rose, and to give their time to the study of fashions and the conventional rules of society; to follow fashions, not because they are good, but because they are

fashions. Surely with these facts staring us in the face we cannot hesitate to say that the real scum of American society is the wealthy Anglomaniac.

Without seeing the tendency of their aristocratic bearings our very wealthy are fast threatening the very foundations of our institutions with their Europeanized manners and fashions and their dislike of the common people. By building up a hothouse aristocracy they are fast breeding another and more fiery element in American society—anarchy. They are building up an insurmountable barrier between the rich and the poor. Their selfishness and total disregard for the happiness of other human beings less fortunate than themselves are without doubt widening the gulf in the social relations of our people.

If it were not for the dangers which this aristocratic spirit is developing, all this empty parade of pride, this glitter and envious extravagance would be of little consequence. But it is of consequence and great consequence because it plays an important part in the morals of our nation, and that part will never be remedied so long as wealth constitutes the chief title to what is called good society. Look at the enormous defalcations in America in the last few years. In 1893 the known defalcations amounted to $19,000,000. In 1894 they had increased to over $25,000,000, and in 1895, from all appearances, they will exceed those of 1894.

This is one of the greatest moral evils with which a community can be afflicted. The splendor of which our wealthy are so extravagantly fond is fast asserting itself with extraordinary virulence upon all classes, demoralizing society and injuring rising generations by the contempt which it throws upon the sober virtues of diligence and economy. It causes young men to become defaulters, and young women to disgrace themselves in order to gratify their own ideas of display. The newspapers of the day are continually heralding in the most flattering manner the actions of our wealthy families. Their parties, their dresses, their manners are all raved about, and as the world seems to applaud their actions, why should those be blamed who, touched by the prevailing spirit of extravagance, see no wrong

until they are known to the world as defaulters or disreputables! So with the poor girl, friendless and alone in a great city, her mind bewildered by the applause which greets her wealthy, pompous sisters, concludes that the world loves ornament and display and soon is wrapped in luxury at the expense of honor.

Think of the grand ball given recently in one of our large cities for the entertainment of a visiting duke; of the coats of arms, the flashing diamonds, the dazzling costumes, the costly fountain playing in the center of the grand ballroom; think of all the pageantry of those who without thought or care of the poor and the wretched spent a fortune that night for the entertainment of one man, and then think of all the unknown dead in our great cities, of the shivering poor who beg to live, of all the suffering and sorrow and misery, and then let us stop and ask if such conditions are not conditions that are dangerous to the future prosperity of our country. And if they continue, just as surely as the prodigal expenditures caused by the profuse magnificence of Louis le Grand plunged France into a revolution, just as surely will our country have cause to regret in the future the present leaning of our wealthy toward luxury and aristocracy.

Our Constitution, our laws of equality have not by any means eradicated this spirit of aristocracy. It seems too deeply rooted in human nature to be so easily done away with. But if we are to prosper as a nation this spirit must go. We must stop the extravagant expenditure of money for display; we must stop the craze for all that is European and regard American manners and American citizens of some consequence. Then and then only will a feeling of sympathy be created between our rich and our poor.

ROBERT N. REEVES.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY REV. ALBERT F. NEWTON.

INTELLIGENCE is the basis of permanent moral reform. That reform is needed in the use of alcoholic beverages no intelligent person will deny. The evils arising from drunkenness are too appalling and too frequent to allow of dispute concerning the imperative necessity of a permanent change for the better.

Normal appetites are to be directed, abnormal ones are to be avoided. Inherited appetites are to be conquered by changes that work through several generations. These principles are at the foundation of the scientific temperance instruction.

The action of alcohol on the human system has been studied by the most careful physicians and scientists in Europe and America, and these leaders of thought have given us the results of their investigations. About twelve years ago the work of introducing temperance instruction into the public schools began. At that time there was not a text-book on the subject in the world. But Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Boston undertook the seemingly impossible task of securing laws providing for teaching on the subject in public schools, and also the larger work of securing suitable graded text-books.

All the states and territories of the Union except Arkansas, Georgia, and Virginia have since enacted mandatory temperance laws. These three states are already contemplating securing such laws. More than 16,000,000 children are now being taught the nature and effects of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system.

There are four essential requirements for the faithful execution of the law, viz. : (1) The nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics must be taught in connection with

physiology and hygiene. (2) There must be a definite time and place in the regular course of study for this branch. (3) Pupils able to read and use text-books in other branches must have suitable, well-graded text-books to help them in this study. (4) Teachers must be trained to teach this study just as they are other branches, and a penalty must impend if these provisions are not carried out. The affixing of a penalty for non-execution of the law is a cardinal principle in all effective jurisprudence. A law without a penalty is merely advice. (Blackstone.)

In 1887 the people of the state of New York enacted a law in relation to health and decency. This law had this penalty: "A failure to comply with the provisions of this act on the part of the trustees shall be sufficient grounds for the removal from office, and for the withholding from the district any share of the public moneys of the state." This shows how important a penalty is to make a law effective. No reasonable person can consistently object to a penalty. "Rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil." The law-abiding citizen will favor the penalty which hangs over the law-breaker.

While fifteen years ago there was not one text-book on this subject, to-day there are between twenty-five and thirty well-graded text-books for all the grades from the primary to the high school. They are published by seven great publishing houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. The authors are such eminent educators as H. Newell Martin, D.Sc., F.R.S., professor of biology in the Johns Hopkins University; Charles H. Stowell, M.D., late professor of histology and microscopy, and assistant professor of physiology, University of Michigan; Roger S. Tracy, M.D., register of records of the New York City Health Department; Orestes M. Brands, superintendent of schools, Paterson, N. J., and other equally eminent scholars and educators, at home and abroad.

These text-books have been examined by experienced educators, and they have been declared to be as good as any set of books issued on any subject taught in the public schools. Some narrow minds have cried out that the friends of this reform were

actuated by mercenary motives, but it has been published repeatedly that not one cent has ever been asked or received by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt or the eminent gentlemen who constitute her advisory board for indorsing any text-book on this subject. Doubtless some said that Jesus was working for some firm that published Bibles when he said, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life." Some people never can understand how any one can do a great work for the sake of humanity without some selfish motive.

At Albany last winter Rev. Albert H. Plum, D.D., of Boston, who has been familiar with this work from its beginning, in referring to the hint that this was a "book job," said, "Any intimation or insinuation of this nature is untrue in every particular." The absurdity of the "book job" charge is seen when we remember that temperance physiology laws have been enacted by the national Congress, by the legislatures of forty-one states, and the text-books have been translated into the language of six countries of Europe and Asia where they are in school use. Has all the world gone into a "book job"? No sane person will believe that. It is important to remember that the text-books that come up to the standard adopted by eminent educators in 1887 and which the New York law requires, give one fourth of their space to temperance and three fourths to physiology and hygiene. The subject of the action of alcohol on the human system is considered in connection with the study of the bones, muscles, and nerves. The digestive, nervous, and circulatory systems are studied in connection with the effect on them of alcohol and all other narcotics. The child is not only taught to care for the body in a suitable manner, but is taught the reasons why he ought to do all he can to have a sound mind in a sound body. In 1884 a temperance school law was enacted in the state of New York, but as there was no penalty, it was evaded. This year amendments were passed unanimously by both branches of the legislature and when the bill came to Governor Morton's hand he not only signed it but he also issued a memorandum which is both an interpretation of the law and an answer to objections urged against it. His excellency said:

There is one feature of the law which does not seem to have been referred to in the discussion concerning its provisions, namely the requirement that instruction in the subject indicated be given "in all schools connected with reformatory institutions." There does not seem to be any provision of the law requiring instruction in this subject in these institutions, and it appears from information received in response to inquiries made at the office of the State Board of Charities that no instruction upon this subject is given in any of these institutions, except the Elmira Reformatory. If this instruction is important or desirable for the pupils in our common schools, it must be equally as important for the inmates of industrial schools and the various institutions for the care of juvenile delinquents.

The child is taught what are foods and what are poisons. He is taught the dangers which arise from bad air, bad food, and bad drinks. The principle is to give the children the warning knowledge they need and then let them decide on their action. "Goody-goody" talks are not what they need. They ought to know the truths that science can give. The graded text-books give them this knowledge in a form adapted to their capacity.

The importance of giving this instruction to the lower grades is emphasized when we remember that sixty per cent of the scholars never go beyond the primary grade. Only five per cent enter the high schools. Hence the wisdom of the provision requiring this study to be taught "all pupils in all schools."

Good citizenship requires that our children shall be taught the disastrous results of intemperance. Intelligent sobriety is indispensable in a republican form of government. The highest standard of civic virtue can never be reached by an intemperate people. We must enlist the conscience, the intelligence, and patriotism of the friends of the public schools in this work if we will have a country free from corruption and debauchery.

The liquor saloon contributes more to the "pollution" of politics than all other corrupting influences combined. When we introduce the teaching of temperance into our schools, we are teaching good civics and fitting the children to become good citizens. It is the duty of all friends of good citizenship to make it their business to help the teaching of scientific temperance in the public schools of the entire nation.

ALBERT F. NEWTON.

THE LAW OF DEMAND IN WORK.

BY WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

IN considering the crying needs of the unemployed perhaps it would be better to study first the law of demand, believing that the law of supply can take care of itself. After all that has been said and sometimes sung of the heartlessness of the age, we are confronted at last with the sober, half-sad fact that man is the architect of his own fortune and that no amount of remedial provision can put energy into lazy, or foresight into shiftless, natures, and that political economy with all its development is powerless to help those who are constitutionally unfitted to help themselves.

It is not entirely popular in these days to advocate the claims of capital against labor, and it is a very thankless task to encounter opprobrium in behalf of those whom a superabundance of wealth may have hardened so that they would scorn even their apologists. But it is true kindness to the young—to those who are starting out in life and who have the world, as the saying goes, before them—that they should be made to realize that there is no conspiracy of fortune against them and that in the world of business effort men purchase labor just as they purchase a pound of tea or a gallon of milk. They do not purchase it in a heartless so much as in a soulless way, if I may make so fine a distinction. They purchase it simply because they need it, and the man or woman whose labor is thus purchased as a chattel becomes in turn an employer of others every time he steps into a store and orders a bill of groceries—for that matter every time he steps upon a railway car.

The outcry of labor against capital has been based in the past rather upon the idea of the humanity involved than upon the economic consideration of labor as a neutral factor. It is the blood and bone that suffers in crowded tenements and unhealthy,

ill-ventilated factories that the state in its humanity must take cognizance of, and I am far from viewing such humanity with indifference. I am prompt to concede that there are, as the world goes, highly respectable men so abnormally selfish that if their factory burned down carrying with it the lives of hundreds of employees the first thought would be with them as to the insurance on those flaming buildings, and not the agonized cries of the wives and mothers who hang around that fatal spot. I do not find, however, that this occasional extreme of selfishness in human nature affords any excuse for dreams of an age in which wealth will come to the multitude without toil, and I believe that the greatest blessing which can come to a young life, next to its own reception of higher truths, with which this thesis has nothing to do, being purely economic, is that it shall learn to bear the yoke of labor in its youth and accept honest toil not as a disgrace but as a boon. We could not maintain a republican form of government if the majority of people in our land nourished a different view, because if they did, there would grow up an immense class of parasites who want to be employed as a matter of favoritism, not of merit, and it is this class of political and social janizaries whom tyrants in all ages have found their most supple tools in oppressing others.

Such warnings as these are especially important in an age of boundless wealth and luxury, and they are warnings in the highest degree friendly to labor instead of antagonistic to it. If you make a young man discontented with good, honest, useful work because some idler and opportunist is reaping richer rewards, you pull down the fabric of higher motive and you degrade labor to its lowest possible level. Labor is not disgraceful except in so far as the laborer is ashamed of it. It makes no difference how humble the class of labor is, if a man leaves it at nightfall tired enough to enjoy his rest and to eat his evening meal in peace and contentment, it carries with it its own blessing. Men talk about this as an age in which the marriage relation is too lightly regarded and say that there would be even more divorces if it were not that the mass of women are too poor to go into the divorce court. The real reason why

there are fewer divorces than there might be is, because simple, hard-working lives do not as a rule breed those fierce jealousies which are nowhere so rife as in the precincts of wealth and fashion. The blandishments of life may be too much neglected by hard-working men and women in the marriage relation, but at the same time they are not employed so liberally toward others, and the first object of life is to win bread not admiration.

Next to the influence of religion there is no influence so potent as hard work as a bracer and toner of the moral system. It is true that we hear of more murders, forgeries, and other high crimes among the ranks of what may be called by way of greater clearness the middle and lower classes. But these are committed by the hangers-on of these classes and emphatically do not represent the average tendency. The man who toils faithfully at his appointed work for the support of his wife and children from Monday morning till Saturday afternoon is not the man, other things being equal, whom we shall expect to find frequently in the police court. This is the true dignity of labor —that it tones the moral sense and keeps the spirit pure and manly. But this dignity is obscured by discontent—I mean discontent of the wrong sort. The discontent which comes from jealous social comparison is discontent in its most dangerous form. A man may prefer to dine at Delmonico's or the Café Savarin, and yet hugely enjoy the cold contents of his dinner pail. He may inwardly resent a lecture on content from one who is clad like Dives in purple and fine linen and who fares sumptuously every day. Yet the truth of such a lecture would be the same, no matter by whom delivered.

> "Know this surely at last, honest joy, honest sorrow,
> Honest toil for the day, honest hope for the morrow;
> Have these no rewards for the hands they've made weary,
> The hearts they have saddened, the lives they've left dreary?
> Hush, the sevenfold heavens to the voice of the spirit
> Echo: 'He that overcometh shall all things inherit!'"

But Owen Meredith's line might be qualified by insisting that such toil as is here described does not sadden hearts or leave dreary lives. It, on the contrary, braces and strengthens, and

without any irreverent depreciation of the value of man's higher hopes here alluded to, it is fair to insist that in earthly contentment lies a paradise all by itself—a paradise indeed contrasted with the hell of vain yearning in which some men and women live—far too many indeed, who, because they cannot grasp all, are utterly discontented and disgusted with what they have.

The logic of work is the first and highest lesson for him to learn who sets about it. I say this not referring to the careers of that class who may be said to love their work for its own sake, the workers in art and literature, who are absorbed from first to last in ideals and who work from the sheer impulse of their own passion for it. Such work may reap highly substantial rewards but it does not come strictly under the head of business as that term is understood in modern times. The mass of workers are workers from necessity, whether they are also workers from choice or not. It is the law of demand for such workers that presents the most interesting economic problem of to-day. Am I to trust to luck like some here and there who have "struck it rich," or am I to qualify myself for being employed by knowing what to do? We believe that in the whole range of business, whether from employer or employed, in every country where labor is really organized and its underlying principles understood, there will be one consentient response as to the mental as well as physical preparation required of a man who is fit to be known as a wage-earner. He must accept work as his destiny and look upon pleasure and relaxation merely as that which he wins by previous work. Work on principle must come first.

Now if all this is so universally accepted among business men as to be a truism, why the need of making it a special theorem in an economic review? Simply because it is not accepted by too many young men in our midst and because some terribly false standards of what constitute the royal road to wealth and distinction have been set up more and more of late as our country and others have advanced to a high pitch of prosperity. The hardest lesson that many an aspiring young man can learn is to begin with his shoulder to the wheel. As he passes along the street he looks up at the brownstone fronts of the men who

have made their way into them and he sees an inequality in fate. Why cannot he occupy one of these? Socialism whispers in his ear that this is an injustice, that there should be a division of property, that much of this was made by sharp practice, and that these inequalities ought to be righted, if need be, by force. But good common sense, if he has it, should tell him that even allowing for the oppression and injustice that undoubtedly exist in the business world to-day, still business could not go on if everybody was a socialist, that superior mental attainments will put one man ahead of another and opportunities also will come to some which do not come to others, but that the true man must take the world as he finds it and simply resolve to do the best that his hands shall find to do, and not be ashamed or discontented over the outcome, however small that outcome may be. Forgery and grand larceny, themselves high crimes though they be, are in many instances a sort of protest against the inequalities of fortune. Men want that which the law secures to others and half persuade themselves that on natural principles they have a sort of right to it, so that all they have to take care of is that they shall not be detected and convicted. This is the quintessence of socialism—a scorn of honest toil and a discontent with what a man can legitimately gain by it—a desire to bridge over the chasm between failure and success by a partition of spoils which would have to be repeated scores of times in the course of a natural life if it were intended that the thriftless or incapable should be constantly kept worth as much as their intellectual and moral betters.

Still there are phases of social discontent not classible under the head of socialism which ought not to be passed over. Neither the press, the pulpit, nor any other agencies of public influence can be said to be in league with capital—capital I mean of the supposed oppressive sort. There are inequalities of fortune upon which no true lover of his kind can look with entire complacency. If it is true, if it could be true, that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, then I or any one could almost see in dim vista the downfall of the republic. "When wealth accumulates and men decay," according to the

political economy of the poet, "ill fares the land." It is left, however, to speculation as to whether men do decay when wealth accumulates. Wealth indeed must accumulate in individual hands so long as it takes personal and individual enterprise to build up a business, and no ordinary man will devote his whole time and attention to such an end unless he expects to reap the first, or at least the greatest, single benefit therefrom. This point cannot be too urgently insisted upon. No right is more indisputable than that of labor organization. There is no reason why the possession of capital and its resulting power and consequence should make a man necessarily more reliable, more in the right, than the man who swings his dinner pail and does the manual work by which alone the brain work of the proprietor could carry out its great and lucrative conceptions. Indeed, the history of all ages, in labor as well as in government, teaches us that every class must have its safeguards and restrictions. It is justly irritating to workmen to read, from paid hirelings of the autocratic and ambitious, fulsome praises of those whom they themselves know to be actuated by the most human, not the most humane, of motives. The parasite brigade is too much in evidence in all lines of endeavor. But with all this granted, I recur to the original thought—that men must accept the best they can reasonably get in this world—that they must not seek to overturn all industry and revolutionize all the principles of business lest possibly some man might offer them less for their work than it is fairly worth. And success in life is, after all, more of an individual achievement than a matter of help from this or that organization. What a man wants he must earn, and generally from an individual or a firm—not from a coöperative company composed, like himself, of those without capital and presumably without the large business outlook and experience which best qualify men for presiding over great undertakings. It is a positive injury to any young man who starts out in business to persuade him that the world is in a conspiracy against him to keep him down, that employers are necessarily thieves and robbers, and that the less he manages to do and yet earn his wages the smarter fellow he is. There must be a higher

principle than this in work that is to truly advance the average man. I do not as a rule relish complacent talks to poor men from men whose daughters summer amid the frivolities of Newport and are married off in time to European noblemen—or whose sons divide their time between golf, polo, and luxurious club-life, ever and anon hiring wretched abortions in the shape of fine physical and low moral manhood to pound each other into pulp for the sake of gratifying a basely brutal taste—a gross insult to the name of physical culture. I have no patience for one with this sort of condescension. What I do urge is that young men should take the world as they find it and rely on themselves, not expecting favors and really not desiring them, taking a pride in their own ability to pry open the oyster of success and not depending upon accidents or luck.

We want a race of manly men—manly not only in physique but in moral ballast. We shall gain such best by teaching boys and young men the true and unalterable principles of business and worldly success and not cheating them with delusions to the effect that success is a mere matter of chance. If we could inoculate all the coming race with this vile heresy what sort of a country would be left to us? Should war arise and the country itself be imperiled, the first thought with men thus indoctrinated would be to hire a substitute and make all they could in bomb-proof offices or on government contracts. Perhaps it is for this reason that the farming contingent have been called *par excellence*, the bone and sinew of the country. Leading the half baronial life of independence, even amid frugal surroundings, they feel a sense of proprietorship in the soil which must constitute a most powerful inspiration toward its defense when menaced. And this very class by preëminence has sent out the boys to the cities who were not spoiled and corrupted with false ideals of personal desert before they had time to try their pinions in the great world. They came to the city expecting to obey, and expecting to rely upon their wages. They came strong of limb and sturdy of brain. They came, saw, and in many conspicuous instances have conquered.

WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

REALITY VS. ROMANCE IN ECONOMICS.

BY T. E. WILLSON.

SUPERSTITIONS die hard, and some are so sweet and venerable that even the hardest-faced Gradgrind would not wish to disturb them. This is particularly true of economics, where the monetary myths of Moses pass current to-day side by side with the stories of the master-thief and Cinderella, as they did when the Lawgiver was a boy, each as fresh and as vigorous as if it had leaped but yesterday, full-grown, from the brains of Science asleep and dreaming. One of these, that the united imports of all the nations must greatly exceed their united exports, is universal, and has magnificent statistics to prove a tale twice told is increased by the telling. It requires a brave man to face the popular condemnation sure to follow any attempt to balance the double-entry book-keeping of international trade; but there is one superstition, even more universally believed, so often used to hoodwink and cheat the credulous, it becomes the duty of the few who know the truth to proclaim it whenever it is possible to obtain an audience. This superstition is that the United States is a debtor nation; that more wealth owned by foreigners has been invested in this country than has been invested by Americans abroad; and that in any settlement of accounts and common withdrawal of investments, the United States would be greatly in debt. It never even had a colorable foundation in fact; but it has been industriously fostered because it is part of the economic bunco in the interests of the trusts that the more wealth we exported the richer we were—that to have "the balance of trade in our favor" we must export each year more wealth than we import. To bring this blessed state of affairs about has been the economic mission of one great political party solemnly pledged (in 1888) to increase exports and "check imports," a mission which the other political party believed to be

sound economic common sense and refused to antagonize, cheering with its opponents whenever our exports exceeded our imports. It never seems to have occurred to the statesmen of either party that if it is a good thing to have yearly excess of exports of wealth amounting to ten million dollars, it would be better if it amounted to ten billion dollars; and better yet if each year we exported all our wealth created during the previous twelve months. They did not understand the difference between trade and commerce; they did not know there could be no more imports between all the trading nations than there were of exports; they could not apprehend that all the balances "cleared," and they scouted any suggestion that these residues and remainders for clearance were mere transfers of wealth owned by the individual exporter, temporary or permanent investment in the foreign country, the title to ownership remaining in the exporting country if there could be no exchange and no cancellation.

There is nothing having value—not so much as a pin—which may lawfully be brought into or taken out of a country without a record passing through the custom-house, and any violation of this law is severely punished. The only exception is the personal baggage of travelers, but should a traveler bring into the country anything on the free list that is not his own and personal baggage, when it is searched—as all baggage must be—he will be arrested for smuggling and the goods will be forfeited. Smuggling means evading this law—not evading the duty—and it is no excuse that the goods are free of duty. If a shipmaster should attempt to export a box of onions or a bag of coin not on his manifest, he could not lawfully land them in any foreign country, and would be heavily fined by his own government. Some one in the United States last year exported from Buffalo to Quebec $82 worth of foreign gold coin, and the entry is on page two of the Report of the Bureau of Statistics. If it had not passed through the custom-house, it would have been subject to seizure and forfeiture. An exportation of aluminum valued at $1, from Brunswick, Ga., has the same legal importance and is given the same space on page 178 as that of

$14,370 from New York. Not a dollar's worth of wealth comes in or goes out of a country without a record; and this record is not only perfect and complete from 1789 to 1894, but is readily accessible. In the 104 years we have exported more wealth than we have imported by $1,180,754,124. We have that amount invested abroad to our credit in excess of any amount of foreign capital invested here. We are a creditor nation.

Whether the thirteen colonies had a foreign debt need not be entered into. The only debts possible under commercial laws were to Englishmen, and these were wiped out by the Revolution with the debts of Englishmen due to Americans. However much the Americans may have owed one another, the United States started as a nation and entered the clearing house of nations free from foreign indebtedness. All debts now due to foreigners have been incurred since then, and whether these debts owed to foreigners exceed the debts due to our own people from foreigners depends upon whether we have imported more foreign wealth than we have exported of American wealth. There is no method by which we can form the faintest estimate of the amount of foreign wealth sent to this country for investment in business, because there is no means by which we can separate the imports for exchange and the imports for investment; and conversely there is no method of dividing our exports. But we know our exchanges cancel, and that the difference between the exports and imports represents the "balance" of the unknown amounts used for investment here or abroad. If we have imported more than we have exported, we are a debtor nation—the alien ownership of American wealth is greater than American ownership of alien wealth. Each one knows we have exported billions of wealth more than we have imported; but he imagines that in some occult way, he does not know how, many billions of "foreign capital" have been invested in our railways, mines, and manufacturers, "by the sale of shares abroad," without the necessity for bringing any additional wealth to this country. That we cannot owe for the goods until after they are delivered, that a piece of paper cannot pay for a brewery until after it has been exchanged for the

wealth in labor products it represents, and that shares sold and paid for "on the other side" place the exact same amount of American wealth abroad that has been invested here, the one canceling the other, without imports or exports of wealth, never occurs to his mind. If it did, it would make no difference. "Everybody says we are a debtor nation, and I hear so much of foreign capital invested in my business I know we must be," he would say in reply to questions. If asked how "foreign capital" could be invested in this country in excess of American capital invested in foreign countries, without the importation of foreign wealth, he would probably reply as an eminent statesman did recently: "I do not know exactly the *modus operandi*, because I am not an expert in banking; but I know it is done, and if you will ask either Morgan or Belmont he will explain it to you." If this miracle has ever been performed, the original American owner of the brewery was certainly swindled out of his property; and it is not probable any banker will disclose the hocus-pocus by which it was done. It might be used by the listener to hocus-pocus some of the banker's gold.

The close of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the revised Constitution found us without gold and silver, without foreign debt, and without foreign credit. It was a farther carry then from London to New York than now from New York to Borneo—and there was no "capital" lying around loose in Europe seeking safe temporary investment across the stormy ocean. But there were many small capitalists in Europe seeking safety for themselves and their savings, who sought and found homes in the New World, and the imported wealth of these immigrants was naturalized and became American with them. No amount of imported wealth of this kind could create any indebtedness to Europe, or require any corresponding export to balance indebtedness, and the $92,390,192 excess of imports to 1800 created no foreign debt. It was a transfer of ownership to this country to escape the continental wars.

During the next sixty years, from 1800 to 1860, our excess of imports over exports amounted to $621,100,994, an average of ten millions yearly, and of this amount some small portion may

have been a debt due to foreigners—and not all of it due to immigration. Foreign capital had begun seeking speculative investment, as in the Ohio Trust Company, while American capital could usually be better employed at home than abroad, although even then it had begun building railways in Russia, ships in France, and cotton-mills in England.

During the Civil War decade, 1860 to 1870, we imported only $303,990,940 more than was used in trade and exchange, and we imported also 2,436,024 immigrants, whose wealth at $90 per capita would amount to $217,000,000—leaving a balance of foreign investment of only $88,000,000. The superstition that our bonds were largely taken by foreign capitalists was thoroughly exploded by Secretary Sherman, who made a thorough investigation and reported to Congress that the amount taken and held by foreigners was insignificant. Whether large or small did not affect our indebtedness. Every bond issued by the United States might have had a foreign owner without increasing our foreign indebtedness, for the total amount of foreign capital invested during this decade in the United States in excess of American capital invested abroad was the only debt that could be incurred, and this could not possibly have exceeded $100,000,000. The tales of enormous gold shipments yearly "to pay interest on our debts," with which the public have been regaled for a generation, were spun out of the imagination. That we received large amounts of English capital is true; but it must be remembered also that in three years—1862 to 1865—we permanently transferred ownership of $188,000,000 worth of vessels to the British flag, Congress refusing to let them be re-transferred; and that this export of our wealth to foreign countries is not shown in the figures previously quoted, although it gave us credit abroad and cancelled foreign investment here to that amount.

The year 1870 found the people of the United States as practically free from debt to foreigners as they were in 1789. The most extravagant estimate could not put it at more than $300,000,000, and it would be difficult to justify even the third of it. Not that ten times this amount of foreign capital may not have

been invested in the United States; but we "owe" only the *difference* between our debts and our credits, not the full amount of our debits, and this difference could not have exceeded the sum named.

But let us be generous with this myth of a debtor nation. Let us take the full tale of imports from 1789 to 1870 as a debt, and we have

Excess of imports to 1870	$1,027,282,126.
Deduct shipping transferred	188,000,000.
Total foreign debt	$ 839,282,126.

To give the myth a fair show, we will suppose that each emigrant landed on this shore of the Atlantic as he lands on the other side of the Styx—"in naked equality."

In 1870 the tide began to turn. The preaching of the "solemn truth" that a balance of trade "in our favor" meant the driving of wealth out of the country for investment abroad had borne fruit in legislation aimed to do it. From 1870 to 1893 we *exported* wealth in excess of our imports amounting to $2,020,036,250. Deduct the $839,282,126 imported prior to 1870, or cash up the accounts from 1789 to 1893, and, starting even, we have exported of American wealth for foreign investment, $1,180,754,124 more than has been imported of foreign capital for domestic investment.

In addition, we have received 16,443,823 immigrants, who have sought permanent homes in this country for themselves and their wealth, which at an average of but $100 per capita would give us $1,644,382,300 to add to the $1,180,754,124 invested abroad, as it would balance that amount, making the United States a creditor nation with a balance of foreign investments amounting to about three billion dollars, and requiring three fourths of all the gold in the world to settle it.

That the United States is the greatest creditor nation of the earth and England the greatest debtor nation, is a fact which must be apparent to any one free from the superstitions of economics; but that will not prevent the orthodox from repeating to the end of the chapter that clause of the economic creed which declares "we are a debtor nation."

T. E. WILLSON.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND ITS HISTORY.

BY WILLIAM F. BURROUGH.

ON the resolution proposed to the Congress of 1826, to make the Monroe Doctrine an established part of American policy, these remarkable views were expressed: "This doctrine is destined to play a more important part in the affairs of the American people, and in the politics of the world at large, than any policy ever formulated by an American statesman." The importance that recent events have given to the Monroe Doctrine, and the past history of that policy, are evidences that these words are not idle, but bear within them the seeds of a speedy and brilliant realization. The vast but undeveloped resources of the South American republics, the covetous eyes with which European nations now look upon them, and especially the grasping policy of Great Britain, keenly alive to the commercial and military advantages which these countries afford, place the Monroe declaration in a position to command the serious attention of the American people, and demands of the present administration a prompt and vigorous assertion of its principles in behalf of the maritime and commercial interests of this country.

While the benefits that result from the application of the doctrine are readily perceived, the full scope and meaning of the measure itself have been sadly misinterpreted even by intelligent critics, so much so that many current notions are at complete variance with the views and designs of its authors. Some believe that by virtue of the Monroe declaration our government has assumed a sort of protectorate over all the states of the western hemisphere, and must defend them from all foreign aggression at any hazard, and even shield them from the just retribution their misdeeds may have merited. This view is as false as it is dangerous, and would inevitably lead to that meddlesome interference of which some erratic journalists have recently furnished specimens, as undignified in tone as they were

un-American in temper. The doctrine is concerned with one fact only: that no European nation shall restrain the independent action of the American states and establish within their territories colonies or other dependencies, or exercise any authority over them. A review of the history of the doctrine will enable us to understand more clearly its true import.

In 1815, about the time the Spanish colonies in America declared their independence, the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia met in Paris and formed what is known in this country as the "Conspiracy of Kings" and in Europe as the "Holy Alliance"; whose real purpose was to regulate the affairs of Europe, establish monarchical principles wherever possible, and stamp out democratic institutions wherever they appeared. At Laybach the "Holy Alliance" again convened, and there declared that every reform effected by means of an insurrection was null and contrary to the public laws of Europe. They maintained that by divine authority they had the imprescriptible right to put themselves in open hostility to any state which "by a change of its government or institutions offered a dangerous example."

This was clearly aimed at the Spanish colonies in America and it was apprehended would soon be applied to the United States itself. At this England grew alarmed, deeming her interest, both commercial and political, to be at stake; but feeling herself incapable of combating single-handed these principles, empowered Minister Canning to offer propositions to Mr. Rush (the American minister) for the coöperation of England and the United States against the designs of the Holy Alliance. After some correspondence the whole matter was referred to President Monroe, who consulted his cabinet, and after careful study of the political aspects of the question, declared in his message to Congress in 1823: "That the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are hereafter not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, and any such attempt would be considered as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States."

This was a clear statement of a question that had been growing up in our country for years, and had first been proposed by John Quincy Adams and reiterated by Jefferson when he said: "Our government ought to establish it as a fundamental maxim never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in cisatlantic affairs." The declaration of President Monroe reaching Europe at the time of England's refusal to attend another convention of the Holy Alliance, about to meet at Paris, effectually put an end to the proposed conference. Lord Brougham, in his address on the king's speech, at the opening of Parliament in 1824, spoke of President Monroe's message as "disposing of the South American question," and as an event which had "dispersed great joy, exultation, and gratitude over England and all the freemen of Europe." And here we have an appropriate answer to the assertion of the English statesman who recently declared that "England never considered the Monroe Doctrine as part of our national policy."

It may be admitted that the principle or policy as declared by Monroe was limited to two points: (1) That no foreign power could establish—as of its own right—a colony within the *de facto* independent states of America, meaning thereby to include all parts of both continents not at that time held as colonial possessions. (2) That no European power should attempt by force to introduce monarchical institutions into any American territory, or otherwise interfere to oppress the American states or control their independent development.

Whatever statesmen may say, the Monroe Doctrine is a very important part of our policy, and of the greatest import to our welfare as a people. It practically shuts out all international complications, and is protection for our weaker sister republics. It is not and never has been a protection for wrong-doing of any kind, whether by ourselves or others. We stand on right, on justice, and as we do not interfere in the affairs of Europe we do not intend that Europe shall interfere in ours. And while we are not justified in defending the abuse of power by any of our neighbors, or saying to any nation that has a grievance against them, "You shall not interfere," we have the right to say:

"Submit your grievance to arbitration, and if it appears you have a just claim for redress you shall not be impeded by us in securing it; but if you have no just claim, then you shall not trample on our weak neighbors; you shall not seize their property; you shall not blockade their ports, nor shall you oppress the people and starve them into subjection."

WILLIAM F. BURROUGH.

THE ETHICS OF COMMERCE.*

BY ALLEN RIPLEY FOOTE.

NATURAL moral law teaches honesty as a principle. Natural economic law enforces honesty as a practice. These laws make all men responsible to one standard of justice.

The function of commerce is to supply human wants. Its foundation is honest representations. Running through the entire network of the world's commercial machinery, pervading the limitless volume of its commodities, there is ever present a human interest, a human motive, giving impulse and direction to every action.

All products are moved in obedience to the demands of man's wants. They gather value from man's labor, and convey from one to another, in material form, man's service to man. By intelligent use of natural materials, and giving direction to natural forces in purposeful action, man is his own providence, the master of his own prosperity, the author of his own development, so far as such results are effected by human effort.

The nineteenth century is preëminent for its commerce, induced by a masterful use of explosives and mechanical power. The victor in every war during this century has been that nation which made the most intelligent use of natural materials and forces. Mere numbers, as combatants or in total population, have not been a determining factor. The day has passed when ignorance can successfully contend with intelligence in the business of war, or in the war of business. To-day the power of a nation is in the intelligence with which its workers use the weapons of production and commerce. The nation most powerful in the vocations of peace is most powerful for war. Every war destroys some barrier to commerce. The expansion of commerce carries with it a recognition, in some degree, of

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natural economic law. This law teaches each person that he, each nation that it, is an integral part of the commercial system of the world, and establishes a community of interests between all persons and all nations.

Commerce cannot thrive where man's natural rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are not properly recognized. These rights include the individual ownership and control of property. They are founded on the natural law of justice. Conditions that guarantee their unquestioned and unrestricted enjoyment induce an energetic pursuit of the vocations of peace. A nation whose government is ordained "to establish justice," a people whose conduct is guided by a correct sense of justice, attracts with most powerful influences the commerce of the world.

By devising apparatus and mechanism for the rapid transmission of information, and the transportation of persons and commodities at low cost, much has been done to remove impediments to commerce. Gains of still higher value have been made in the understanding and application of commercial ethics. This process will continue, until commerce between nations will be attended by no greater moral risk than trade between neighbors. All nations are handicapped in a greater or less degree by the dishonest, unscrupulous, unjust. "Through such stuff humanity has waded to liberty." Though much is said about "degenerate man," the forces that make for good continuously acquire the power of victory.

These truths are easily applied to practical business. The human agencies of commerce are usually classified as "producers," "middlemen," and "consumers." Each agent is vitalized by the same motive—a desire to secure an income out of which to supply wants and grow rich. The expansion of commerce is limited by the purchasing power of consumers. The purchasing power of consumers is limited by the relative value of the commodities they buy and the services they sell. Low-priced commodities and high-priced labor generate the life of commerce. As a matter of fact, there are no classes in actual business. Every buyer is a seller. Every seller is a buyer. In

every transaction both buyer and seller perform the functions of the middleman. One economic law governs all. In the face of this truth the ordinary exchanges between friends, acquaintances, and the unknown stranger are saturated with misrepresentations. These are the most stubborn and ever-recurring obstructions to commerce. If there is one who doubts this let him try to imagine what the condition of trade would be if every person was certain that no misrepresentation would be made to him.

Contingencies arising from natural or non-preventable causes are sufficient to impart all the uncertainty to commerce that is required for legitimate speculation. Contingencies arising from preventable causes breed illegitimate speculation. The most frequent and the most serious obstructions to commerce are preventable, and are ethical in character. They may be grouped into one general class and labeled "fear of loss and losses caused by misrepresentations." The most prolific cause of uncertainty in the commerce of the world is dishonesty. This defect is peculiar to no nation. It is caused by an imperfectly developed sense of honor which enables persons to enjoy that which they do not honestly earn. If no person could enjoy a thing he did not honestly earn, all motive for dishonesty would be destroyed. This would kill dishonesty. It cannot exist without a motive. Evil destroys what it feeds upon. Dishonesty cannot be a recommendation for honorable employment. It destroys opportunity for making honest gains.

The manner in which business is conducted between exporters and importers determines in a large degree the success of commerce between nations. As a rule American export commission merchants act in good faith with their clients in foreign countries, and work exclusively in their interest for a specified consideration. Some, however, are guilty of collecting a commission from the foreign buyer and the American manufacturer on the same transaction. Both commissions are necessarily a tax on the profit of buyer and seller. This is equivalent to placing an export duty on American products, and is an obstruction to commerce. In selecting American agents foreign buyers and

importers should avoid such commission merchants. There are a sufficient number of honorable ones to do all the business offered. To protect themselves, foreigners should notify American manufacturers who their accredited agents are, and state that no claims for buying commissions should be allowed on bills rendered to them, as they are not entitled to payments from manufacturers for executing the orders of their clients. This is simple justice to the foreign buyer and the American seller. The attempt of a commission merchant to collect a commission from both buyer and seller may divert the business to some other manufacturer or country, thus causing a loss of trade to the manufacturer who submits to the blackmail, and ultimately to the foreign importer, by forcing him to supply his customers with goods less satisfactory than those he originally intended to secure. Whenever it is possible to do so, it is decidedly to the interest of the importer to obtain net prices direct from the American manufacturer, and then to give his buying agent no option in the selection of goods.

A commission merchant who properly represents the interest of the buyer cannot recommend goods or solicit orders for the seller. Any one who does this announces himself as specially interested in pushing the sale of such goods. If he is not, there can be no inducement to cause him to assume the responsibility and risk of recommending the goods, or to incur the expense and work of soliciting orders for them.

Foreign importers and American manufacturers have been imposed upon in another way. Men who wish to travel in foreign countries sometimes succeed in getting letters from manufacturers authorizing them to solicit orders for their goods. Instead of actually originating orders, they find out who the customers of the manufacturer are, go to them, representing that they are employed to look after the general interests of the business, and, upon one plea or another, obtain copies of their indents or orders that have been sent to American buying agents. Sometimes they promise a rebate to the foreign customer, telling him they are authorized to do so for the purpose of inducing him to push trade, being satisfied that he is the right one to do it.

Traveling men who seek to obtain such reports from foreign importers may be put down as frauds. Their object is to collect from manufacturers a commission they have not earned. If this commission is 5 per cent and the foreign importer is given 2½ per cent out of it, the other 2½ per cent is taken out of him, because the seller must include the 5 per cent in the price of his goods. This, of course, will not be the case when the traveling salesman actually originates the order and sends it direct to his principal, making the price at the time the order is given.

Another opportunity for dishonesty is found in cases where foreign buyers remit cash with their orders without notifying the manufacturer. A special discount is frequently allowed for cash with order. Commission merchants sometimes arbitrarily deduct two per cent or more from the amount of bills, claiming they are giving credit to the foreign buyer and paying cash to the manufacturer. When this is true the commission merchant is entitled to the cash discount, but he is not entitled to it if it is not true. The foreign importer should protect his own interest by notifying the manufacturer when he remits cash with order, or by giving notice that he will make prompt payment through his commission agent, and require prices on that basis.

Capable American buyers and shipping agents who honestly represent the interests of their clients perform services by means of which foreign importers can effect important savings. Such agents are not an expense to, but are profit producers for, foreign importers and merchants. It is therefore good policy for foreign tradesmen, intending to import American goods, to establish business relations with responsible American export commission merchants. In making such arrangements they should keep in mind and act upon the American idea—good ability, well paid, produces the best results.

ALLEN RIPLEY FOOTE.

A WORKINGMAN'S PLEA FOR AMERICAN HOMES.

BY JOHN B. HAMMOND, AN IOWA MINER.

AFTER years of anxious waiting and watching for economists to make some move or suggestion, by which the class to which I belong would more nearly receive the just product of its toil, I am at last driven to the conclusion that our school of political economists is deficient in either heart or brain, or both. I have studied very carefully during the past year the leading periodicals of our country, including your very excellent MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, which has been a very great aid in furnishing data and suggestions upon which I have formulated my ideas. The hope of obtaining relief through economists and politicians has at last died within me, and I am, at present, impressed with the belief that if labor ever receives its just reward the plans for its accomplishment must emanate from the brains of toil. During the period of my economical studies I was enabled to classify very distinctly economists in three divisions:

1st. Those who see the wrongs under which labor is toiling and are constantly, ably, and faithfully pointing out these wrongs, and painting powerful pictures for the public eye, portraying accurately the misery, want, and privation with which a false philosophy has cursed so large a portion of God's children; but so deeply absorbed are they with the scenes before them that they have forgotten to prescribe a remedy, or knowing their weakness, like your humble servant, have left these details for our statesmen to accomplish.

2d. Those social reformers whose greatest sins can be summed up in the word "impracticability." Reformers who, at a single bound, wish to accomplish that which it will take years to do, and which from their very nature must be won inch by inch. If Watt had neglected to make his crude steam appliances until

he could at the first effort have completed one of our highest improved locomotives and sent it over a steel track at the rate of seventy miles per hour, we would not have those engines now. If McCormick had decided to make a complete self-binder before giving to the world the product of his brain, we would yet be swinging the cradle to cut our grain. Had Franklin attempted to construct the electric motor, telegraph, phonograph, etc., instead of discovering the principles upon which they are based, and to leave nothing to be added by Morse, Bell, or the great Edison, the electric wonders of the nineteenth century might have been unrevealed to-day.

As in mechanism so is it in political invention (only that the political inventors are a century behind their brother mechanics). We must ascend the ladder of political progress step by step, round by round, if we ever reach the idealist's dream of a social level.

3d. Our so-called statesmen are politicians who are guided by the popular will and follow the public sentiment wheresoever it goeth, instead of leading it and performing the highest possible function to which statesmen should aspire. This class is at present more dangerous, and a greater barrier to political progress, than the first mentioned class with its eyes riveted upon its discoveries of existing social evils, or the second that is constantly chasing rainbows.

The questions that are at present being agitated by those bidding for political preferment, and who are monopolizing the attention of the public mind, are the tariff and finance questions, which are of a complex nature, and made still more so, to the ordinary mind, by the duplicity practiced by these public teachers. Mr. Cleveland says, "Throw down the tariff walls and let us go into the markets of the world." He makes a great point of "the markets of the world," but we have a market at our very doors, superior to the entire outside world, not half developed, which the "markets of the world" are seeking as a dumping ground for the surplus products of a more nearly enslaved labor than our own. Why seek the pauper markets of the Old World, when our own people are not supplied with the

necessaries of life, to say nothing of the comforts and luxuries? At least seventy per cent of our people would double their present consumption if they were enabled to exchange the products of their toil upon an equitable basis for the products of their neighbor. They want better houses, better clothing, more food, more books, more furniture, more of everything.

Mr. McKinley says, "Give us protection and all is well." But what consolation is it for a poor mechanic, with hunger gnawing at his vitals and a family suffering with cold and hunger, to stand upon our coast and see the products of a foreign land enter our ports and seek our markets, simply by paying a portion of the current expenses of our government? Our own laborer, who stands ready to perform the various obligations of citizenship, from doing jury duty in times of peace to bearing arms in times of war, should certainly be accorded the privilege of supplying the needs of his neighbors, in preference to the dukes, lords, and Shylocks of the Old World, who may have wrung from their toiling millions a surplus sufficient to meet many of our wants.

Next we have a hoard of place-hunters, standing up in solid line from sea to sea, and in a united chorus singing, "The immediate, free, and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1." Some of these believe, while some only pretend to believe, that this theory formulated into law would correct all the evils to which our social system seems to have fallen heir; that it would relieve the overburdened indebtedness of the West, start the factory wheels of the East, elevate labor and place it upon a pinnacle of prosperity never realized before. So incessant have been their demands, so voluminous their arguments, but so incomprehensive their reasonings, that without attempting to analyze their theories, a great many of the distressed toilers have gulped them down at a single draught as a panacea for all their ills. But the great reading public, though groping in the dark, is still demanding the "whys" and "wherefores" before taking a step, and have so far refused to take this leap into the dark.

The great source of the disease in our body politic originates

in the condition by which the traders, the non-producers, are enabled to filch from the producers their surplus products and convert them into the form most desirable for preservation. One trader may accumulate his wealth in the form of money, another land, another railroads, another manufactures, and yet another in the homes occupied by the toiling masses. It depends upon the judgment of the individual as to what his share of the spoils shall consist of, and it matters very little to the public, so long as he is permitted to gather the fruits of another's toil. It may be detrimental for individuals to accumulate our surplus products and convert them into railroads, but changing the length of the roads, the width of the gauge, or increasing the amount of rolling stock, would not correct the evil. We must go back to the original cause, to the first gathering up of our surplus products, and their appropriation without fairly recompensing the producer.

It is evidently a detriment to the public that individuals can convert our various products into cash and consign it to their own vaults without fully compensating the parties who produced the various articles of which this money is a representative; but changing the size, color, or value of these dollars will not correct this evil so long as a few men can accumulate the rightful wealth of the many.

A number of honest economists, seeing the decadence of home-ownership, are sounding the alarm from sea to sea, from lakes to gulf, pointing out the danger to the welfare of our government, and demonstrating the existence of a great evil, which like a deadly cancer is eating its way into the body politic, and if not eradicated from our system will finally destroy us.

They deplore the condition but offer no remedy, unless it be a little soothing plaster with "Free Silver" stamped upon it, which would but aggravate the disease, for less certainty in regard to the value of the dollar would but tend to create conditions which would enable capitalists to own more of the laborers' homes, from which their income is certain.

That there is a decadence in home-ownership can no longer be denied. Thus an existing evil is established. The cause of

the evil is that the ownership of these homes has become a desirable form into which the trader can convert his wealth, both for preservation and increase. Now we have the evil and the cause. The next question to consider is, Would it be desirable and to the advantage of the masses to reëstablish the home-ownership, of which we Americans so long boasted, and which our forefathers left us as a heritage, sealed with their blood on a thousand crimsoned battle-fields? There can be but one answer, "Reëstablish the American home, for it is the only rock of political safety." Then there can be but one question remaining, "How?" The answer must be simple and conclusive. Make the landlord ownership of real estate less desirable, less productive, build a "Chinese Wall" around the American home over which the traders cannot reach. That they are using extortionate rents to wring from labor an undue portion of their earnings must go undisputed. In this great state of Iowa, with her broad fields and her fertile soil, we can see thousands of shanties erected at a cost not to exceed one hundred dollars, and not listed for taxation at over half this amount, that are returning to their owners an annual income of from sixty to seventy-five dollars. Can there be any great incentive to the impulses of patriotism where a man, an American, rears his family in one of the smoky, bug-breeding hovels that we see crowded together, with no ground privileges, about most of our coal-plants, and in the tenement districts of our cities? It would certainly require an overabundance of patriotism in time of war for a poor man to leave his family in one of these shanties at six dollars per month to take his life in his hand, endure the hardships and perils of war, at thirteen dollars per month.

How can we correct this evil? By exempting homesteads from taxation and establishing an "anti-usury rent law." The rent, based upon the assessed valuation, should not be permitted to exceed the rate considered fair between capitalists, say eight per cent. This would lessen the inducement to invest in this kind of property, excepting for homesteads, and by this means the price of real estate would come within the reach of the poor

man; and the annual rental, which frequently represents the entire savings of the laborer, would remain his own, instead of being added to the accumulations of the non-producer.

By applying simple remedies we can also settle that other great question of machine competition with labor, and establish a system of justice between capital and labor that will elevate the latter without ruining the former, though it should curb the greed of the more avaricious.

I can scarcely expect a great magazine with a national reputation to open its columns for the production of an unknown laborer, but I am galling in the harness of our present social system, daily viewing the wrongs perpetrated by the strong against my weak brothers, hearing the cries of distress coming from the helpless victims of greed, until madness has driven me to the attempt of placing our grievances before the public and suggesting such remedies as reason may dictate to be just, practicable, and efficient. My watchword has ever been, "Homes for American citizens and the emancipation of the machine slave."

JOHN B. HAMMOND.

MOB LAW.

BY DUANE MOWRY, LL.B.

IF the mob is to reign supreme in this country, it may be well for us again to examine the conditions which made it possible for us to become a nation, and to ask ourselves the question, Is self-government, after all, an ignominious failure?

It will be answered to the above that the mob does not yet reign supreme in this land. And in reply it can be confidently urged that so far as the mob chooses to reign, its rule has been practically supreme. How do we know this? Because there has been no successful attempt to punish those who have participated in the enforcement of lawless decrees; because, also, the stigma of public disapproval has not, to any appreciable extent, at least, been given to their monstrous proceedings; and because courts of justice and officers of the law have been practically impotent, some through fear, some through sympathy for the accused, and for other causes, to suitably and justly punish the violators of the law.

The evil influence of mob law is not measured by the rank injustice and inhumanity which may be visited upon the object of its wrath merely. It cultivates the spirit of lawlessness which concerted action always intensifies and often exaggerates. Thus, it follows that instead of having a healthy public opinion, that sure bulwark of free and enlightened institutions, we have a debased and demoralized one, fitted only for savage and barbarous conditions. If there is any one thing demanded of law-abiding and patriotic citizens in this country more than another, it is that they lend the influence of upright lives to promote respect for, and the use of legal methods to uphold, the law.

There is no greater affront to society, no greater crime than that form of lawlessness which is perpetrated by self-appointed conservators of the rights of the people. We have been accus-

tomed to regard the offense of the common crowd as slight, and that of its victim as great. So long as public opinion justifies or palliates this view, we cannot expect to secure great respect for the behests of the constituted authorities of a community, of a state, or of a nation. This may seem like taking radical and extreme ground against the class who for some reason, or for any reason, choose to be protectors or avengers of some of the unfortunate. But it is the ground which we shall all have to take sooner or later. And the sooner we awaken to the fact that we have looked too indifferently upon the repeated assumptions of the unthinking and cruel mob, the sooner will it be possible for us to get on righteous ground.

It has been argued that there is no greater shock to the moral sense, no more palpable wrong to the individual and to society, than the cool, deliberate, and brutal assault which a strong and passionate man makes upon the chastity of a weak and defenseless female, and particularly upon one of very tender years. We concede the argument and grant its force. But will it be contended that one form of lawlessness justifies another? Will the position be taken that the crime of the individual under the impulse of strong, unnatural, animal passions, offers any excuse for the deliberate annihilation of the laws of the land by an intelligent community, and in the simple spirit of revenge? It seems to me that there can be but one answer. And when the masses thus think there will be fewer inflictions of punishments by those ill-fitted by nature and education to conserve the rights of the people. Let us hope that this auspicious day is not very far distant.

DUANE MOWRY.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGNERS.

BY REV. B. W. WILLIAMS.

TO those who are conversant with the facts in the case, the revision and better enforcement of our immigration laws would seem an urgent necessity. We do not advocate the wholesale and indiscriminate debarment of all who happen not to have been born in this country; but we do insist on the protection of our people from the manifold evils resulting from the continued reception and assimilation of the most vicious and improvident classes from other lands. During the thirty years of Republican rule, foreign immigration was practically without limitation or restriction; and since the Democratic party has again come into power it has signally failed to enact any adequate and effective legislation on the subject. This unwise policy has been exceedingly harmful of late years, since the character of immigrants received has so greatly depreciated.

During the early part of our national history, foreign immigration was moderate in volume and quite acceptable in character. Then it required brains, money, and energy to come to America, and we received a good class of people, who helped to develop our country. We would still welcome all worthy immigrants, who are capable of becoming good citizens. We object, however, to allowing European nations to dump their criminals and paupers on our shores, to injure our society and burden our government.

It appears that from 1789 to 1819 no statistics of immigration to the United States were kept; but the number of arrivals during that period is estimated at 250,000. From 1820 to 1831, according to official records, 643,645 immigrants arrived; from 1832 to 1851 the number received was 1,972,180; from 1852 to 1861 there landed 2,262,459; from 1862 to 1871 we received 2,530,222; from 1872 to 1881 the arrivals numbered 3,162,272;

and from 1882 to June 30, 1894, there came over 6,424,571. It will be found from these figures that the total number of immigrants received during the one hundred and six years from 1789 to 1894, inclusive, was 17,416,317. The character of immigrants received during the last twenty years has been, in many cases, very objectionable. A large per cent of them have come from Italy, Sicily, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, and were of the lowest class. Such persons are often deported from their native countries, assisted or compelled by their own governments, and shipped to the United States, to become charges upon the public, and to fill our poorhouses, our hospitals, and our prisons.

These people, as a rule, are densely ignorant, knowing nothing of our language, having no conception of the nature and form of our government, and with no appreciation of the blessings of civil and religious liberty. Many of them are hopelessly degraded, living in a most deplorable state of vice, immorality, and sensualism. Large numbers of vagabonds, outcasts, criminals, paupers, idiots, and disabled persons are annually sent here, either by their own governments, or upon tickets furnished by their friends and relatives. Such persons are naturally disposed to anarchy and bloodshed; their hatred of European monarchies inclines them to rebel against all government. They frequently hold and propagate the most licentious and demoralizing social theories. They depress wages, corrupt our politics, disturb industrial conditions, and lower the average standard of living. They are generally atheistic in their religious views, and delight in desecrating our Sabbath, reviling our churches, and scoffing at Christianity and the Bible.

This immense volume of incoming depravity may well be viewed with grave apprehension by every thoughtful and patriotic citizen. Under present conditions only a small per cent of the objectionable persons can be excluded. We need more stringent regulations to stop the influx of undesirable population. Foreign immigration should be so restricted as to exclude criminals, paupers, and other objectionable classes. At the same time we should extend a hearty welcome to all worthy people,

from every quarter of the globe, who give satisfactory evidence that they will become virtuous, intelligent, and law-abiding citizens. Let each immigrant be required to furnish a certificate from some court or government official where he resided, attesting his good character; and also a certificate from the American consul at the port from which he embarked, certifying that he is worthy of reception and naturalization. We should also rigidly enforce the law against those who send agents to the pauper districts of Europe, and by misrepresentation induce indigent people to come to this country in order to obtain their labor cheaply.

Our laws in regard to the naturalization and enfranchisement of foreigners are obviously defective, and have too often been administered with reprehensible laxity. The readiness with which we have hitherto conferred the privileges and prerogatives of citizenship upon the motley crowds of unwashed foreigners constantly landing upon our shores is certainly unwise. There is great need of improvement in the direction of requiring a longer period of residence and a higher standard of character and intelligence on the part of those desiring a voice in our government. Under our present laws the most ignorant and vicious foreigners may come here, and reside in a foreign quarter of some large city, where they never hear the English language spoken or learn anything of the obligations of citizenship; and at the end of five years they may be naturalized, and then voted by the political bummer who controls their ward. This is sometimes done even while their hearts are full of anarchy and hatred, and their hands are lifted up against our civil and religious institutions. It is often the case that large numbers of these people are naturalized just before an election. Their naturalization papers are paid for by the campaign manager of some political party. The oath of allegiance is administered to them by platoons, and they understand as little of its force and meaning as the untutored savage does of Blackstone's Commentaries. They are then taken to the polls and voted in the interest of corrupt political parties, by unscrupulous and designing politicians. The prodigious folly of the whole pro-

cedure must be apparent to all who think beneath the surface of things. In order to prevent such abuses the law should provide that no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

The requirements for suffrage in many of the states are deplorably inadequate. Incredible as it may seem, there are fourteen states in which *aliens* are allowed to vote upon the simple conditions of declaring their intention to become citizens —which intention may never be carried out—and residing therein a short time, usually from four months to one year. The following is a list of these states, with the length of residence required: Alabama, 1 year in the state, 3 months in the county, and 30 days in the town or precinct. Colorado, 6 months in the state, 90 days in the county, 10 days in the town or precinct, and declaration four months before election. Florida, 1 year in the state, 6 months in the county, 10 days in the town or precinct, and the payment of a capitation tax. Indiana, 6 months in the state, 60 days in the county and town, and 30 days in the precinct. Kansas, six months in the state, 60 days in the county, and 30 days in the town or precinct. Louisiana, 1 year in the state, 6 months in the county, and 30 days in the town or precinct. Michigan, 3 months in the state, 10 days in the town or precinct, and declaration 6 months before election. Minnesota, 4 months in the state, 10 days in the town or precinct, and declaration 1 year before election. Missouri, 1 year in the state, 60 days in the county or town, and 1 year in the precinct. Nebraska, 6 months in the state, 40 days in the county, 10 days in the town or precinct, and declaration 6 months before election. North Dakota, 1 year in the state, 6 months in the county and town, 90 days in the precinct, and declaration 1 year. Oregon, 6 months in the state, 90 days in the county, and 30 days in the county or precinct. Texas, 1 year in the state, and 6 months in the county, town, and precinct. Wisconsin, 1 year in the state, county, and town, and 30 days in the precinct. In ten of these states the declaration of intention to become a citizen may be made as late as the day of election, and after a residence in the state or in the

county of only three months to one year, and in the town only ten to thirty days.

This anomalous and reckless enfranchisement of unnaturalized foreigners, if not speedily abandoned, must result in the demoralization of citizenship and the ultimate surrender of a large part of our power of self-government to those who are totally incompetent to exercise it with safety to the public. We therefore insist that no foreigner should be allowed to vote until after he is naturalized, and has lived here long enough to become somewhat acquainted with our language, customs, and institutions. We cannot afford to allow these subverted, their designs frustrated, and our social fabric disintegrated, by admitting to political fellowship the ignorant, the alien, and the lawless.

B. W. WILLIAMS.

INDIAN VS. AMERICAN COTTON-MILL OPERATIVES.

BY J. W. BENNETT.

THE Indian cotton-mill hand receives a little less than one eighth the wages of the cotton-mill operatives in America, and the wages of a whole family of native East Indian cotton spinners would be less than one third the wages of a head of a family working in the New England mills; yet it is said that but sixty-seven per cent of the wages of the former is required for necessaries of life, while the latter finds it difficult to make ends meet.

Mr. H. J. Sommer, Jr., United States consul for Bombay, appends to his report on cotton-baling in foreign countries, which appears in the May number of *United States Consular Reports*, an interesting clipping from the *Indian Textile Journal*, giving something of the wages and condition of mill operatives in India.

The mills at Bombay are supplied with coolie laborers of the agricultural class, who are attracted from the soil, in which they still retain an interest, by a prospect of better pay and an easier life. In the fields, under a tropical sun, they can earn but about three cents per day, while in the mills they get from eight to eleven cents. There is a prospect, the article goes on to say, of a change in the future, as there is growing up in the cities a class of mill operatives entirely alienated from the soil. Already a generation is appearing which knows nothing of agriculture. At fourteen years of age they are able to earn seven rupees, or $1.52 per month, and at full manhood this stipend is doubled. A woman is able to earn from $1.51 to $1.72 per month, so that an average family of a man, a woman, and two working children is capable of earning thirty-two rupees, or about $6.91, per month. Their food costs about $3.89 and their rent about 67 cents per month, so that if the family works stead-

ily eleven rupees, or $2.38, may be added to its savings account or laid out in clothing or luxuries. It is always laid out.

Whatever class of work a man gets used to in the mill, he keeps to for the rest of his life. He learns just as little as will insure his pay, and there improvement ends. He is, of course, illiterate, and all machinery deteriorates more rapidly in his hands than in those of the Lancashire operative. In Bombay operatives are seldom seen over forty years of age and never over fifty years. Custom and social habit separate male and female laborers in the Indian mills, and women work only at reeling and winding, with a forewoman in charge. They are very independent and prompt to take offense, and if their physical appearance and dress on a holiday may be taken as an index of their condition, they cannot be said to suffer from the effects of poverty or overwork.

The domestic life of these women is simplicity itself. A short-sleeved jacket is their made garment, and they may be completely clothed in a *saree*, which they wind about them with great skill and wear with a natural grace. Their children, up to the age of five or six, go stark naked; and their furniture consists of a box or two to hold spare valuables, a *corpoy*, or rough bed-frame, covered with coir yarn netting, and a few cooking utensils of metal or earthenware. They eat very little meat and feed with their fingers, while sitting on the ground.

The laborer, the writer says, is, however, slovenly, frivolous, and fond of holidays and noisy amusements; so that until he changes his character he is not likely to become so dangerous a competitor with the energetic piece laborer of northern climates as the cheapness of his labor would indicate. If he should become steady and industrious, it is believed that much Egyptian as well as Indian cotton "would be spun near Calcutta with the aid of Bengal coal."

The Indian coolie does not belong to labor unions or go on strikes, but he has learned the use of the boycott. He treats fines or expulsion with high indifference, takes a holiday when he likes, is late when he pleases, and if he cannot work, lives easily and comfortably by begging.

It would seem that after allowing for all possible efficiency

and slovenliness, wear of machinery, and every other incidental, the cheap Indian labor would give the Bombay cotton manufacturer a great advantage over his American competitor. The latter pays $310 for each hand he employs, and it is scarcely possible that each operative can do as much in a day of ten hours as eight or nine East Indians can from sunrise to sunset. The American laborer must learn from Atkinson, or some other wizard of economy, a cheaper way of living, or the full opening up of civilization in the East under the direction of the western business man will prove more disastrous to the American laborer than all of the much-dreaded pauper labor of Europe.

J. W. BENNETT.

POLITICAL BETTERMENTS THROUGH IMPROVED LEGISLATION.

BY REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

DYNAMICS are more than mechanics, men than methods, officers than laws; but we want all at their best. The good citizens we now have could dominate the bad ones we now have if they would, even with our lax laws of immigration and naturalization; even with the ballot in the hands of native and foreign ignorance. But it will be easier for the right to rule when we have better laws.

The negro and naturalization are the two serious snags in our suffrage, the second worthy to be called "the northern problem," as the first is preëminently the "southern problem." Let us of the North frankly admit the blunder of flooding our suffrage at the close of our Civil War with newly emancipated ignorance. If citizenship in the case of the negroes, as it ought to be in all cases, had been guarded by an educational qualification, the new citizens would have come into their kingdom so gradually and so preparedly as to make little, if any, conflict, and education would have been greatly promoted by making it the door to suffrage, and so an honor. The child monarchs of Europe are put under regents and educated for rulership. But these negroes, who, under our Declaration of Independence, were candidates for rulership by the right of their manhood, while yet undeveloped in mind and morals, with no great education for their great trust, were given, in some states, the scepter of majority rule. It was the calamity prophesied in the Bible, "Children shall be your rulers."

Even though the disfranchisement of the negro should be admitted to be justifiable in view of their ignorance or their abuse of power, there can be no justification of the method employed. The South might have removed its unwelcome ruler as blood-

lessly as Greece deposed Otho, or Brazil Dom Pedro. All that was necessary to do it without even the stain of injustice was to pass state laws restricting suffrage, regardless of color, by a real educational qualification. Why was this not done? Because it would have cut down the representation of the South in Congress and in the electoral college.

Educational suffrage is hardly less needed to keep ignorant immigrants from dominating the North. In the cities the "black belt" of the slums often contains the balance of power. The foreign vote is that balance even in the state elections in most cases. In thirteen states—an unlucky thirteen—the foreign-born are a majority. But in most states, the American vote, reënforced by the large majority of foreigners who are American in spirit, might put an educational qualification upon all new voters, and should hasten to do so. Since 1890 I have advocated the passage of such a law in every state to take effect on the first day of the twentieth century, now close at hand. Let the absurdity of having men vote who never read our Constitution end with this century. Whatever other celebrations the new century's birth may have, it should especially be celebrated by the enactment of great and useful laws on this and other lines.

Specific evidence that a considerable percentage of American voters are venal has been repeatedly given in magazines, and otherwise in recent years. This has been shown of Indiana, Delaware, and Connecticut particularly, which we have no reason to suppose do not together come fully up to the average of the country as a whole. But the most surprising revelations are the wholesale and open briberies by both the parties in New Bedford under the first and best of ballot reform laws, and despite the further fact that New Bedford is one of the few cities that have adopted the municipal reformers' panacea for municipal corruption, the exclusion of national and state politics from city elections. This underscores our previous remark as to the insufficiency of any machinery without manhood. At the last election, according to *The Outlook*, the victorious party, despite its condemnation of the bribery by which its opponents had won the preceding election, devised a new method of bribery that ballot

reform could not prevent, the payment of a minimum, two dollars each, to a great number of so-called "workers" (many of whom did no work except to bear about on their breasts the party badge), with an additional three dollars or more in case of victory to make sure that even in secret voting they would vote as they were paid. The first act of the mayor-elect was to sit at his desk, behind a huge pile of greenbacks, and pay the promised bribes. There ought to be prosecutions, of course, but as the leaders of both sides, as usual, have been guilty of the same treason, it is likely that, if undertaken, they will, as usual again, never come to trial. In that same city, when the writer was one of its citizens, bribery having been unusually bold at the very polls, a voter was prosecuted who had been seen to receive ten dollars from a party leader just before he voted. Asked on the stand for what the money was paid, he replied promptly, "For a pig," which was both true and false, but suggests the difficulty of proving bribery. More severe laws on this crime are needed, but a more severe public sentiment against the Judas who will traffic in the sacred duties of patriotism is not less required. A man guilty of bribery should be made to feel, by social ostracism, that the brand of Cain, self-inflicted, is upon him.

For better *elective* officers we must look to patriotic effort in the primaries, but the serious question remains, how to secure an efficient civil service in the realm of appointments. "To the victors belong the spoils" has a multitude of believers, not all of them politicians. Men talk plausibly of the danger of "an office-holding class," and of the fairness of "rotation in office," as if experience were not of as much value in government work as in like business when conducted by individuals, who do not discharge trained clerks and take on greenhorns every four years. The opponents of civil service reform forget that offices were not made to enrich individual citizens, but to promote efficient government.

One reason for the lagging of this worthy reform, which should have triumphed as quickly as ballot reform and for like patriotic reasons, is that Christian ministers have not until re-

cently counted it one of the "moral reforms" which they should promote as a Christian duty, nor even so closely related to the nation's safety as to demand their active aid on the score of patriotism. But surely it is no small danger to have a civil army, already a quarter of a million and rapidly enlarging, dependent for its living on the continuance of the dominant party in power! Such a condition becomes indirect bribery large enough to turn a close election.

This reform has also lacked, until recently, the support of workingmen, who counted it no concern of theirs; but now they find that the one chief objection to the ownership and management of natural monopolies by government is the increase of party spoils which it is assumed would ensue, although every intelligent advocate of the new industrial functions of government expects civil service reform to be a part of the plan. Workingmen may therefore be relied upon henceforth to promote civil service reform as a preparation for state industrialism, which civil service reformers might well study as an ally that would hasten the triumph of their cause by making it a necessity. The triumph of civil service reform in 1894 in Chicago, in the first popular vote upon the subject, is the most encouraging recent victory of reform in American politics.

There is an increasing hostility to the national Senate, partly because it is so largely composed of millionaires in this "American House of Lords," and partly because it has in recent crises seemed too unresponsive to popular demands, and too responsive to the wishes of trusts. This popular hostility showed itself in the very large vote in the national House of Representatives on July, 1894, for the election of senators by the people. If the Senate is sometimes too slow, the House is often too fast, the members of the latter being in such close touch with the people as to feel every heart-beat of popular excitement, those of fever as well as those of health.

If the Congress needs mending what shall be said of the less satisfactory state legislatures? The common remark is, "This is the worst legislature we ever had." The people find even "worst" too feeble a word for our indescribable city councils.

As a curb on the despotism of large majorities, and to give new movements in politics a fair hearing in legislative halls, national, state, and municipal, the Swiss plan of proportional representation, with cumulative voting, is urged with ever-increasing favor. By this plan the so-called "representatives" would really represent the people, not majorities only. A new movement would not have to wait until it had won over more than five tenths of the votes in one or more constituencies before it could be heard in the legislature, but by cumulative voting could have one tenth of the representatives when it had one tenth of the votes. On this plan a city council would all be elected on one ticket, not by wards, and the representatives to the state legislature in a similar manner. The national representatives of a state would all be on one ticket, so that minorities might cumulate their votes on fewer candidates in each case.

On the supposition that good men will not go to the primaries and elect better legislators, the movement to secure a popular veto of corrupt legislation by the adoption of the Swiss "Referendum" is gaining ground. It would seem to be a valuable reserve in any case. It allows the people, by a petition of one twelfth or less of the population, to compel the submission of a new legislative enactment to popular vote. The accompanying "Initiative" enables a certain number of petitioners to compel a legislature to submit to the people any measure which might otherwise be neglected. These measures might well be adopted as restraints upon the notorious corruption of our city governments, so allowing a popular vote on questionable franchises, large appropriations, and other subjects liable to corrupt manipulation. For our smaller states, perhaps for all, these measures might also be effective without change. For Congress, perhaps for the larger legislatures also, it might be enough to correct the chief abuses, if every measure for which a certain minority of the adult population had petitioned should be forthwith submitted to a yea and nay vote. Good measures are much more frequently defeated in Congress by that autocracy of national legislation, the House Committee on Rules,

which *rules* in deed, than by adverse votes. And in the case of other committees, representatives are less likely to vote for a good law when the eyes of their fellow-committeemen only are upon them than when in a recorded yea and nay vote the whole county is there to see.

There is much to be said in favor of these methods of giving the people a more direct control of legislation, but it is still more important, if "government of the people, by the people, for the people," is not to "perish from the earth," that the people should more fully guard against legislative corruption, as New York did in 1894, by constitutional provisions, such as the requirement that a law must be printed and lie three days on the legislative desks before it can become a law, except when the governor certifies to an emergency calling for a suspension of the rule. There has been a prejudice against "legislating in the Constitution" beyond a few general principles, but if the people will not elect more trustworthy and incorruptible legislators, they should themselves put into the Constitution, once for all, the laws they approve on those subjects which are especially liable to be corruptly dealt with, such as gambling, temperance, purity, the Sabbath monopoly. When engaged in anti-lottery battles in Washington, Louisiana, and Dakota, I learned that there are seventeen of our states with no constitutional protection against the legalization of gambling, which legislatures have been guilty of in Illinois, Maryland, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Louisiana—the last three no longer in force—but never have the *people* of any state legalized gambling. The people may not average better than their legislators, perhaps, but they are at least too many to buy, and so they should put the legislation most liable to be bought into their own constitutional code.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

PRACTICAL BIMETALLISM AND IDEAL PROTECTION.

BY FRANK ROSEWATER.

A MOST striking result of the wide divergence in standards of value is shown in the fact that to the country of highest prices the amount measuring this divergence becomes a bounty to the consumer of imports, while to the producer of exportable goods it operates as a prohibitive tax, stimulating imports and unduly restricting exports while both currency and properties are being gradually absorbed through a constantly short trade balance, by degrees a condition of tributary dependence being imposed.

Owing to the difference in standards, even though the labor cost of a given hat at home be less than in other countries, our manufacturer may still be unable to sell the same hat in his own country, much less abroad, whereas on economic grounds he ought to command both markets. At $2.00 a day it might cost him $4.00 to make the hat, while in a $1.00 a day country it might cost only $3.00, enabling the foreigner to undersell in both markets, in spite of the fact that it would cost the foreigner $6.00 by our standard to produce the same hat and our manufacturer at the $1.00 a day standard could have produced it at $2.00 and would himself have controlled both markets. The foreigner is thus enabled to sell not only at exorbitant prices, but even with such prices to take our own market from us.

From a superficial view it appears that we ought to accumulate unlimited wealth through purchasing at $1.00 a day prices, but just as the tradesman who deceives his customers through giving only half weight must inevitably drive them away, so the nation that buys by lower standards is bound to lose trade, its own people even refusing to patronize themselves. If the markets of the world were all free, the rush would be toward the cheapest markets, and the dearer countries would go on

purchasing in excess of receipts until their currency became exhausted. This might not occur in the start, for the currency would be liable to return in the purchase of its stocks, bonds, or other properties—the process of product-purchase from the cheap country and property-purchase from the dear country continuing until the dear country was rendered completely tributary—properties, circulation, and credit all at length gone, and in their place general stagnation and depression.

The irresistible conclusion reached is that genuine exchange can be possible only on the basis of a uniform standard of values, and that low prices, when due to lower standards of value, are to be regarded as mere catch-prices, neither representing true exchange value, nor warranting the fulfillment of true exchange.

No more damaging blow could be inflicted upon home trade than by this peculiar tax upon exchange, obstructing both exports and imports and inducing purchases that, remaining unreciprocated, break the chain of trade in the home market, each such purchase disturbing the mechanism of home trade and preventing a whole series of home exchanges.

Empiric attempts to nullify or counteract these peculiar restrictions to commerce have time and again been instituted in the shape of tariff on imports, bounties on exports, and prohibition of gold exports, but the practical difficulties in the way to securing perfect control of a genuine trade balance have so antagonized results as to raise much doubt of their utility, leading to interminable wrangling and vacillation.

Ever since the war, money coming in from alien investments has buoyed up our currency, inducing excessive imports in the very face of tariff barriers, producing a vast drainage of our properties through the substitution of property-purchases in place of product-purchases on the part of aliens, and operating in this respect exactly as if actual free trade had prevailed. Like a reckless parent who sells house and home and spends the proceeds in carousal, so the nation, intoxicated by the superabundance of money, and forgetting for the time its unhallowed source, indulges in imported luxuries and foreign travel to an excess involving the patrimony of the coming generation.

That this is not an idle picture of affairs is evident from the condition of the United States to-day, where from ten to twelve billions' worth of stocks, bonds, and other properties are in the hands of aliens. The seller of properties to aliens, like the purchaser of alien products, consults only his own more immediate and narrower interest in the matter, regardless of the consequences to the country at large and blind to the more remote consequences to himself. Owing to this cause we are to-day confronted with an annual shortage in trade balance amounting to fully five hundred millions. Nor is this estimate in the least overdrawn when taking into consideration the interest and dividends on the alien investments; the amount spent in foreign travel; the amount paid for smuggled goods, for freights and fares in foreign bottoms, and for what is sent out for that portion of imports escaping the tariff by undervaluation in the custom-house, none of which expenditures will be found reckoned in the usual balance of trade reports.

That this enormous shortage has in a much less degree contracted our home business is unquestionable, and it may be further accepted as an absolute certainty that it has materially lowered our standard of wages and profits.

It was this gradual wage reduction, due to the widening of the breach in our trade balance, that obscured the gains derived from the McKinley Bill. The latter was undoubtedly the most perfect of all tariff bills, and like all degrees of tariff, including even that tariff—cost of freight—that operates under absolute free trade and causes the earliest recognition of differences in standards, its tendency was to resist imports and retard exports, but the latter in lesser degree than the former.

Agricultural products resemble manufactures in representing a combination of soil plus labor, but cost of manufactures vary in a larger degree according to the scale on which they are produced, and the earliest invasions of home trade were along this line leading to the raising of tariff barriers at the points of attack. These tariffs have done well so long as the farmer had a good home market and while the foreign market in agricultural products kept pace with the home standard of prices, but when

the home market became insufficient and the foreign market began to draw on distant lands, where cheap soil was tilled by cheap labor, these same tariffs began to become a tax on the farmer who was obliged to compete with the cheapest labor in the world while tied to a dear market in which to obtain his supplies. If it demoralized farming, there can be no doubt that it also demoralized manufacturing, indicated by the general lowering of prices, a reduction many protectionists boasted of, as if lower prices symbolized anything else than demoralization and lower net earnings. The fact is, however, that this lowering was not due to protection at all, but to its evil companion, the free sale of properties to aliens, by which foreign trade was shortened to the extent of half a billion annually, resulting in a contraction of home industry to a much larger extent.

An ideal protective system should so control foreign trade that neither in buying nor in selling the difference in standard shall operate to determine our course, and that the test be applied of having this difference added to the foreign price as a condition preliminary to foreign trade. This would only be reverting to one of the fundamental rules in mathematics that all factors be reduced to a common denomination before calculating the result, a rule so axiomatic and imperative that the wonder is it has not long ago been more thoroughly recognized in its application to economics. I know our friends of the Manchester school will contend that this is just what they propose to accomplish through perfect free trade and that instead of supporting the higher, and what they consider artificial, standard of prices, they believe non-interference would result in a gradual lowering of standards until all were reduced to a common level.

In this belief they would be justified provided the differences referred to represent only a difference in standards of price and had no deeper significance. The fact is, however, that an increase in the actual productive capacity of a nation will find expression in higher prices relatively to those of other nations just as it would between individuals, but in proportion as the nation fails to increase correspondingly its consuming will

a tendency toward lower prices be manifested. An increase in its consuming, on the other hand, if unaccompanied with increased productivity, will for the time raise prices, though the process must necessarily be short-lived. If increased productivity does not express itself in upward prices, how then shall we define the effect of a decrease in productivity? How are the shades in economic cause and effect to be expressed if not in relation to these contrasts?

The fact is that by no possible calculation can increase in productive capacity find true expression in a mere all-around advance in prices; for if all prices were advanced in like proportion it would represent a shifting of nominal prices but no increase in real wages, wages measured in products—a result essential to the premise of increase in productivity. If the world's prices are to be regarded as differing only nominally it would convey the preposterous assumption that there was no difference in national productive capacities or in national welfare—that John Chinaman fared as well on his Chinese wages as did the American workman. It assumes that prices are proportional to wages, and therein lies the source of the error underlying all free trade doctrine, for wages, although incorporated in prices of commodities, advance in a greater ratio than the latter, the difference expressing the increase in productive capacity. For this reason the total advance is necessarily in a much greater degree than that of a simple ratio to the increased productive capacity, for prices of both wages and products must advance, the former in a higher ratio than the latter, until the difference between the two measures in purchasing power is the exact amount of the increase in productivity.

All standards of prices are thus an exaggerated expression of the differences of local productive capacity, and being thus exaggerated, are the more delusive in tempting interchange on the expectation of larger profits where, exchange being impossible, ultimate loss is inevitable. And this also explains the wide range in rise and fall of prices under the influence of favorable or unfavorable conditions as manifested in booming times and under depression. Our currency should therefore

express the same ratio toward the money of the world that prices governed by our standard of production bear toward the world's prices.

It is proper enough to measure our prices in terms of bullion when dealing with foreign trade, but it is madness to go on trading without regard to the fickleness of the bullion measure whose grain of gold will purchase ten times as much one place as another, each country's prices indicating a different standard of interpretation. It is as if a yard were to signify one hundred inches here and elsewhere ten, the difference accepted everywhere without challenge, because a yard must be a yard. Nothing short of a reduction of bullion to our standard of value can preserve our standard of production and give scope to our fullest productive capacity; and in order to accomplish this result it is only necessary to enforce the following simple acts:

1. Prohibit further sale of American stocks, bonds, or other properties to aliens or non-residents and permit no further loans from aliens.

2. Maintain a legal tender paper currency supported by equal deposits of gold and silver bullion, the market value of which shall equal that of the total volume of the currency so issued, and shall also be equal to the bullion value of the previous circulation to be supplanted on a basis redeemable in gold.

The first effect of these measures would be that as gold could no longer come over for investment, the immense shortage in trade balance would be checked, and inasmuch as many imports are imperative the importer would be obliged to secure the gold necessary for such purchases by bidding for it, thereby sending the precious metal to a premium, which, acting as a bounty on exports, would stimulate the latter until sufficient gold was imported to supply the demand for imports. In this manner larger imports would invariably be followed by larger exports, the increase in the one stimulating the other, like the Siamese twins, neither being able to travel very far alone. In this manner, as before alluded to, the difference between our own and the foreign standards of prices would be taken from the consumer of imported wares and transferred as a rebate to the producer of

exportable wares, compensating the latter for the lower standards at which he is obliged to sell abroad.

In inaugurating the system the current premium on gold could at first be deducted from the tariff paid on imports, and as soon as a settled premium was reached the custom-house could be dispensed with.

The wheat-raiser and cotton-grower would be compensated for the difference in standards through which they have hitherto been at a great loss, and even the manufacturer would now be able to compete in foreign markets in spite of higher wages. Nor would the wage-earner fail to share in the larger profits derived from a larger trade, for not only would we gain five hundred millions more in our foreign trade, but the home trade would be stimulated to the extent of an extra billion or two. Under no circumstances could our trade now be invaded, since every dollar going must return. Trade could never be so stubborn but that a balance would be enforced, every rise in premium making exports more possible and imports less possible. It would bring to bear upon the foreign market the test of scientific trade, and unless they were able to sell after reducing their prices to our standard by the addition of the premium it would clearly indicate, not only that it involved a loss through the fictitious valuation, but that the purchase was at best to be only partially reciprocated and was not based on a standard warranting genuine exchange.

That this plan would regulate trade more effectually than any system of tariffs, whether high or low, is obvious for a number of reasons, among them :

1. Its repulsion of imports and corresponding incentive to exports more accurately fit the purpose for which tariff barriers may justifiably be raised. It has a perfect control over the trade which tariffs alone do not have, and through this extraordinary control it affords a key to a more perfect monetary system.

2. It requires neither custom-house nor auxiliary institutions. There can be neither smuggling nor frauds in valuation, as the foreigner would see to get his gold and the importer could not avoid paying the premium in full.

3. It would bring the protective principle to bear upon foreign travel and foreign residence, compelling this class to disgorge the difference in standards for the benefit of the exporter who is obliged for want of sufficient home trade to seek a poorer foreign market. It would thus encourage more home travel and afford better business for the American hotels and resorts.

4. It would guard against the capricious withdrawal of our currency at the will of aliens who, by refusing for a time to reinvest their interest or dividends, or by calling in a very small fraction of their investments, are under the present system capable of so draining our currency as to provoke a panic at any time.

5. It would have the effect of reviving our merchant marine, for we would no longer be at a disadvantage in either constructing, manning, or supplying vessels, since the gold necessary abroad if converted to our currency would compensate the difference in prices. The inconsistency of tariffs, to sustain the American standard, being coupled with a gold basis to keep our measure of value on a level with the world's prices, has nowhere been more strikingly exemplified than in its effect upon our shipping.

6. It would obviate future difficulties liable to arise on the boundaries of British America and Mexico from smuggling, the temptation to which may be expected to increase as the vast sections exposed become more thickly settled. Complications in railroad competition with Canadian lines would also thus be obviated.

7. It would dispense with the empiric determination of tariff rates on thousands of articles and grades and qualities of merchandise too complicated to escape subsequent evasions and frauds. It would pursue the shifts of trade automatically, with the greatest precision and promptness, and in a manner that would be perfection compared with the best that might be expected from contending political parties and wrangling legislative bodies. Neither special treaties nor discriminations against other countries would be necessary, no industries would be favored, no extortion or blackmail levied. Congress could go on and

save half its time for other business. Our industries would be placed beyond the reach of tariff tinkering every other year and business would become more uniform. When the world's standards of value rose to our level the premium on gold would disappear and free trade would inaugurate itself without waiting upon empiric legislation.

8. Monopolies could no longer get their own products shielded by an excessive tariff for the purpose of extorting from the community, nor could they, by having certain tariffs reduced, attack industries whose products happened to be raw material to the monopolies. The premium barrier would operate alike on all industries, and the failure of any industry could then be attributed only to some intrinsic inferiority. In determining tariff rates it is almost impossible to avoid either in some degree fostering monopolies or else partially crippling, if not entirely destroying, some industries. We are always in danger of acting like the bear who, seeing a fly on the brow of his sleeping master, hurled a rock at the disturber, and not only succeeded in killing the fly, but his master also.

9. The system would also enable the practical application of financial autonomy in every state in the Union in a very simple manner, as shall be explained hereafter. By this means every state would become industrially free and independent, no section either owned by another or compelled against its will to fall into the clutches of debt. It is the height of folly to expect a strong union to grow if we sow that bitterest seed of dissension, sectionalism. To preserve the Union there should be no North, no South, no East, and no West. Every state, so far as practical and possible, must be made industrially independent, a perfect unit and equal of every other unit in the galaxy of states. If differences of standards exist between the various states there is no valid reason why the same protection should not be accorded them as the nation seeks against the sister nations of the world. If no such differences exist, and between the states in which equal standards prevailed, there would still remain in operation the same freedom of trade as now prevails between the states. The operation would not be a raising of

barriers, but a breaking down of barriers, providing they exist, and only in so far as they do exist.

The real war tariff that marked the most prosperous era in our history was in fact nothing else than the premium on gold that maintained a balance of trade and for a long time sustained the American standard of production and wages. This included, in addition to the regular tariff, a premium tariff on all imports, a premium tax on foreign travel, a tax on freights and fares in foreign bottoms, and a premium bounty on all exports. It first made its appearance after the abandonment of specie payments in 1862, and in 1864 had reached its maximum of 2.85, declining very little until foreign investments after the war brought over more gold, and thus gradually restricted its further operation. On the one side stocks and other properties were stimulated by the foreign investments, while the effect of these investments, by introducing large sums of gold and thereby rapidly reducing the premium tariff, destroyed the foundation of product values, in the same act remotely undermining the foundation of property values. Thus property prices were being stimulated, while the foundation of their values was being assailed, beginning the tension that finally ended in the panic of 1873.

Inflation was held responsible for everything, particularly the premium on gold, which seemed to discredit our currency, the latter by this standard having been at one time worth only thirty-five cents on the dollar, while bonds were bringing par. How of two kinds of unsecured paper, that carrying the additional obligation of interest, and not a legal tender for merchandise, should be worth so much more than that which was convertable in products at par, is not accounted for on the hypothesis of lack of confidence. If the premium were a matter purely of confidence in our currency, it is remarkable that the premium in 1873 and the years following was not advanced instead of sinking gradually, and that it should take thirteen years after the war was over for confidence to be restored; and, what is still more strange, that in all the years since, the premium has never returned, whereas our financial

condition during the latter period has been incomparably worse. Compare the financial record of the war with the succeeding thirty years. The great war debt was held almost entirely by our own people and it represented in the main American prices and not the dearer gold standard prices, whereas the peace debt is an inheritance of from ten to twelve billions of American properties in alien hands, drawing interest and dividends neither in gold nor in products but *in more properties*, the debt growing and growing, as it must ever continue to grow if we persist in maintaining a parity of currencies instead of a parity of values.

But for the extraordinary impetus acquired by our industries during and immediately after the war, it is very probable that the strain caused by rising property-values at the time product-values were doomed to fall, would long before the year 1873 have culminated in panic. Unfortunately, when the panic came the premium on gold was as high as 19⅛ per cent and further alien investments were to a large extent withheld while the premium started slowly downward, arriving at par in December, 1878, thus leading prices a downward course for six long years and holding enterprise in check, everybody waiting for prices to touch bottom. This reduction, it must be borne in mind, was far greater than a mere tariff reduction of nineteen per cent, for it represented a horizontal reduction of both tariff on imports, including free list, and bounty on exports, besides applying to foreign travel and numerous other similar expenditures. Contrasted with the panic of 1893 it bodes an early revival, the conditions governing each being at a total variance in relation to the period of duration. Had further alien investments been prohibited in 1873, it is evident the premium would again have risen, prices would have advanced, and the depression would have been dispelled as if by magic.

It may be well said that from the hour we determined upon specie resumption and maintenance of parity, we surrendered our industrial independence. It was clearly a most stupendous financial blunder due to a complete misapprehension as to what constituted the true standard of value.

The most costly weights will not prevent short-weight scales

from driving away trade. Weights do not go to the customer, nor does the cost of weights add to the value of that which is being weighed; and while the cost of weights is of minor concern, their number also is of less importance than is usually attributed to them, for the law of supply and demand as it affects the prices of merchandise scarcely affects the operation of weights. A few more may be handy at times, but a store full might become a great hindrance. Merchandise is produced but once, once consumed, and that ends it; but weights, whether of cheap or costly material, are employed many a thousand times, and between lying dormant or being rapidly plied their application has a wonderful latitude, and the same holds good of the counters of trade or money. There is, therefore, no functional advantage in money based wholly or partially on credit, the economy of such money over bullion representing less than one half of one per cent on production, too trifling to offset its inability to inspire that universal confidence wanted in a currency and the injury to mining interests, an abandonment of bullion would cause.

Economists have been in the habit of assuming that every purchase was an exchange because money was a commodity—or at least stood for a commodity—but in reality money is not money when it is a commodity. Even a pig would not be a commodity if held with a view, not of being consumed, but of being used as a medium for getting some other desirable object. In being consumed lies the difference between products and alien-owned properties. The former are annihilated; the latter represent money loaned, or, more accurately described, a record of surplus production applied as a basis for drawing perpetual tribute. No candid thinker will contend that the substitution of product-purchases with property-purchases is effecting honorable or ultimate exchange, and the mere fact that money was the medium employed in the transaction could dignify the imposition as a real exchange.

In inaugurating the proposed system the new currency would be issued in purchase of gold and silver bullion in equal proportions and steps at the same time taken to convert the existing

currency into the new form, redeeming it on a gold basis. Whatever deficiency there afterwards was in the bullion necessary to transform the full amount of the former currency would be raised by taxation, the funds raised being applied to the purchase of bullion with which to make up for that portion of the former currency represented by credit.

The volume of currency could at any time be enlarged by simply issuing notes in purchase of more bullion for deposit; it could be at any time contracted by selling bullion and canceling the notes received in return.

The currency would be redeemable in the open market for gold or silver or any other commodity at market price, governed by our relation to foreign trade. If it varied in purchasing power it would only be like all other money and like the commodities it stood for; no more, no less. It would be supported by full value deposits of bullion subject to distribution among the holders of the currency whenever a change of government or change in financial system no longer required its use; and in the meanwhile it would be protected as legal tender in payment of all debts.

This currency would be completely under our control, subject to contraction or expansion at will, and supported by such ample security as would banish all mistrust. Our ability to so control our supply of bullion would be due to our absolute control over trade, for when we purchased more bullion for such deposits it would raise the premium on gold and silver and force a trade balance favorable to us to the extent of the amount of the purchases. There would not be the slightest tinge of credit in the scheme. In the event of war, besides our greater control over the gold supply, we would have enormous deposits of the precious metals to draw on which could afterwards be replaced.

We would thus have practical bimetallism, using both metals equally in the currency, and in no manner be discriminating against either. Our obligation to silver would be fulfilled in raising it as an export article on a level with other exports supported by the proper bounty.

A similar system of protective currency, legal tender only in

the state for which it was issued, could be applied to individual states, the money being issued in purchase of national currency, the latter to be reserved as security for it. If in addition further investment from other states were prohibited, each state would have a permanent currency of uniform volume, no longer depending on the whims of outside investors for its return to place as a circulating medium. Flooded circulation, booming things for a year or two, followed by longer periods of depression and scarcity is not the most desirable condition. A defective system, draining both trade and currency in a most capricious manner, would be supplanted by a steady and reliable currency and a better distribution of local manufacturing. The East would gain in a vast ocean and export trade, while the South and West would add materially to their local manufacturing, besides obtaining better prices for their agricultural products.

The most rigid of all currencies attached to a reliable and uniform trade would be more elastic than any possible currency associated with an erratic trade. Greater elasticity if desired could be acquired by authorizing states and municipalities in issuing future bonds, to do so in smaller denominations with a local legal tender function for face value with interest due to the last quarter expired. These would be held as investments, and would only be called to act as currency under extraordinary emergencies, retiring as currency as soon as the occasion for their use as such was over.

Local derangements due to short crops or other failures would adjust themselves automatically, the shorter trade balance raising the premium on national currency, thereby protecting the farmers' prices, stimulating greater sales of manufactures abroad, and favoring consumption of home products. The loss would thus be diffused while the state would emerge the following year unhampered by debt, the loss confined to the minimum instead of being allowed to acquire a cumulative growth.

America cannot afford to hold herself liable to repeated panics and depressions without end, nor to plunge deeper into the meshes of that form of national debt—alien ownership—which by its insidious process is capable of converting our country

into a mere tributary province; neither is it safe to permit the breach in trade balance to go on widening until it finally leaves the tariff but an artificial bulwark—a mere toy for political talk.

Are we to reject free trade only when it approaches as free purchase of foreign products and to accept it under the guise of free sale of American properties to aliens—a practice inseparable from the same free and excessive purchases of foreign products? Is it only the name of protection we desire and only the name of free trade we dread? Is it only the name of independence we cherish while crouching in abject terror lest a few aliens withdraw their investments—while permitting the shackles of tribute to be fastened upon future generations? No wonder money has been called the root of evil when luring men into debt and dependence and betraying them by false measurements of value!

We have already discovered our incapacity to maintain gold and silver at a parity, and it remains for us to learn the still greater lesson of the impossibility of maintaining gold standard prices on a parity with true American values unless at the expense of other generations and the peril of American liberty.

We may as well battle against the law of gravity as by human law seek to maintain a parity of standards that are irrevocably at variance. The laws of finance are the laws of mathematics: they are a part of the fixed conditions of life—something higher than all human laws, and we might as well by law declare two and three to be equal, expecting calculations on that basis to yield reliable results, as to enforce a theory of parity of moneys against the universal disparity in standards of value.

We have before us a career of prosperity outshining the most brilliant era known to history. Guided by reason it is practically within our grasp. It remains only for us to choose whether to worship the golden calf or the living God that rules in the universe—whether gold or the function of money is to sit on the throne of finance; whether the ryot and coolie of India are to measure the ultimate standard of our living and our liberty, or whether the highest possibilities of an unrestricted progress shall be ours.

FRANK ROSEWATER.

SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY.*

BY CLARK BELL, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF THE MEDICO-LEGAL CONGRESS, NEW YORK.

THAT public interest in sociologic studies is on the increase in our day cannot be questioned. We may recognize its hold on popular thought, by remarking that in the present Congress more papers are contributed to the Department of Sociology and Criminology than to any other. This is not in my opinion the result of chance, but is due to the increasing interest manifested in the world of thought in this domain of scientific investigation.

Especial stimulus has been given to the study of criminology by Lombroso's writings, and others of his school.

Enricco Ferri has touched it with his brilliant lance. Herman Kornfeld, Morris Benedikt, Kraft Ebbing, Morel, Le Grand du Saulle, Brierre du Bois Mont, and Prosper Depine on the Continent; Havelock Ellis, W. W. Ireland, Pritchard, Thomson, Dr. Nicholson, and W. Douglass Morrison in Great Britain, and many other writers of distinction, have illumined its importance. The International Congress of Penal Law attracted twice many great names from all the world to this subject.

It is not crime alone that we study now, with method of punishment, sentences, prisons, and their management, including discipline and corporal punishment in prisons, all the offenses and the modifications in penal statutes, but we are coming to study more the criminal himself, his characteristics, degeneracy, heredity, and above all environment.

Are punishments for crime, as defined in our penal statutes, really deterrent? Has the state the moral right to inflict punishment in any retaliatory spirit, as is now oftentimes the basis of penal statutes? and if experience demonstrates that

* From advance sheets of the *Medico-Legal Journal*.

excessive or prescribed forms of punishment do not act in fact as a deterrent in diminishing crime, should we not consider with greater care what modifications are proper to reach the end desired, besides the protection of society, a perceptible decrease in the volume of crime?

The lesson of the repeal of long lists of capital offenses in Great Britain, since the day when sheep stealing was a capital offense, must not be lost. Severity of punishment does not appear to operate as a deterrent. It seems to be true that the fear of the scaffold rarely deters the murderer.

Crime seems in the ocean of humanity to be the sum of social causes, which, like great rivers, flow toward and empty into it. Its Amazon is, no doubt, alcoholic stimulants, which more than all other causes combined constitute the inevitable, terrible, irresistible scourge of the race. In its currents, tides, and eddies are insanity, epilepsy, and physical degeneracy, not always in the parent, but more certain in the offspring. Its movements run like the blood of man into the veins and lives of children's children, with a taint as terrible as that of leprosy or syphilis.

The burdens to the state for the care of the insane in the rural districts or counties, notably in an agricultural county like Yates, where I reside in the summer, in this year of grace is actually greater than the cost of the schools, and almost equal to the entire other expense of the state government including the canals.

When will we have the courage to look this awful question squarely in the face, and decrease the volume of crime, not by penal laws for the punishment of the criminal (often the victim of his birth and environment), but by striking at and repressing the cause?

The recognized defects in our penal laws, especially in Great Britain, the United States, and many of the continental states, may be summarized as follows:

1. The principle of equality of sentences, as to their duration as now existing, is erroneous and vicious in its fundamental principles.

2. It is wrong to make arbitrary punishments for the same offenses against all offenders alike.

3. Criminal laws must be so framed as to meet the social conditions of the criminal classes.

Laws based upon the social conditions of men in the ordinary walks of life fail. They should rather be aimed at the social life and condition of the criminal classes. I quite agree with W. Douglass Morrison of the Wandsworth Prison in England, when he asserts that: "The criminal is a product of anomalous biologic conditions, as well as adverse circumstances."

4. Some plan should be devised in the administration of punishments to offenders, under which the principle of determinate sentences should be applicable to the individual condition of the offender. For example: (*a*) the same offense should not receive the same punishment in all cases, as for example, when committed by an adult, or a child, or a youthful offender; (*b*) the difference in punishment for the same offense by a man and by a woman should be rather to *the* man and *the* woman.

5. We must consider whether Bentham was right in insisting that we should, in adjusting our methods of punishment, look as much to the nature and condition of the offender as to the nature of the offense. Much of the failure of our present system as a protection to society is unquestionably due to our ignoring this fundamental law in our present penal statutes and punishment of criminals.

Mr. Morrison strikes at an important principle, that we should place our prisons on the same basis as the penal laws. That prisons should reach the causes and conditions which produce the criminal, and the penal statutes be placed on the same plane.

CLARK BELL.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—The Woman's Health Association is making vigorous efforts to correct the evils of the contract system under which incompetency in the public service is a menace to the health and general welfare of citizens, and a source of great waste in expenditures.

IOWA.—The Iowa law which prohibits the sale or gift of tobacco to minors under sixteen years of age, placed upon the statute books almost entirely through Christian Endeavor agencies, is being enforced with excellent results. Many societies have had copies of the bill posted conspicuously in hotels and stores.

KANSAS.—Public morals have already been obviously benefited by the recent laws which make gambling a felony, and have driven lotteries out of the state.

NEW YORK: *Syracuse.*—The Christian Endeavor Union some time ago adopted resolutions denouncing the penny-in-the-slot gambling machines, gambling houses, etc., and within a month the mayor suppressed the machines, and the gamblers are now raided and fined as never before.

NEW JERSEY: *Newark.*—The local Christian Endeavor Union has been thoroughly organized on good citizenship lines, and has done excellent work for the better government of the city.

RHODE ISLAND: *Providence.*—Rev. C. A. L. Richards, D.D., on a recent Sabbath spoke earnestly upon the vital civic problems of the day, and the solemn responsibilities of Christian men in the matter of their solution.

TENNESSEE: *Chattanooga.*—Note is made of the progress of municipal reform in this city in reference to its mayor, Hon. G. W. Ochs, on another page.

ILLINOIS.—The Christian Endeavorers of this state are making a strong fight for no license under the state local option laws. In many communities the fight has been successful, partly through the efforts of

Endeavorers. The "Humphrey Bill," a measure in the interests of the race track gamblers, passed the Illinois senate, but was snowed under in the house by petitions and letters to the individual members from all parts of the state, mostly the work of Christian Endeavorers. At Champagne, Ill., they prepared a bill for the legislature prohibiting saloons within four miles of any state educational institution, and petitions were circulated through the entire state in its favor.

INDIANA.—The Nicholson Bill, passed by the last legislature, largely through the efforts of Christian Endeavorers, has already greatly restricted the sale of intoxicants.

CALIFORNIA.—In cities throughout this state Christian societies have taken a stand against open saloons on Sunday, and are waging a vigorous battle.

CONNECTICUT: *Middletown.—The Citizen*, the excellent good government organ established by the Citizens' League, reports unabated interest in the work which it so well represents.

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FREE INSTRUCTION IN CIVICS.—A free evening class in civics was organized at the Cooper Union, New York, November 19, for the study of American ways of government and American political history, as well as the consideration of the public questions of the day—questions of foreign and domestic policy, of labor and capital, popular education, excise, etc. An hour is to be devoted to the lecture and its free discussion, and a half-hour to class-room work on the text-book. The class is in charge of Prof. A. B. Woodford, of the faculty of the American Institute of Civics, and lecturer in the School of Pedagogy of the University of the City of New York.

The large enrollment of members gives assurance that it will be highly successful and useful.

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HARTFORD SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY.—The announcement of this school for the second year presents a most attractive program, so extended as to forbid more than a mention of it here. It will be of interest not only to prospective attendants of the school, but many others, and copies can be secured by addressing Dr. Chester D. Hartranft, president, Hartford, Conn.

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A CHURCH CIVICS CLUB.—Rev. C. P. Williams, pastor, has organized in connection with the Capitol Hill Baptist Church, of Denver, a club for the study of civics. Meetings are held monthly, and THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS and Fiske's "Civil Government," among other books and periodicals, will be used as helps for study and discussion. Once in two months a meeting will be held on Sunday under the club's auspices, for the popular discussion of the burning questions of the day. "This," says Mr. Williams, "is good Sunday work. It is the proclaiming of Jesus Christ as the Savior of the nation as well as of the individual."

The plan of the Sunday Institute of Civics, elsewhere presented, is to be in part realized under Mr. Williams' plans.

The Christian men and women who regard the words so often displayed in conspicuous places, "Our country for Christ," as something more than a high-sounding phrase, will find in Mr. Williams' words, and the Sunday movements inaugurated in Vineland and Denver, something worthy of serious thought. A thousand Sunday Institutes of Civics in as many places would have irresistible influence in making the high principles set forth in the teachings of Christ effective in their influence upon political, business, and social life.

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CIVICS IN GENERAL.

ADVANCE OF MUNICIPAL REFORM.—The movement for purity in municipal government, says the *Washington Star*, is growing in strength. There is on all sides a tendency to divorce municipal questions from general political management and this eventually commands the attention and respect of the intelligent voter, who can but realize that the conditions that surround him daily are far more important than those that affect him only indirectly. There is not a city, of whatever size, that is not annually divided in opinion on some matter of municipal housekeeping, which should be plainly submitted to a vote, regardless of other considerations. Divorce these issues from "politics," head the tickets by the known advocates of the questions in point, regardless of their former party affiliations, and the people can vote intelligently, with less chance of being buncoed into accepting something they know they do not want. In New York a constitutional amendment, to take effect in 1897, separates city from state and national elections. It is expected that this will result in a material improvement in the character of the governments of cities by limiting the attention of citizens to the real, local issues.

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UTAH'S SUFFRAGE LIMITATION.—A noteworthy feature of the constitution of this new state is a provision giving the right to vote on measures which involve the incurring of public debts to taxpaying citizens only. "Here," says the *Jacksonville Citizen*, "is an example of a return to first principles. A property qualification for voters existed in all of the original states, and in several of them a piety qualification; also a man was obliged to show that he was a property holder and paid taxes, and sometimes that he professed the orthodox religion, with all that the term implies, before he could be recognized as an elector. In those old days only freeholders could hold office. A poll tax was levied in all of the states.

"That this restriction is right and just seems obvious. The fathers of the republic declared that 'taxation and representation are one and inseparable,' and engaged in war with the mother country in defense of this principle. If 'taxation and representation are one and inseparable,' the inference is that no representation of non-taxpayers should be allowed at an election to determine whether a state or any political part

thereof should contract indebtedness. Taxpayers are obliged to pay the interest and principal of all bonds issued by any political organization, and common justice seems to declare that taxpayers alone should determine respecting the issue of such bonds.

"The municipal indebtedness of New York, Chicago, and other cities is enormous because electors who pay no taxes, never did pay any, and never expect to pay any, voted to incur it. People who pay no taxes can always be relied upon to vote for the issue of bonds. They are encouraged to do so by the prospect that the expenditure of the money derived from the sale of the bonds will make business lively and times good. Nothing is more in accordance with human nature and selfishness than for an elector who pays no taxes to vote for a bond issue. A pleasant pastime is afforded him that costs him nothing, and he knows that it never will cost him anything. In a precinct of a city where not a voter lives in his own house, a solid vote for a large bond issue can always be secured. These voters are as willing that property-holders should spend their money as Artemus Ward was to sacrifice his wife's relations in order to save the Union. Utah has acted wisely."

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THE "OVERPRODUCTION" FALLACY.—On this subject the *Boston Herald* says:

"Whenever times are 'hard' there are those who insist that the reason why goods remain unsold and markets glutted is that the supply of products exceeds the requirements of the people, and that the quickest way to bring about better times is to stop or lessen production.

"If overproduction were really the cause of depressed business conditions the obvious remedy would be less production. But this proposed remedy is predicted on a wrong diagnosis of the disease. It is not a case of overproduction, but one of underconsumption. Whenever the warehouses are filled with agricultural products and the stores with goods for which there is no adequate demand, it is not because everybody is supplied with the comforts, or with even the bare necessities of life. It is because of the inability of most people to purchase what they want and need. Man's legitimate wants are never fully supplied. Instead of there being too much wealth produced, there is not half enough. There never was half enough, and there is no probability of there ever being a sufficiency, much less an unneeded surplus.

"An equitable plan for the production and distribution of wealth is the problem to be solved. When that is solved there will never be even the appearance of overproduction.

"The 'more-money' man insists that the inability of the people to supply themselves with what they want results from an inadequate supply of money by the government. This is another fallacy growing out of the overproduction theory. If the circulating medium were to be immediately quadrupled money would circulate only as those who wanted money had something to exchange for it, in order to exchange the money itself for some kind of labor products which would minister to their wants. Lack of opportunity to earn money is the underlying

cause of 'labor troubles' and business depressions. Nature has provided the requisite resources, but the greed of a few has shut out the many.

"When all have an equal chance at nature's storehouse wealth production will be easy, labor will receive all it earns, money will circulate among the many instead of being hoarded by the few, and the cry of overproduction will cease to be heard."

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GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH.—The results following government control of the telegraph in Great Britain are summarized by the *New Orleans States* as follows:

"On Jan. 29, 1875, all the telegraphs in the United Kingdom were acquired by the government from the corporations which had previously operated them, and thenceforward became an integral part of the post-office. The English people owed this measure to Mr. Gladstone, who bore down all opposition from the companies, which were making big profits. Till then the districts paying best had ample service, though at high rates, while whole sections off the lines of railway were destitute of telegraphic facilities. The government at once extended the telegraph to all sections and reduced the rate to one cent a word. In 1870, under private ownership, 7,000,000 individual messages and 22,000,000 words of press dispatches were annually sent. Now that the telegraph is operated by the post-office the annual number of individual messages sent is 70,000,000 and over 600,000,000 words of press dispatches are used.

"Every weekly country paper can afford to print the latest telegraphic dispatches as it goes to press, and a telegraph or telephone is at every country post-office. In London the telegraph has largely superseded the mail for all the small and necessary details of life.

"The average telegraph rate charged in this country, by the reports to Congress, is thirty-one cents per message—three times the average rate in all other countries under post-office telegraph service; and it is claimed that our government could probably afford, with the vast increase of business, a uniform rate of five cents, as the average cost of a message is about three cents."

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TAXING CORPORATIONS.—The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* heartily commends the action of Judge Scott and Mr. Sturgeon, members of the Illinois State Board of Equalization, in their condemnation of the law exempting the capital stock of certain corporations from assessment and taxation, and says they are doing the people service in making it an issue.

"The laws of Illinois," it adds, "specifically exempt from assessment the capital stock of newspaper corporations, manufactories, coal mines, and corporations formed to breed and improve live stock. Why should there be any such exemptions? All corporations having in view the making of profit should stand upon the same footing, as they are made to stand in Missouri. Newspapers may be educators, as Mr. Works

gravely argued, but the corporations owning them are organized for business purposes, and are as much subject to taxation as any farm or bank. Manufactories are not started to build up communities, or to furnish work to the unemployed, or to distribute profit among the poor. Their purpose is to make all the money they possibly can, and to tax the people whatever they will stand in the way of consumption. Coal mines and the breeding of live stock are in precisely the same position, lacking in all particulars the essential elements of purely philanthropic institutions.

"Every consideration of equity and fairness demands that the capital stock of all corporations formed for manufacturing or business purposes of any kind shall be subject to taxation equally with farm lands. In fact, arguments have been made to prove that the corporations should support the state government and the tax on lands be abolished. This is actually done in Pennsylvania, where the income from corporations pays for everything and the farmers are regarded as the real philanthropists. The Pennsylvanians may be carrying the idea to an extreme, but that state is an old one, and cannot well be accused of entertaining populistic or socialistic notions."

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THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFEDERACY.—The request of a reader of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS for information as to the new confederacy in South America, is answered as follows:

Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador have formed a triple alliance, and the way has been left open for Costa Rica and Guatemala to come in. In the event of the admission of the two latter countries, of which there appears to be no doubt, the confederation will be called the Republic of Central America. There will be a central congress or parliament to manage the joint interests of the several countries, but it will have no power over their internal affairs. One of the important functions of the confederations is to take cognizance of all controversies with foreign countries affecting any of the republics in the alliance, and it will also settle disputes arising between the republics. If the confederation is wisely governed, it is destined to be an important power.

The defensive strength given to the South American republics by such federation may be expected, in time, to deprive the "Monroe Doctrine" of its chief significance.

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MINORITY REPRESENTATION.—Under a new law in Pennsylvania providing for the election of seven judges of a superior court, it is provided that no voter shall vote for more than six of the nominees. The minority vote thus elects one of the seven judges, which gives a limited but significant approval to the principle of minority representation.

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FRANCHISE PAYMENTS IN TORONTO.—The street-car lines of Toronto pay the city $800 a year for each mile of track, besides eight per cent on the first million of gross receipts and twenty per cent on all receipts

above three millions. Their fare is only four cents for grown persons, and they give a half rate to all who attend school, irrespective of age. This, says the New York *World*, looks like the millenial reform which will come in some other cities when they get honest politics and common-sense administration.

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PHILADELPHIA CIVIC CLUB.—The Civic Club of this city is pushing for the election of women as school directors, and the move deserves to be hailed as an important part of the battle all along the line for better municipal government. The women have done good work in the matter of cleaning the highways, and they might do still better service in driving politics out of the public schools.—*Philadelphia Record.*

The *Philadelphia Times* pays a high tribute to the intelligence and public spirit of the members of the Civic Club, and heartily indorses the plan that they suggest as to having women representatives on the school boards of the city.

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REFORM IN THE TEMPLE OF JUSTICE.—Judge J. L. L. McCall, of Weathersford, Texas, in a vigorous letter to the *Galveston News*, urges the need of "reform in the temple of justice." "The census reports," he says, "show about one person in every 700 of the population of his country in prison for crime. Forty or fifty years ago it was about one in every 8,800 of the population, and the increase is still going on. The glaring fact is patent everywhere that crime is on the increase. This one in every 700 by no means represents all the criminals of the country; not half of these are punished; possibly one third would be nearer the truth, and two thirds go scot free, and the bigger the crime the more likely the criminal to be acquitted."

The remedies suggested are as follows:

"In the first place I would repeal all laws allowing appeals in misdemeanor cases. Appeals in such cases have become a veritable nuisance. The fact is a verdict of a jury in a justice's court or county court, or a judgment of a justice of the peace or county court is much more to be relied upon to mete out justice than the judgment of an appellate court, hedged in, as they claim to be, by technical restrictions. In the next place, I would, if it be necessary, call a convention and insert in the constitution a provision that appellate courts should not be controlled in their decision by mere technical forms or requirements. If the justice of the case has been reached in the trial below it should be affirmed. I have been a practicing lawyer for fifty-one years and I have never seen the sense of requiring an indictment to commence 'In the name and by the authority of the state of Texas,' or its conclusion, 'Against the peace and dignity of the state.' I would go further, I would abolish the court of appeals and place enough judges on the supreme bench to transact the business of appeals, and to this end I would resist the right of appeal in civil cases to amounts above $500. We have too many courts. As they are now organized they cross and

recross one another in their decisions. Let us have more certainty, uniformity, and universal enforcement of the law."

The *News* adds: "This movement for a more prompt and certain enforcement of the laws is not a matter of what is conventionally known as politics. It is a matter of good citizenship, civil advancement, and safety upon which all patriotic people should unite."

In the same connection the New York *World* says:

"The prevalence of murder not alone in New York City but throughout the entire state, should be a sufficient warning to the legislature to amend the law of appeal in murder cases. As the law stands now no murderer is likely to be executed within two years after the commission of his crime. There can be no doubt that this practical defiance of justice is a potent influence with the criminal classes, adding as it does to their numerous chances of escape. If it were known that conviction meant electrocution after a reasonable delay, it is safe to say that murders would be less frequent."

The Lynchburg (Va.) *News* declares:

"The same complaint can be justly made against the murder laws of all the states, and especially of Virginia. Our laws, or rather the enforcement of them, is as deficient as almost anywhere else. The most heinous cases of murder can be, and frequently are, run through the treadmills of the courts for months and sometimes even for years, before justice is reached, and sometimes it is not reached at all, because of these delays of the law.

"We are pleased to see what Judge Thomas M. Cooley, one of the ablest jurists in the country, has to say in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS upon the responsibility of lawyers in dealing with criminal cases."

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

ACTIVITIES OF ITS MEMBERS.—Melville Weston Fuller, LL.D. As the frontispiece of this issue of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, we present the portrait of the present distinguished chief justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Chief Justice Fuller, like many of his predecessors in office, traces his ancestry to the sturdy yeomanry of the early New England days. He was born in Augusta, Me., February 11, 1833. He pursued his collegiate studies at Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1853, and afterward studied law in Augusta, where he was also engaged in the practice of law until 1855. During his stay in Augusta, he was for a time editor of *The Age*, a position in which he displayed marked abilities as a journalist; and was also elected president of the common council, and later city attorney. He resigned these offices in 1856, in which year he removed to Chicago, where he at once achieved remarkable success, and soon rose to the highest rank in his profession. In 1862 he was a member of the Illinois Constitutional Convention, and was a member of the lower branch of the state legislature from 1863 to 1865. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of

1864, 1872, 1876, and 1880. In 1888 he was nominated by President Cleveland as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, and the choice of the president having been confirmed by the United States Senate, he entered upon the discharge of his duties October 8 of the same year. During the seven years in which he has presided over the deliberations of the Supreme Court, he has manifested in the discharge of his duties on all occasions qualities in every respect worthy of his position as the presiding officer of the highest court of the United States.

In person, Chief Justice Fuller is somewhat below the average stature, and of slender build. He is quick and alert in action and possesses an unusual degree of nervous energy. In his social relations, he is wholly free from affectation, enjoys the affectionate regard of those who are admitted to his intimacy, and the high esteem of all who are brought within the circle of his acquaintance.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Bowdoin College, Northwestern University, and Harvard University.

Chief Justice Fuller has a deep interest in whatever is calculated to promote the highest interests of American institutions, and succeeded the late Chief Justice Waite as a trustee of the American Institute of Civics.

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PRESIDENT C. K. ADAMS, of the University of Wisconsin, was chairman of the committee on awards in the department of liberal arts and education at the Atlanta Exposition, his special work being in connection with the section of higher education.

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DR. AMOS P. WILDER, of the University of Wisconsin Extension staff, is at present giving University Extension lectures every evening in the week on "City Problems and Government," in a circuit of six towns, Appleton, Clintonville, Antigo, Rhinelander, Merrill, and Marshfield.

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PROF. RICHARD T. ELY'S "Outlines of Economics" has been printed in raised characters for the use of the blind. This is probably the only text-book on economics in the English language that has received this distinction. In raised characters the little volume makes two large volumes, each larger than a Webster's Unabridged Dictionary.

The following works by Prof. Ely have been translated into Japanese: "The Past and the Present of Political Economy," "Introduction to Political Economy," and "Taxation in American States and Cities." Few Americans have exercised a greater influence in Japan.

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PROF. E. W. BEMIS has just completed a course of ten lectures on "Money" at the University of Wisconsin. The lectures have aroused much interest among the students, and the attendance throughout the course has been large.

HON. GEO. W. OCHS, mayor of Chattanooga, honorably represents the Institute in that city. Attention has been called to his election on a reform ticket, and to the excellent results of his administration in these pages. His last annual report, just published, is an encouraging evidence of the results of wisdom at the polls in the selection of able and honest men for places of high trust. Corruption, extravagance, lawlessness, all of the evils of municipal misrule, have been reduced to the minimum under Mr. Ochs' fearless application of sound business principles in public affairs.

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A. L. BLAIR, of the editorial staff of the *Boston Journal*, delivered one of the most acceptable addresses at the late Parliament of Man in Boston, on "Aids to Good Citizenship." It was published in the *Boston Journal*, issue of October 25. One of his utterances, worthy of emphasis, is as follows: "The Sunday-school is the place in which to make good citizens. It is at the mother's knee and at the teacher's table where the most lasting impressions are made."

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GEN. STEWART L. WOODFORD was one of the principal speakers at a "Civic Service" held in connection with the dedication of the great Baptist Tabernacle in Brooklyn, December 2. The keynote of his address is found in the declaration that "the first duty of man is to love God; faith in God is essential to faith in man; our civilization rests primarily and permanently on our religion."

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REV. R. S. MACARTHUR, D.D., also a councilor of the Institute, followed General Woodford, declaring that "the purity of the political pool depended upon the activity of the church. A citizen who did not do his full duty here because of fear of political contamination, would never see another world half as good as this. Let men prove their loyalty, and the purity of their American patriotism by exercising their right of suffrage in the proper direction. If a religion could not withstand the clash of politics, then the religion must be a poor one. The pulpit must stand for the purity of the ballot-box. The man who strikes a blow at it, strikes a blow at the very foundation of the republic. The indifference shown regarding elections by the so-called respectable person, who usually spent election day out of town, had caused him more uneasiness than the vile machinations of the open foe. From the Lord's standpoint there was as much sacredness in the ballot as in the water of baptism or the table of communion.

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PROF. H. H. SPAYD, principal of public schools, Minersville, Pa., performed excellent service as a councilor of the Institute of Civics, by presenting an able and interesting statement of its objects in a recent address before the Schuylkill County Teachers' Association. It was his purpose to interest advocators in more earnest efforts to promote its aims in connection with the work of the schools, and his success was

most encouraging. The address was reprinted in the Pottsville *Republican*.

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PROF. A. B. WOODFORD, Ph.D., of the faculty of the Institute of Civics, in addition to his duties as instructor in the New York School of Social Economics, has been appointed one of the lecturers on pedagogics in the University of the City of New York. As noted elsewhere, he is also director of the New York Evening School of Civics at Cooper Union.

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REV. GEORGE W. HOLLAND, D.D., president of Newberry College, and an associate member of the Institute's faculty, died recently at the age of fifty-seven. The educational interests of South Carolina have suffered a great loss by his untimely death.

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PROF. W. O. ATWATER, of Wesleyan University, is greatly encouraged by the success which has attended the work of the college "Citizenship Club," which is devoted to practical work in civics. The club has recently been addressed by Dr. Josiah Strong and Bishop J. H. Vincent, members of the Institute of Civics, and by Postmaster-General Wilson.

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INSTRUCTORS IN SOCIOLOGY.—The following members of the Institute of Civics are to give instruction at the Hartford (Conn.) School of Sociology during the coming year: Profs. John Bascom, LL.D., of Williams College; George G. Wilson, Ph.D., of Brown University; Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D., late of the University of Chicago; W. O. Atwater, Wesleyan University; John R. Commons, Indiana University; Edward T. Devine, Pennsylvania University; and L. M. Keasbey, Bryn Mawr College.

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REV. DR. MARTIN D. KNEELAND, of the Roxbury Presbyterian Church, Boston, has resigned his pastorate in order to give all of his time to his work as secretary of the New England Sabbath Protective League.

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SUNDAY INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.—The Institute's members in Vineland, N. J., have entered upon what promises to be a most useful educational undertaking in that city, as outlined in the following prospectus:

"The name of this society is the Sunday Institute of Civics.

"The purpose is to conduct meetings on Sunday afternoons, in which the principles of Christian civics, the duties of citizenship, and the wants of the country and community in the line of practical morality and ethics, shall be elucidated; and

"To make these meetings occasions of instruction in the principles set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

"The officers of the society are those usually recognized.

"Membership:—There shall be no religious, national, color, sex,

creed, property, or other qualifications necessary for membership aside from being a citizen of the United States. All are cordially invited.

"Meeting every Sunday afternoon at 3.00 o'clock, in Floral Hall."

Dr. T. M. Braidwood, one of the most active of the Institute's Vineland councilors, is president. The results of this unique undertaking will be watched with interest, and may point the way to similar efforts in other cities. Most certainly the obligations of the Christian to carry the principles of Christianity into all of his relations as a citizen are of paramount importance. The duties he owes to his country, the municipality, and to society generally, are a part of the duties he owes to God. Can an hour on Sunday afternoons be more profitably employed than by undenominational assemblies devoted to the serious consideration of these high duties, and to addresses and discussions calculated to awaken, and give to the spirit of Christian patriotism, the salutary power which it may and ought to exercise in the civic affairs of every community?

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ENCOURAGING WORDS.—"I wish to express my hearty correspondence with the principles of your institution. I believe that 'through good citizenship, from first to last, lies the way to good government.' But I am sorry to not be able to do very much to enforce the good principles because I cannot easily enough treat the American language; and also the most of my time is occupied among my poor countrymen, the Swedes, to bring them that Gospel which I believe is the very best way to make them good citizens. My little contribution of three dollars to the Institute's expense fund, I enclose with great pleasure."—(*Rev.*) *K. Erixon, pastor Swedish Evangelical Church, New York City.*

"I am in hearty sympathy with this work, and from the appearance of things in our country to-day, I think there is nothing more needed. I deem it a privilege to become a member of the Institute."—*T. B. Southall, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Ill.*

"I hope for the coming year to be able to work for the cause as well as for the principles of the American Institute of Civics. The magazine meets with great favor among several of my friends. I wish you a bright year in your work."—*Royal H. Holbrook, Cedar Rapids, Ia.*

"I will do all in my power to coöperate in its noble principles."—*A. S. Downing, supervisor of Teachers' Institutes and Teachers' Training Classes, Department of Public Instruction, Albany, N. Y.*

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CIVICS. Among articles in the field of civics which have appeared in periodicals or pamphlets of recent issue, are the following:

THE UNWRITTEN LAW AGAINST THIRD TERMS: A Summary of Views.—*Literary Digest*, New York, October 19.——SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY. By Clark Bell.—Institute of Civics Department of *Public Opinion*, November 7.——TYPES OF REFORMERS: THE ICONO-

CLAST.—*Locomotive Fireman's Magazine*, Peoria, Ill., December.—— A GOVERNMENT BANK OF ISSUE; The Wool Industry; Gold the Ideal Standard; The Monroe Doctrine.—*Literary Digest*, New York, October 26.—— CHARACTER BUILDING.—*The Volante*, Vermillion, S. D., September.——THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A Lawyer's View—Yale Law School address by Henry B. Brown, LL.D.—Hoggson & Robison, New Haven, Conn.——ANNUAL ADDRESS of Hon. W. H. Taft, before the American Bar Association.—*Michigan Law Journal*, September.——UNIFORMITY OF LEGISLATION, by W. E. Cushing.—*Western Reserve Law Journal*, October.——INTERNATIONAL LAW: The United States and the Cuban Revolution.—*Chicago Law Journal*, October.——INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION. Seventh Annual Report on Railways in the United States.—Washington, Government Printing Office.——THE STAMP ACT. American History Leaflets No. 21.—A. Lovell & Co., New York.——DEAR DOLLARS AND CHEAP COMMODITIES. 25 cents.—S. C. McCormick, Ennis, Tenn.——KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Ninth Biennial Report.—Topeka, Kansas.—— AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND THE A. P. A. A Protestant's defense of his Catholic fellow-citizens. 25 cents.—Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.—— SOURCES OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM. By Prof. Wm. C. Money (A. I. C.). An article of unusual value.——REPRESENTATION IN NEW ENGLAND LEGISLATURES, G. H. Haynes.—*Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September.——PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY AND THE STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY.—*Social Economist*, New York, September.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

CHARACTER-FORMING SCHOOLS. — We elect officials to confine our criminals, to administer our criminal laws. Why not go one step further and elect or select officials to prevent the growth of crime, to limit the spread of vice, and clothe these officials with all necessary authority to enforce obedience where the public welfare is concerned. Practical men experienced in the study of crime and the criminal, and in the theoretical and practical work of reforming the criminal and preventing crime, of changing the moral nature of the vicious, tell us that with the aid of a thoroughly organized, systematic effort on the part of the capable, the intelligent, all vice, *all crime*, could be stamped out of our country in three generations. Again, it is estimated that for every ten years' loss of time in prison, or in poor-house, or in hospital, the community is $5,000 poorer per shut-in individual, through lost productiveness, and in expenses incurred.

To form character, not to reform the individual, should be the most profitable investment for the community. Indirectly this is the object of our common-school system. But with street children something more than the day-school is requisite. Public boarding schools or character-forming homes should be established, and the street children lifted out of their present life and placed in the care of capable, patient teachers familiar with the standards that have governed these repre-

sentatives of a lower strata of society. Costly as such a system would be to place in practical operation, the indirect saving and benefits derived should justify the outlay solely from the economic standpoint.

If the sentimental claim that the parents of these children are not criminals, and should not be separated from their offspring by official authority, the reply may be made that while less than one per cent of juvenile delinquents were born of criminal parents, yet the common cause of vice and of crime is the lack of parental training and wholesome restraint, the very qualities the public character-saving station would possess in abundance. Again, none could rejoice more heartily over the establishment of such schools than the very children who would derive such rich benefit therefrom, and ninety per cent of whom would come forth to live just and righteous lives, and be of service in strengthening city and state and nation.—*Fred De Land* (*A. I. C.*), *Editor Electrical Engineering.*

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BISHOP BROOKS'S CHARGE TO CITIZENS.—The late Bishop Brooks of Massachusetts, who was one of the first and most interested members of the A. I. C., had strong convictions concerning the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Not long before his death, in a public address, he used these earnest words: "I plead with you for all that makes strong citizens. First, clear convictions, deep, careful, patient study of the government under which we live until you not merely believe it is the best in all the world, but know WHY you believe. And then a clear conscience, as clear as in private interests, as much ashamed of public as of private sin, as ready to hate and rebuke and vote down corruption in the state, in your own party, as you would be in your own store or church; as ready to bring the one as the other to the judgment of a living God. And then unselfishness; an earnest and exalted sense that you are for the land, and not alone the land for you; something of the self-sacrifice which they showed who died for us from '61 to '65. And then activity; the readiness to wake and watch and do a citizen's work untiringly, counting it as base not to vote at an election, not to work against a bad official or to work for a good one, as it would have been to shirk a battle in the war. Such strong citizenship let there be among us; such knightly doing of our duties on the field of peace."

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IN WOMAN'S FIELD. GIRLS AND POLITICS. — The famous and popular author, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, in a recent article on "Girls and Politics" in the *Golden Rule*, says that girls should study politics "because when they are women they will probably come into full citizenship." She refers to the large suffrage rights which the women of England now enjoy, and says that the same rights will soon come to the women of this country. From this she proceeds: "What then? Shall the great and sacred right of citizenship overtake a girl leaning on a fence and chewing gum? or

buying bead trimming? or selecting feather tips? or reading serial love-stories? or coquettishly dressing for parties? absorbed in her own little selected occupations, or aspirations, or dedications; drowned in one thing, or two, or three, but none of these the things to teach her how to make laws and to execute them for the salvation of society and of the land? The mind of an actual or a possible voter in a country like ours needs a special training. It is no more possible to vote stupidly than to pray stupidly, or marry stupidly, without bad results. You can't throw a vote into the ballot-box as you sew a braid upon a dress-skirt, and think no more about it. It is as serious an act as your prayer at the weekly Christian Endeavor meeting, and may have a more immediately important consequence."

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VARIOUS MATTERS. A POOR RICH CITIZEN.—The late John Jacob Astor is reported to have said: "The houses, wares, ships, and farms which I own, and have to take care of, are for the accommodation of others. I can do nothing with my income but buy more land, build more houses, and lend money on mortgage. In short, I am found with the necessaries of life, and more than these I cannot get out of my money. Meantime, my labor is incessant, and I know no peace by night or day." Apocryphal words, perhaps, but sadly true in the case of more than one multi-millionaire, burning, to his death, with the fever of money-getting.

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NOT A CHRISTIAN NATION.—A radical and unadulterated gospel knocks on the head a lot of unmeaning talk about the Christian nations. There is not a Christian nation in the world to-day. A Christian nation would be a nation composed wholly or chiefly of Christians. Where is there such a nation? We sometimes hear men talking about England and America sending rum and ruin to other countries, and then winding up with, "and these are Christian nations." Fiddlesticks! Because a nation formally recognizes the Bible, does that make it Christian? Not at all. England a Christian nation! Germany a Christian nation! America a Christian nation! They are flooded with drink of hell's own brewing; they are reeking with iniquity; they are crimson with blood; and men dare to call them Christian nations. Could a Christian nation legalize prostitution? Could it fill the high seas with ships of war? Could it keep men armed to the teeth? Could it spend millions for drink, tobacco, and harmful luxuries?—*Ram's Horn.*

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TRUE PATRIOTISM.—The patriotism which the Institute of Civics seeks to foster, is that sought by *The Congregationalist*, as evidenced by the following from one of its editorial articles:

"We are in the midst of a revival of patriotism, the genuineness and probable permanence of which cannot be questioned. We rejoice in it and we have done our best to promote it. But another type of so-

called patriotism also is being manifested, and somewhat widely, the value of which is open to grave doubt. It is vociferous and active, fond of public meetings and exciting speeches and fluent in praises of the stars and stripes. But when scrutinized soberly it proves to be unwise and misleading in some important respects.

"True love of country aims to promote the highest and noblest interests of a nation. It seeks to unite all citizens in a common national loyalty and service. It is open and frank in its actions and has neither the wish nor the need for secrecy. It recognizes the duty of international courtesy and regards unprovoked charges of actual or intended foreign aggression as both unbecoming and ridiculous. Least of all does it endeavor to gain attention and advocates in order to promote merely partisan or personal schemes. Any who profess a patriotism which errs in either of these particulars should be distrusted. They may be sincere. They certainly are mischievous or at the least mistaken.

"There is immense need among us just at present of the development of a more genuine patriotism, and what it is needs to be comprehended far more clearly and generally. It includes and emphasizes loyalty to the flag, but it substitutes for an unreasoning and hysterical loyalty an intelligent conception of what the flag represents and an equally intense and by no means undemonstrative national pride and love. It also involves the thoughtful study of the principles of good government in general and of our own form of government in particular. It inquires how what is evil in our political system may be corrected and how what is good may, if possible, be made still better.

"It appreciates the value of a healthy, enlightened public spirit, and the superiority of a continuous, self-consistent, and trustworthy conviction of public duty to temporary periods of spasmodic enthusiasm, however impressive the latter may be. It promotes reform in fundamental matters even more zealously than in those more conspicuous."

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS. PRISON LABOR.—The state of Vermont cleared about $16,000 during 1894 for the labor of the convicts in her state prison. For the next five years under a new contract she is expected to clear about $23,000 a year from the same source. How much more sensible such a policy is than that which condemns convicts to idleness or non-lucrative employment, as if the great volume of business in the outside world could be affected seriously by the competition of the workmen in prison!

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF SUPPLY PLANTS.—The experience of the city of Glasgow in this matter is worthy the study and emulation of American cities. The city council makes provision for the supply of water, gas, electric lighting, parks, public baths, warehouses, street railways, street cleaning, building, police protection, and various minor services for its population of about 600,000. Its water supply is

obtained from Loch Katrine, thirty-five miles distant. The city has over $12,000,000 invested in water works, and in addition to supplying its people with the best of water, the city also drives machinery by a hydraulic pressure of one thousand pounds to the square inch throughout the business area of the city.

Thirty years ago the city purchased two gas plants owned by private companies, and at once the quality of gas was improved and the price to users reduced. At present the city furnishes gas of twenty-two candle power at sixty cents per thousand cubic feet; and is rapidly changing to a system of electric lighting.

In 1889 the city council took possession of the street railways, then operated by horses. It immediately put on 300 new cars, 3,000 additional horses, and increased the service by the employment of 1,700 additional men. Not only this, the municipality introduced a one-cent fare, hitherto unknown, and made four cents the maximum fare. The experiment has proved a success. The city has made money, improved the plant, and reduced the fares. It now carries 300,000 a week for one-cent fares, 600,000 for two-cent fares, 95,000 for three-cent fares, and 20,000 for four-cent fares. The next step will be to abolish all fares above two cents and displace all horses by electricity.

The leading and most commendable feature of the management of public affairs is the principle of the sinking fund, which is applied to every enterprise or business in which the municipality is interested. Whatever debts it has are on the sure and safe road to liquidation by the automatic operation of the sinking fund device. By this means the city will, inside of fifty years, furnish free water to its citizens; give them the best electric light free; electric or water power at cost; allow them to ride on its electric road at the nominal fare of two cents for any distance, and furnish to all the free use of a magnificent public library. Its affairs are managed by business men with the same prudence with which they would manage their own affairs; the question of party politics enters into no local election, and it seems to be the object of the municipality to administer the city's finances in an economical way, to improve the public health in its physical and moral basis, and to give brightness and the possibility of happiness to civil life. Its success in all these has been so marked as to command the admiration of the civilized world, and to gain for itself the appellation of the best-governed city on the face of the globe.

HON. JOSEPH H. WALKER, LL.D., M. C.,

WORCESTER, MASS.

Councilor American Institute of Civics.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

FEBRUARY, 1896.

SHALL THE AMERICAN HOME BE SAVED?

BY WILLIAM S. BEARD.

TO the people of the United States no question is fraught with greater significance to their general well-being than whether or not the ownership of homes, both city and country, is becoming less general and is giving place to an American tenant system similar to those of Europe.

From the broader standpoint of citizenship, philanthropy, or humanitarianism the question is one of even greater moment. It merges into one that cherishes with nourishing warmth or touches with blighting chill all homes and the nation's strength; that is, whether the American Union shall be a nation of home-owners or an aggregation of hiring tenantry; whether the political organism known as the United States shall have a future of upward progress or has already reached its maturity as a civilization and is in its decline as such.

The extent of home-ownership and the character of the home in any civilization are the index by which may be measured the well-being of its people. The family is the unit of the nation. An abiding place is the first requisite to family coherence. The character of the family, its comfort, its opportunity for culture, its incentives to noble thought and action, its hope of reaching a higher plane of physical, intellectual, moral, and social excellence are the germs from which spring the growth and progress of any civilization.

Whether or not the American nation is on the upward trend as one of the world's peoples and is properly so measured by

the condition of its unit, the family, is the question of moment. It behooves us to examine with candor the evidence bearing on the matter and to abide by the verdict which best accords therewith.

When Manhattan Island could be bought for one cent an acre or when Louisiana Territory could be bought for two cents per acre, embracing, as it does, three times the land area now in use to produce all the corn, wheat, hay, oats, and other food crops of the United States, this question contained no such burning significance as it does in England to-day, where according to Professor Fawcett thirty millions of people are the tenants of a few thousand landowners who collect yearly from them an average rent per capita equal to the normal interest rate on twice the value of a negro slave in the United States in 1860. To be more explicit, when the wealth of Great Britain was estimated at forty-three billions of dollars, twenty-two billions of it consisted in ground values. This sum averaged among the thirty millions of people gives about $700.00 per head as a dividend-bearing fund to the English landlords.

A verification of this statement can be made from data found in the English official valuation lists made by the assessment committees for 1891, in which the average rental per head is $32.75 or four per cent on over $800.00 as a dividend-bearing value for each inhabitant.

England with her extreme centralization of landholdings is thus cited as illustrating the objective state toward which land tenures in this country are drifting with ominous certainty and dreadful rapidity. Always keep in view in this discussion values rather than areas in reference to their tendency to centralization. As values increase areas may diminish and yet great concentration of values may be going forward. This is notable in those great tracts held by alien owners, demand for which by would-be lessees is rapidly growing. Much of such land bought fifteen years ago at $2 to $3 per acre, now rents for $2 to $3 per year and taxes. Counting money worth six per cent and average taxes one per cent, this ground yields as an investment to its alien owner six per cent on $40 to $60 per

acre, thus enabling him to sell half his area, and yet to find his holding ten or fifteen times greater in value than at first. Without this idea in view the apparent decrease of the reported average area of farms might prevent a ready recognition that the real increase of the value of the holdings goes uniformly on.

It is to be hoped that the genius of our institutions and the spirit of the American people may prove a bar to continued progress in this direction, but there is no economic phase of our land tenure drift to lend support to such a hope.

The following facts from the tenth and eleventh censuses are full of proof of this statement:

They will show that while activities in manufacturing, transportation, commerce, and finance have, with rapid and uniform progress, passed into syndicate ownership or control, landholdings have been equally subservient to the same causes, and are passing by the same law into larger holdings whose tendency is to differentiate the landowner as a class from the land-user. This applies equally to farm and city holdings. (From census reports.)

NUMBER FARMS OF EACH CLASS IN CENSUS YEAR (IN THOUSANDS).

Farms Classed by Areas, Acres.	*1860.*	*Per Cent.*	*1870.*	*Per Cent.*	*1880.*	*Per Cent.*	*1890.*
3 or less			6.8	— 40 =	4.3		
3 to 10	54.6	+240 =	172.	— 22 =	134.8	+12 per cent =	1318
10 to 20	162.1	+ 80 =	294.6	— 15 =	254.7		
20 to 50	616.5	+ 32 =	847.6	— 18 =	781.4		
50 to 100	608.8	+ 25 =	754.2	+ 50 =	1032.9	+ $8\frac{6}{15}$ =	1121.
100 to 500	487.	+ 20 =	565.	+200 =	1695.9	+18.4 =	2008.
500 to 1000	20.3	— 20 =	15.8	+400 =	75.9	+10. =	84.
1000 and over	5.3	— 33 =	3.7	+700 =	28.5	+11. =	31.

Census Year.	*Number.*	*Acreage.*	*Av. Size Acres.*	*Percentage of Acreage Unimproved.*
1890	4,564,641	623,218,619	137	42.6 per cent
1880	4,008,907	536,081,835	134	46.9 "
1870	2,659,985	407,735,041	153	53.7 "
1860	2,044,077	407,212,538	198	59.9 "
1850	1,449,073	293,560,614	203	61.5 "

Note that the proportion of unimproved land continuously decreases, *i. e.*, becomes of greater value, is sought by tenants for use, hence yields ground rent and explains the continuous

growth of the value of holdings with but slight growth of area, values being the end sought.

From the above table it will be seen that, during the decade ending with 1880, all classes of landholdings below fifty acres in extent fell off one sixth of their number upon an average; that is to say about sixteen per cent of the small landholdings of the country passed away, while the number of holdings above fifty acres in extent increased by percentages ranging from fifty to seven hundred.

This vanishing of the small landholding is peculiar to no section, but with some variety in degree is general throughout the United States.

Within three decades ending with 1890, the following vast land areas passed from the public domain into private control, and though partly redistributed into smaller holdings the change was a step toward concentration: In Kansas twenty-one million acres (more than Ireland's area) were granted to railway corporations. In Missouri, three million acres (equaling Wales in extent) were similarly granted. Minnesota so granted ten million acres (equal in extent to half of Scotland). Or to cut short a monotony of citation, United States land grants to railways during this period aggregated 300,000 square miles, a greater area (according to E. Atkinson) than is in use to produce all the food crops of the entire country; more land than the combined extent of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France with their seventy-five millions of population.

As to the quality of the land so granted it is of the best, since railway companies wisely traverse those portions of country most likely to yield good crops and profitable traffic.

While vast areas have thus passed to railway companies there is furthermore a rapidly growing alien landed proprietary which, being a European plant of most rank and noxious growth, constitutes a menace of extinction to home proprietorship in this country and to civil freedom in America. (Civil freedom was never nurtured into life among human chattels. Freedom implies freemen; freemen are the product of "homes," with all that is implied by that term.)

I refer to upwards of half a hundred aliens and foreign corporations whose holdings aggregate many millions of acres and are rapidly growing in extent. Among these one English syndicate owns three million acres in Texas; The Holland Land Company, of New Mexico, owns four and one half million acres; Robert Tenant of London owns land equaling two thirds the area of the state of Rhode Island. Perhaps the most unique, though a less extensive, manipulator of this class is Baron William Scully of London, with some 200,000 acres in Illinois and Kansas which yielded in 1890 an average ground rent of $2 per acre plus the taxes (which the tenant always pays).

It is said that some 60,000 acres of this land situate in Kansas are so admirably managed to the single end and purpose of forcing the soil to yield the uttermost farthing of gain to its owner with no outlay by him for any purpose whatever as to evoke the wonder of the few American farmers adjacent to Lord Scully's devastating ownership.

Why "devastating" ownership? Because of methods employed, thus: no dollar of the landlord pays any tax or enters into the cost of any building, fence, or other improvement. His lands are well selected, fertile, productive. The tenant in order to use them is willing to build his hut, dugout, hay-barn, or shed with other absolute necessities all so scant as to escape taxation, which thus falls on his American competitor who is striving to distinguish himself above the brute creation with the adornments of home.

No blame should attach to the landlord in this case. He but pursues in a methodical way his business of collecting rents with entire acquiescence in, and strict obedience to, the laws of the land, and is most exemplary in all his transactions. (This state also has an "alien" land law which is quite efficient in procuring undesired results.) If unwise laws permit or induce operations of this sort certainly their framers should be censured, and not those who comply with their requirements. The laws permit the collection of ground rents by the owner. It is not his concern what use the lessee makes of the soil. The law is without sympathy or passion; it is cold; it is a fairly accurate

declaration of rights and prescription of remedies for their infringement. If the laws be unwise, vague, or inefficient, humanity and social progress suffer the penalty.

In connection with a view of these aggregations of the choicest lands in the hands of foreigners who do not profess a purpose to use or develop them further than to extract all possible increment of value from them without bearing any of the burdens of government, it will be of profit to cite the drift of farm and home-ownership as noted in the eleventh census. In the state of Iowa (Extra Census Bulletin No. 26) among nearly 390,000 farm and home families 37 per cent are hiring tenants, 27 per cent are nominal owners with encumbrances, and 36 per cent are full owners, debt free. In Kansas (Extra Census Bulletin No. 18) among farm and home families investigated in ten selected representative counties, 39 per cent are hiring tenants, 35 per cent are owners with encumbrance, and 26 per cent are owners debt free. The hiring tenant class in 1880 was 15 per cent.

That the condition of western states is not peculiar thereto the cases of Ohio and New Jersey may illustrate. In Ohio of 131,184 families on farms or in homes 62 per cent hire, 8 per cent own (encumbered), and 30 per cent own in full their farms or homes. The hiring tenant class on farms alone here advanced from 26.7 per cent, 1880, to 41.18 per cent, 1890.

In New Jersey (Extra Census Bulletin No. 27) of 308,000 farm and home families 64 per cent hire, 17 per cent own (encumbered), and 19 per cent fully own their homes or farms. If full and accurate data were available covering the last quarter-century, there is little room to doubt that they would show a steady drift of the small holdings of land and homes in the United States into landlord holdings at such a rate as within a generation or two will put England in the background as to her paucity of landlords and as to the extent and value of their holdings.

In all civilizations ground values are approximately half the entire wealth of a given district, or, differently stated, the land is a tolerably correct reflector of the wealth on it or in its vicinity.

In 1890 there were about four million farm proprietors in the

United States. During the decade then ended, about one sixth of those holdings below fifty acres in extent vanished. This means the conversion of about that proportion of the small landed proprietors into a landless tenantry, such as Ireland has. Indeed it is tolerably certain that some Irish tenants live in considerable opulence as compared with some American tenants of Lord Scully. And yet the movement of landholdings into larger aggregations is but one of a numerous class of symptoms of one general economic disease, namely, the congestion of wealth into few hands. Whether the land phase of this general movement be cause or sequence it is not the present purpose to show.

Prior to 1860 the wealth of the country was more evenly distributed than that of any other of the great powers of the world. To-day it is said one quarter million persons control eighty per cent of the wealth (including lands as wealth) of our sixty-two millions of people. A critical examination of this matter shows that the one hundred richest Englishmen enjoy average yearly incomes of $450,000 each, while the one hundred richest Americans have upon an average annual incomes of $1,200,000 each.

Along this line an exhaustive examination of the distribution of American wealth has been made by Thomas G. Shearman, a summary of whose conclusions was published in *The Forum* for November, 1889, and this was compared with the distribution of British wealth in 1887 as estimated by Mulhall from the income returns, those of the probate and succession duties and the return of rent rolls. This comparison with slight adjustment follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH WEALTH.

Class	No. Families		Wealth (in millions)		Av. Wealth per family
Rich	222,500 =	3½ per cent	$27,781 =	71 per cent	$125,145.
Middle	1,824,400 =	27 "	9,142 =	23 "	4,874.
Working	4,629,100 =	70 "	1,930 =	5 "	413.
	6,676,000 =	100 "	$38,853	100	$ 5,823

DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN WEALTH.

Class	No. Families		Wealth (in millions)		Av. Wealth per family
Rich	435,310 =	3⅓ per cent	$47,900 =	76½ per cent	$110,061.
Middle	3,510,000 =	27 "	7,882 =	$12\frac{6}{10}$ "	2,245.
Working	9,055,000 =	70 "	6,793 =	$10\frac{8}{10}$ "	750.
	13,000,310 =	100 "	$62,575 =	100 "	$ 4,813.

2,500 churches, etc.
$65,075,000,000

Mr. Shearman estimates the wealth of the seventy richest Americans in 1889 to have been on an average about $37,500,000 each.

This detour from strictly land facts only serves to show the solidarity of the question of concentrated wealth and the relativity of all economic factors in its (mal) distribution.

Bear in mind that, while the British income $413 to 70 per cent of the families is less by 45 per cent than the American income $750 per family, the efficiency of the English income, by a large absence of duties, is nearly equalized in the better quality and lower price of many commodities.

Note also that while in the United States freedom and equality are the watchwords which admit small politicians to place and power, yet the inequality and concentration of wealth in a few hands are as great, if not greater, than in England, since in England three and one third per cent of the families own 71 per cent of all the wealth, while in the United States the same small percentage of families own 76 per cent of the nation's wealth, while one quarter million persons own 80 per cent of it, or about $190,000 each on an average. Note, too, that the middle British class, 27 per cent of all, own upon an average over twice as much per head as the American middle class, 27 per cent of all, while the average wealth of all English people per head is $1,250, as compared with $1,000 in the United States.

How shall the continued drift of the homes and small farms (as of all other wealth) from the ownership of those who use and produce them be arrested?

It is here assumed to be desirable that, other things equal, it is better and normal that the masses of people own their homes, that no such concentration of great wealth in the hands of a few vastly rich, as has heretofore been assumed of European countries only, should obtain among us.

It is also assumed that the production and distribution of wealth, the accumulation and savings thereof, are simple sequences from obvious causes, that they are in no way mysterious or miraculous, and that the present drift of all forms of wealth into fewer and larger holdings is the result of watchful business

adjustment and long effort, and that it is as systematically and certainly procured by the application of means to ends and that the opposite result is as easy to be attained by the application of different means suited to secure other ends (*i. e.*, a more uniform distribution of wealth in proportion to the factors of its production), as it is to procure the movement of a freight train by a proper application of steam to the piston head of a locomotive-engine. Of course the application of the steam must be made with the highest intelligence and with all the accessories of time, material, direction, etc. So must the application of a means to change the present current of national wealth be made with greater intelligence. The locomotive with all its appurtenances is a very tangible affair. The causes that obstruct, retard, change, or direct the current of surplus wealth ("capital") into one class of hands or other are quite intangible or imperceptible without the closest scrutiny of the entire field, of all the factors and all their relations. The ceaseless round of (wealth) production and consumption shows a union of land, labor, and capital to effect the former (production). It shows, too, a continuous return to each of the three sole factors of wealth of its portion of product. Or else, soon, some of these three must be exhausted. Hence, economically, all disbursements of wealth must be to these factors. That is, all disbursements of wealth finally pay rent, wages, or interest and naught else. "Profits" is but a confusion of one or more of these and is not analyzable into elements other than these. Confusion here makes a farce of political economy.

All the wealth of a community consists of two parts, the one to be consumed unproductively and the part to be saved (*i. e.*, consumed more or less rapidly, in further production, and known as "capital").

Mr. Edward Atkinson estimates the total wealth gain in the United States to have been $750,000,000 for the year 1880, or an average of $15 per person of population.

Thomas G. Shearman, who makes a very full examination of the subject, concludes that about 100,000 persons of our fifty millions and more of people were able to secure as their portion

of all these savings $450,000,000, or 60 per cent of it, leaving $300,000,000, or 40 per cent of it, for the other fifty million people, or an average of $6 each.

If, as thus shown, one two hundredth of the people can yearly secure three fifths of all gain in capital how long before they will "own the country"?

How fleeting is the body of consumable wealth, when with unchanged production, five cents of additional consumption per day per person would cause to vanish not only the above cited national wealth increase for 1880, but $172,500,000 besides. Truly those who dread overproduction are "straining at a gnat." It would seem that more copious production were the first essential to better times for the whole people.

To modify the present current of wealth gains it is proposed to remit taxation as now levied on the real estate improvement values of the dwellings of all the people equivalent to $3 per head of all, rich and poor. This will transfer $150,000,000 from the 100,000 rich to the masses and as between the two classes approximately reverse the ratio of possible savings to each, giving forty per cent of all savings to the former and sixty per cent to the latter.

The effect of the partial exemption of improvements would of course be to place so much more of the tax burden on the rental value of ground. The tax on the improvement value is a restriction on production, and, therefore, on consumption; so it tends to restrict, to the same extent, the national wealth; hence a tax on production is inimical and obstructive to the increase of national wealth. Not so with the tax on ground rent. This is a tax that cannot be evaded or transferred; it is "direct" in every sense. It does not restrict production (since the land supply is fixed); in fact, it tends to promote production by cheapening land and inviting its culture or use. This tax would fall on a fund (rental value of land) that is not proper or peculiar to any particular person as the result of his special effort, but which is a spontaneous increment in value arising from the greatly increased efficiency in wealth production through the coöperation and specialized division of labor.

With reference to a tax on this fund we may with dignity rest our reason in part on the words of so eminent a thinker as John Stuart Mill. His words are (under the subject "General principles of taxation," Book V., Chapter I., Section 5) :

> Suppose that there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owners; those owners constituting a class in the community whom the natural course of things progressively enriches consistently with complete passiveness on their own part. In such a case it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is grounded, if the state should appropriate this increase of wealth, or part of it, as it arises. This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth created by circumstances to the benefit of society, instead of allowing it to become an unearned appendage to the riches of a particular class. Now this is actually the case with rent. The ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth is at all times tending to augment the incomes of landlords; to give them both a greater amount and a greater proportion of the wealth of the community, independently of any trouble or outlay incurred by themselves. They grow richer as it were in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing. What claim have they on the general principle of social justice to this accession of riches? In what would they have been wronged if society had from the beginning reserved the right of taxing the spontaneous increase of rent to the highest amount required by financial exigencies?

Also in Book II., Chapter VI., Section 1, treating the question of the distribution of wealth, Mr. Mill indelibly rubs in the same thought thus :

> Landed proprietors are the only class of any numbers or importance who have a claim to a share in the distribution of the produce through their ownership of something which neither they nor any one else have produced.

It is a notorious fact in taxation that, generally, the smaller real estate holdings in value are assessed on a higher ratio than others. As to this statement the report of a house committee of the Fifty-third Congress to investigate realty taxation in Washington, D. C., will be pertinent. This committee (Tom Johnson of Ohio, chairman) found the most valuable block in the city assessed at fourteen per cent of its value for taxation; and, proceeding toward the smaller values in the outskirts, it found that the assessed value uniformly approached nearer the actual value. Also of twelve high value blocks in the central district improve-

ment values were thirty-one per cent and ground values sixty-nine per cent of the total assessment. But of ten blocks of low value among the cheaper homes in the outskirts of the city, the improvement values were sixty-one per cent and ground values but thirty-nine per cent of total assessment.

This shows clearly what classes will be relieved by any exemption of improvement and especially of dwelling improvement values from taxation. Let such a change or even a slighter one but the same in principle be tried and the shifting sands of gain will very quickly indicate a change of the current of wealth toward the people and will give a new distribution.

Probably none of the great powers except England can show for a quarter-century past a constant diminution of ground values concurrent with even a smaller growth of general wealth than that wonderful nation. Her policy has been progressively to lay heavier proportionate tax burdens on the ground rentals (Mr. Mill's idea) to the relief of improvement values, thus stimulating great growth in wealth, as shown by the table below from Mulhall covering 27 years, ending with 1887. During this period English railway values increased 140 per cent; houses, 125 per cent; furniture, 126 per cent; shipping, 295 per cent; merchandise, 166 per cent; land values decreased 16 per cent.

Note in the above table the slightly depressed effect of the ground rent tax for twenty-seven years on land values as compared with the upward impulse secured to all the other forms of wealth thus relatively nourished into vigor, and compare with the following table of real estate and personal assessments in the United States covering four decades (from the eleventh census).

To note the difference is to appreciate the startling effect of the "incidence" of taxation. It may be used to blight and destroy humanity, morals, and social progress, or to warm and nourish them into vigorous life.

The eleventh census gives the assessed valuation in the United States for the census years of real estate and personalty.

	Real Estate (in Millions).	*Personalty (in Millions).*
1860	$ 6,973	$5,111
1870	9,914 (gain 42 per cent)	4,246 (loss 16 per cent)
1880	13,036 (" 87 ")	3,866 (" 24 ")
1890	18,933 (" 171 ")	5,718 (gain 11 ")

Note a total gain in forty years of personal property values of eleven per cent.

Note also:

The increase of population in forty years ending 1890 to have been thirty million to sixty-two million, one hundred per cent. The increase of customs duties same period from fifty-two million dollars to two hundred and twenty-six million, four hundred per cent.

The growth in the total value of all wealth from $12,000,000 in 1860 to $65,000,000,000 in 1890, gain four hundred and forty-one per cent.

The growth of railway mileage from 30,000 in 1860 to 172,000 in 1890, or a gain of four hundred and seventy per cent.

The growth of expenditures for the public schools of the United States (in twenty years past) from $63,000,000 in 1870 to $140,000,000 in 1890, or one hundred and twenty-two per cent. Finally note a climax of absurdity, the entire growth of personal property from $5,111,000,000 in 1860 to $5,718,000,000 in 1890, or a total gain in forty years of eleven per cent.

Probably few persons are capable of being misled by the last statement of the table. However, while the table cannot convince any as to the loss or meager growth of personal property of the country, which is the only foundation for real estate values, yet it does show how an unwise law (taxation of personalty) can corrupt an entire nation of honest, liberty-loving people noted for sterling character and Christian virtue, and convert them into a huge conspiracy to falsify their returns to the assessor. Is it not foolish to enact or retain laws which run counter to the nature of all men, by offering a premium to him who perjures himself or by inflicting a penalty on him who utters truth?

All admit that civilization to be highest in the scale which secures the best development of all the powers, physical, moral, intellectual, and social, of the greatest number of its members. This condition comes when with reasonable effort the member can secure by his labor food, shelter, and raiment, with a fair portion of leisure for the culture of those faculties which dis-

tinguish him from the animal. If the individual be reduced for a considerable period to a scant and precarious living, to that extent must he descend in his whole being toward the domain of the brute.

Civilizations have their periods of infancy, a few reach a state of comparative maturity; all finally arrive at successive stages of decadence, death, oblivion. All then contain the seeds of decay which germinate in the cells of their structure that is in the individual, the atom of the organism. To the degree, then, to which the average individual is approaching a destitution of general well-being, to that degree is the civilization of which he forms a part on the road to death. Without the home there is no civilization or social progress. The home must have its abiding place. If these are essentially ceasing to be, are not the ravages of civil decay already at work on the vitals of our civilization?

WILLIAM S. BEARD.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: A REMEDY FOR MUNICIPAL MISRULE.*

BY J. EUGENE WHITNEY.

THE present time is especially favorable for the introduction of improved methods into municipal government, as the entire framework of city charters is open for revision. There is one subject that is not usually considered at all in connection with the reform of our cities, and yet it is of fundamental importance. Indeed, when its character is fully realized it is hardly too much to say that it is a reform which outweighs every other in importance, because it concerns the very nature of our representative system itself, upon which our entire government, municipal, state, and national, is founded. If we are to continue to have any system of representative government in cities then the character of that system cannot be too carefully studied and improved.

In the accompanying argument we shall endeavor to show as briefly as possible that while the theory of our government is equal representation, yet in practice our system necessarily results in unequal and unjust representation. We have in fact misrepresentation instead of representation, and yet we are so easily deceived by words and names that most Americans flatter themselves that our system is essentially perfect.

After pointing out some of the most glaring evils of our present system, a remedy will be proposed in a simple plan of proportional representation, already in successful operation in Switzerland, which will make "government by the people" a reality by emancipating them from the slavery of political bosses, and by giving to every body of voters a representation in just proportion to their votes.

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* Paper presented at meeting of New York State Commissioners on City Charters, Rochester, N. Y., June 10, 1895.

We would respectively urge, in the name of that large portion of the citizens of all parties hitherto disfranchised by our antiquated electoral system, that justice be now secured to every voter by the incorporation of proportional representation in the new general charter for cities.

It is pretty generally assumed by reformers and students of politics that the evils of municipal misrule, which have reached such alarming proportions, are due to the indifference of the best people, and that all we need to correct these evils is that the good citizens should come out and vote at the primaries and elections. This general assumption is, we are convinced, a very great mistake, and the indifference complained of is really an effect instead of a cause; that is to say, it seems clear to us that indifference of citizens to municipal affairs is mainly the result of the natural working of a bad system, instead of being itself the cause of the bad working of a good system. Our representative system, as at present constituted, makes bad government easy and good government difficult by enabling a few manipulators to force their will upon the people, and by placing the citizens at an enormous disadvantage with the politicians. The resulting feeling of helplessness on the part of the people as against the machine is the real cause of most of the alleged indifference of voters. If, after a hundred years of popular government in this country, it could be proved that the gross existing abuses are due to the indifference of the citizens, then the future of republican institutions would be dark indeed.

The worst features of our present system of representation are:

First, The division of the city into small districts or wards making possible the corruptions of ward politics.

Second, The election of single representatives in each ward by plurality vote.

The evils which can be traced directly to the system of electing single representatives by plurality vote in small districts are so numerous and so glaring that one is puzzled to account for the failure to perceive them and to apply a remedy. The ward

system is the tap root of machine politics and with its cutting off political bosses of all degrees would be largely shorn of power. Some of the most obvious evils of the present system are:

First, Voters do not secure equal representation as the principles of our government require.

Second, We do not even have majority rule, but a despotism of the plurality.

Third, The minority is always disfranchised.

Fourth, The majority is often disfranchised.

Fifth, The majority of a plurality really decides legislation so that on close votes a small minority of the voters rule.

Sixth, Nominations are made for political expediency.

Seventh, The ablest and best men are not often nominated.

Eighth, Independent men even if elected are seldom re-elected.

Ninth, Political truckling and log rolling necessary to secure nomination and election prevent best men from entering politics.

Tenth, Custom of requiring residence in the ward bars out able men who cannot carry their own ward.

Eleventh, The large expense of corrupt methods leads to the sale of nominations for money.

Twelfth, The necessity which politicians feel of subordinating everything else to the obtaining of a majority is one of the most corrupting forces of the present system. If a minority were sure of having its just proportion of representation, humiliating surrenders of principle would be less common, because every cause would get a hearing on its own merits.

Thirteenth, It is impossible for citizens to cope with the machines now except under the stimulus of intense indignation caused by intolerable abuses, and then the result is only temporary because the present system naturally causes things to fall back into the old rut as soon as the spasm of public indignation is over.

What we need is a better system which shall recognize the fact that the average citizen is immersed in the cares of business

and cannot make politics the business of his life as do those who manipulate the machines. Of course political machinery to a certain extent is a necessity and always will be under any representative government. Some one must organize, arrange meetings, distribute documents, arouse enthusiasm, etc., and it takes money to do it, but the question is, Shall the system be so arranged that the machine shall dominate and crush out independence in the citizen, or shall it be made easy for him to act against the machine when it seems necessary? The reason we do not get better men into office is not that citizens are indifferent but that our methods of nominating and electing are such as to make good results almost impossible. No sane man would keep a machine in his factory that in practice turned out bad work instead of good work, and yet this is precisely what the American citizen has been doing in politics. He still clings to a wretched system of electoral machinery, the natural operation of which is to produce corrupt and inefficient government.

Proportional representation is an efficient remedy for most of the evils of the present system, and it would at once put the long end of the lever of power into the hands of the people where it belongs, instead of leaving it with the politicians where it has been too long. Proportional representation involves,

First, The abolition of small districts or wards.

Second, Election of representatives on a general ticket.

Third, Each party will elect representatives in just proportion to its vote.

Fourth, Any body of voters of sufficient size can nominate candidates.

Fifth, A certain number of votes for any ticket will be sure to elect a representative.

The free list system of Switzerland is the simplest, and is briefly this: Any body of voters who present a petition signed by as many voters as were required to elect one representative at the previous election, or who cast such a vote at that election, can nominate and have printed on the official ballot as many names as there are representatives to be elected. Each voter

can vote for the entire number to be elected and select them at will from the lists presented by the parties or can add names. The total vote cast divided by the number of candidates to be elected gives what is called the "electoral quota," and each party is entitled to as many representatives as the electoral quota is contained times in its total vote. The representatives elected by any party are selected in order from the candidates receiving the highest vote on its ticket. If the total vote in a city were 30,000 and the representatives to be elected 10, then the electoral quota would be 3,000, and any party casting 15,000 votes would elect 5 representatives, one casting 6,000 votes, 2 representatives, and so on.

At the election in New York City in 1891, when 25 representatives were to be elected, the vote was about 234,000, divided as follows:

Tammany	120,000
Republican	80,000
County Democracy	9,400
New York County Democracy	18,600
Prohibition	1,200
Socialist	4,800

Under our present system Tammany elected 19 and all others 6. In other words, it only took 6,316 Tammany voters to elect one man while it required 19,000 other voters to elect theirs, thus giving a Tammany man three times as much representation as any one else. To put it in another way, nearly one third of all the voters in that election were deprived of representation by the natural working of our present system, and this under a government founded upon the sacred principle of the American Revolution, "No taxation without representation." Now if that New York election had been held under proportional representation each party would have secured the representatives it was justly entitled to, as follows:

Tammany	13
Republican	9
County Democracy	1
New York Democracy	2

In Buffalo in 1891 one party elected 8 councilmen while the other party elected 1. By their votes one party was justly en-

titled to 5 and the other party to 4, and that is what they would have secured under proportional representation.

Some of the great benefits which would result from proportional representation are :

First, Every voter would secure equal and just share in representation.

Second, Gerrymanders would be impossible.

Third, Ward bosses would be shorn of power very largely.

Fourth, Every voter would be freed from compulsion to vote for bad men because independent nominations of good men would be easy.

Fifth, All parties would be forced to nominate better men to hold their voters.

Sixth, Bribery would be practically abolished.

Seventh, Good men would be easily reëlected, because those making a good record would draw votes from the whole city even if they could not carry their own ward.

Eighth, The "indifferent" voter would come out and vote because certain of having his vote accomplish results.

Ninth, New reforms would secure an early hearing because they would elect a candidate as soon as their vote amounted to one "electoral quota."

Tenth, While tending to make voters independent it would also make representatives independent in the best sense.

It is only after we secure proportional representation that other reforms can be fully obtained, because until then the people cannot get a just voice in municipal government.

Of course proportional representation would not touch the municipal evils which arise from the unwise division of executive power, or that other large class of evils which arise from the denial of home rule to cities, and the consequent demoralizing interference of state legislatures in municipal affairs.

The objection might be made that under the proposed system localities or districts would not be represented. This objection is really of no force, because the new system would simply liberate voters from the slavery of localities, while yet permitting local interests to exercise their natural influence in the

fullest degree. A representative would stand therefore primarily for men and ideas and not for geographical divisions, and yet there would be nothing to prevent the election of a representative as the special mouthpiece of a locality, provided the interests of such locality were so important as to induce men to unite for that purpose.

In a true representative government, the representative body should be as Mirabeau once said, a reduced picture of the people, with their opinions and wishes, exactly as a map shows the relative proportions of its various parts. It is only when all the people are represented in this real way that a vote in the representative body is at all equivalent to an expression of the people themselves in a meeting where they are actually assembled.

J. EUGENE WHITNEY.

CORRUPT POLITICAL PRACTICES.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, ESQ.

THE charge is made with increasing frequency of late years that money is becoming a most potent, if not a preponderating, factor in our politics. We can scarcely pick up a newspaper of either party at election times without reading some item about large campaign contributions, expenditures, or assessments. In Massachusetts in 1892 the state, county, and city political committees acknowledged the payment of $418,546.40, exclusive of the amounts expended by the national committees. One candidate contributed $12,935.25, and several others sums ranging from $7,000 to $12,000 each. In New York, in the same year, a candidate for judge returned his campaign expenditures as $10,500, another as $7,000, and a candidate for the state senate admitted having spent $5,000 in his campaign.

When such large sums are admittedly expended for offices, the salaries of which are considerably less than the sum spent to secure them, we are forced to one of two conclusions: either the perquisites and pickings of the office will more than reimburse the successful candidates, or rich men, ambitious of political honors, are willing to pay generously for them. It makes but little difference which is the case, the result is the same—a lowering of the standard of our political life and the jeopardizing of the maintenance of our free institutions.

In England, prior to 1883, the use of money to carry elections was still more widespread and serious than in this country. The practice of spending immense sums (sometimes amounting to £80,000) had flourished for generations, and had become so deeply rooted as to be considered by many a necessary though unpleasant evil, inseparable from popular government and an extended franchise. Not that the English law did not forbid "bribery," "treating," "undue influence," but the language of

the provisions was loose and full of loopholes, of which candidates and their ingenious election agents were quick to avail themselves. The climax was reached in 1880, when an unprecedented number of instances of corrupt practices was brought to light and proved. In many cases it was conclusively shown that the support of a majority of the electors in certain districts had been, in one way or another, purchased outright, candidates openly admitting the expenditure of sums that we can scarcely regard as less than fabulous.

Indeed, the corrupt use of money to carry elections had become so general, and the conditions so grave, that the Gladstone ministry made the passage of a more stringent act to prevent such practices a part of the government program, and after a two years' struggle succeeded (in 1883) in enacting the present effective and comprehensive law, known as the Corrupt Practices Act. The act not only defines the corrupt practices of "bribery," "treating," and "undue influence," and adds a fourth, that of "personation," and not only declares the conveyance of voters to the polls an illegal practice, but it strictly limits the candidate and his authorized agents in regard to the number of hired helpers, the number of headquarters, and the total expenditure for all purposes, and forbids absolutely any expenditure for flags, torches, banners, cockades, and other marks of distinction. And the act does not stop with a definition of crimes and prohibitions, but it goes a most important step further, and requires every candidate and his agent to file a sworn detailed statement of all expenditures for campaign purposes, as well as of all receipts, and these must be filed within thirty-five days after the election, and are accessible at all times to the public. Every payment over forty shillings must be vouched for by a receipted bill, and election expenses must be paid within twenty-eight days. The penalties for violations of the act are various and severe, ranging from fine and imprisonment to the loss of office and disfranchisement. Sir Henry James, its author, speaking of its operation after nine years' trial, says: "I am unwilling to praise its effects unduly, but a certainly greater measure of success has been obtained by it than

any one, however sanguine, anticipated. Corrupt practices have, in most localities, ceased to exist; everywhere they have vastly diminished. Individuals may, on their own responsibility, be guilty of such acts, but systematic operations in corruption are apparently at an end. If I recollect rightly, no member, since the passing of the act, has been unseated for bribery. Not a solitary victim has been entrapped, and no difficulty has been found in following and carrying out the prohibitory provisions of the act. It seems to be established that the act of 1883 has effected a veritable reformation in our election proceedings."

This success is most encouraging to all who, in this country, are making an effort to purify our elections and to abolish the contaminating effects of the use of large sums of money for election purposes, and it is gratifying to know that attempts have been made to engraft on our American statutes the distinguishing features of the English law. Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, Colorado, Missouri, Kansas, and California have, within a few years, passed somewhat similar laws. Massachusetts was the pioneer. Her legislation has been of a tentative character, the object being gradually to accustom the people to the idea that the people at large, and especially contributors to campaign funds, were entitled to know what became of money raised for campaign purposes. The first act has been extended by subsequent amendments, and now not only must there be a publication of campaign expenses, but expenditures for certain objects are prohibited, which is considered a distinct step in advance.

The New York law is not regarded as very satisfactory, as it only requires a statement from candidates. As most expenditures are made by committees, the publication of the amounts expended or contributed by a candidate does not amount to much. The Massachusetts law is more effective, because it recognizes the existence and activities of political committees, and requires sworn statements of them. It falls short in that it cannot reach a national political committee which may be participating in the canvass.

Limits of space will not permit a detailed account of the

various laws now on American statute books requiring the publication of campaign expenses and defining the various political offenses with more particularity. Suffice it to say that a beginning has been made, and it has been demoustrated that there is nothing in American conditions and customs that makes it impossible to effect the same salutary change that has been accomplished in England. And it is most encouraging to know that the movement to secure the enactment of corrupt practices legislation is spreading. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and numerous other western states have inaugurated the movement with varying degrees of success. Two years ago an effort was made in Pennsylvania, which, under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Civil Service Reform Association, will be renewed at the coming session of the legislature. Several independent committees in Philadelphia have already taken the first step, and published detailed statements of their expenditures and receipts, hoping thereby to establish a precedent which the political committee of the regular parties would follow.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

BY NELSON BALDWIN.

I.

WE should not, while rejoicing over the improved industrial condition of to-day, lose sight of the fact that the gloom and distress of '93 and '94 were but an aggravation of a condition that has existed constantly in this country for more than twenty years. Not since the panic of '73—it would be, perhaps, within bounds to say not since the close of the war in '65—has there been work enough for all. There have been constantly more or less privation and suffering, especially in the large cities, caused by lack of work in some instances, and in others by the fact that the pittance paid for such work as could be had was hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together. Even in the years regarded as most prosperous unsuccessful strikes occurred, the filling of the strikers' places, always without difficulty when no violence was feared, showing that the country was full of idle men, eager to work for any compensation they could get. A large proportion of the young men in our cities to-day will never be able to earn an honest living—will have to "sponge" on their relatives or eke out a precarious existence by their wits—simply because there is no work for them to do. As I said before, this condition of affairs is not new. For years a good situation to do clerical work or even manual labor has been as eagerly sought after as a fat office. In fact, the discovery has frequently been made by persons in search of employment that work above that of the unskilled laborer could be procured only through "influence"—by the help of some one who had, in political parlance, a "pull" of some sort on the employer.

THE TRAMP A MODERN EVIL.

The fact that at no time in this country since the war has

there been work enough for all who want it, explains conclusively to my mind the existence of the tramp evil. The number of men who are roaming the country, living on what they can beg or steal, is appalling. A thoroughly reliable publication, printed in 1880, estimated the number of tramps in the United States at that time—a period of comparative prosperity—to be 750,000. The estimate was based on an actual count of the tramps in the state of Massachusetts. Assuming it to be approximately correct, of the population of this country one person out of every sixty-six is a tramp; of the adult males one out of every seventeen is a tramp. With our larger population, the total number of tramps to-day cannot be less than 1,000,000. Their number relatively to population is greater in America than in any other country on earth. In addition there are perhaps another million out of work, who, owing to the kindness of relatives and friends, have not yet been compelled to tramp.

Men in middle life know from personal observation that tramps are a modern evil. Vagrants, few in number, we have always had, but the tramp as he is known to-day did not exist before the late war. The existence of the evil must be ascribed to some cause, and I know of no adequate cause except the scarcity of work. I do not believe in the theory that men are tramps because they are too lazy to work. The human species is not inherently any more lazy now than it ever was. I believe that the great majority of tramps are not such through choice. Most of them at first became tramps through necessity—simply because they were out of work and were unable to live by "sponging" upon friends. I do not doubt, however, that nomadic life will rapidly destroy all self-respect, blunt the moral nature, and convert the man who was once an honest seeker after work into a mere vagrant, who would rather live by preying on the community than by honest toil.

NO REAL IMPROVEMENT.

We often hear it said that workingmen have nothing to complain of—that, instead of being oppressed, their condition has steadily improved in the past hundred years. So it has, in

some respects. Those of them who have constant employment are better paid, better fed, better clothed, and better sheltered. This improvement is to be attributed mainly, I think, to the influence of the labor organizations, although it will not be disputed that there have been contributing influences outside of those organizations. Workingmen have also, by their votes, secured legislation for better protection against the accidents to life and limb incident to their vocations, and better sanitation. But the fact remains that the opportunities of employment are much less now than they were a century ago. The prevalence of want, of actual suffering for the lack of the necessaries of life, of pauperism and crime, has largely increased. Averaging the condition of the entire population outside of those who have accumulated enough to be able to live without work, it cannot be truthfully said that there has been, in recent years, any real improvement. There is no reason to doubt that much of the improvement in the condition of wage-workers in some branches of industry has been at the expense of others of the working (or would-be working) population. There is no evidence that it has been at the expense of capital in the aggregate, for great fortunes were never made so rapidly as they have been in the past thirty years. The yearly addition to the total wealth of the nation has been less rapid since 1860 than it was in the preceding ten years, but we all know from observation that there has been no diminution in the increase of private fortunes. This being the fact it logically follows that if there is any branch of labor that was better off in 1890 than it was in 1860 there are other branches of labor that are worse off. If those workmen who are better off were not benefited at the expense of capital, at whose expense were they benefited? There is no escape from the conclusion that they have been benefited at the expense of other laborers.

The world does not, as has often been said, owe every man a living, but it owes to every man the opportunity to earn a living, and it is the duty of every humanitarian to devote his energies toward the discovery of the means to compel the world to pay that debt; *i. e.*, to secure to every man his birthright.

Every employed workingman thinks that he is not paid all that his labor is worth. It is true that the compensation of labor ought to be greater than it is, but it is infinitely more important that the unemployed should be given work than that those who are employed should have more pay. The claim of labor that is underpaid is, however, worthy of consideration.

THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH.

It has been asserted that the wealth of value created by labor belongs of right to the laborer who created it. This is true as an abstract proposition, but it applies only when the laborer produces value without the aid of anything belonging to any other person. If a man go down to the public dock with his own fishing tackle and catch a quantity of fish those fish belong wholly to him. But if he get his tackle and bait (and perhaps a boat in order that he may reach the best fishing grounds) from the boat-house, he will have to yield up the value of some of those fish to the boat-house keeper for the use of the latter's tools of trade. If our fisherman get a drayman to carry the fish up town he will have to give up another portion for transportation; if he go to the market house to dispose of his fish to the consumer he will have to part with another portion for the rent of a stall. He will be lucky if he can put into his own pocket twenty-five per cent of the value of the fish—a value which he created by catching them, for they had no value so long as they remained in the water uncaught. You will see that the laborer cannot have the entire product of his labor. He may be engaged in a line of production in which large capital is required. Capital is in its nature a tool of trade, by the aid of which production is largely increased. The laborer must pay for its use, as he must pay for rent, transportation, raw material, and various other expenses incidental to the production and marketing of goods.

LABOR'S SHARE OF THE PRODUCT.

The census statistics of 1890 show that the employees, including firm members, officers, and clerks, of the manufacturing industries in all cities of the United States of 20,000 population and upward numbered 2,907,882; total wages paid in the census

year, $1,567,444,001; cost of material used, $3,363,177,034; miscellaneous expenses, including taxes, rents, etc., $454,844,850; value of product turned out in one year, $6,278,338,476. It appears from these figures that a trifle less than 25 per cent of the value of goods produced was paid out for salaries and wages, 7.2 per cent was paid out for miscellaneous expenses, and 53.5 per cent was paid out for materials, leaving 15.3 per cent as net profit. This 15.3 per cent of the value of the product was, however, a trifle over 24 per cent of the capital invested. It will be seen that the shares of capital and labor were very nearly the same. In the latter, however, are included the salaries of firm members and officers, which, of course, are far above the compensation of the shopman. The average amount of yearly wages paid, including salaries of firm members and officers, was $539; the average amount paid to the skilled and unskilled workmen was $491.26. I have not at hand the official statistics of manufacturing for the smaller cities and villages, but an unofficial statement gives a much lower average compensation to labor in those places than is indicated by the foregoing figures.

It should be borne in mind, too, that the percentage paid for material is in reality divided between capital and labor, in the same equal, or nearly equal, proportions, the raw material of one industry being the finished product of another. As a matter of fact, if we get down to the bed rock in our analysis, we shall find that the total production is distributed between capital, labor, and taxes. (In this distribution I include the landlord among the capitalists, although his capital is not an active factor in production.) Labor cannot get a larger share of a given amount of production than it now receives unless smaller shares are divided between capital and taxes. The more we give to one the less we can give to the others. We cannot increase the percentages of all, any more than if we had ten apples to divide among five children we could give them three apiece.

ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL.

It is possible that the labor in a certain industry might receive larger compensation, on even a smaller percentage of the

product than it now receives, by an increase in the price of the product; but this increase would have to come out of the consumers, and as nine tenths of them are laborers, it would be a clear case of one class of workmen being benefited at the expense of other laborers. There can be no increase in the aggregate compensation of labor except by reducing taxes and the percentage of the product that is taken by capital.

It has doubtless been inferred from what I have said that I believe the first and most important thing to be done for the benefit of labor is to provide work for the vast army of unemployed. This is due to them not only as a right, but it is the only effective way to benefit those who have work. When work is provided for all who want it, the capitalist can be induced to take a smaller share of the product. He will take less when the demand for labor is equal to the supply, simply because he cannot help himself.

How can the demand for labor be so increased as to provide the unemployed with work?

A great many people have advocated a protective tariff as a means of giving everybody employment. I could give reasons in abundance, satisfactory to myself at least, why protection cannot benefit labor as a whole; that if it can be found that any class of laborers has been benefited by protection it will also be found that the benefit was at the expense of other workmen. I will, however, content myself with stating a few facts from the United States census.

Increased accumulation of national wealth can only result from increased production. The census reports of 1860, compared with those of 1850, show that during that decade of low tariff the total wealth of the United States increased 126 per cent; from 1860 to 1870 the increase of wealth was 87 per cent; from 1870 to 1880 the increase of wealth was 46 per cent. As the values of 1870 were inflated somewhat by the premium on gold it is best to put the two decades from '60 to '80 (specie payments having been resumed) together and average the increase of wealth at about 53 per cent for each decade. From 1880 to 1890 the increase of wealth was 49 per cent. High protection

began in 1861. The boast was recently made in a protectionist paper that under protection the wealth of the United States had increased from $514 per capita in 1860 to $1,038 per capita in 1890. What does this claim amount to? Merely this, that if a man started out in life in 1860 with $514 worth of property and worked for thirty years and got his share of the wealth created, no more and no less, he would, as the result of thirty years' toil, have added $524 to his $514! It is not much to boast of, after all. It represents an addition to per capita wealth of only twenty-seven per cent for each decade. Of course the country has been steadily growing richer. It was poorer in 1860 than it is now—poorer in 1850 than in 1860; but the census statistics show that the increase in per capita wealth from 1850 to 1860 was 66⅞ per cent, as against 27 per cent for each subsequent decade. If the rate of increase from 1850 to 1860 had been maintained the per capita wealth of 1890 would have been about $2,380 instead of $1,088.

The statistics show that protection has not increased the production of wealth, consequently it has not given increased employment to labor. The figures given are as reliable as any that are attainable. If the accuracy of the census statistics be questioned, then I say that those of us who have reached middle age know from personal observation that previous to 1860 there was, in ordinary times, work for everybody, while at no time since 1865 has the demand for labor been equal to the supply; we know that previous to 1860 the tramps, who now constitute six per cent of the adult male population, did not exist. Casting theory and argument aside, we know from personal observation that protection, as a means of furnishing employment to labor, has been a failure. I will add that while I am thoroughly convinced that a revenue tariff is less injurious to labor than is a protective tariff, labor's interests would be best promoted by tariff abolition—by the absolute freedom of each individual to trade off the product of his labor for the product of any other person's labor.

There are many reasons why work has been getting scarcer, relatively to the supply of labor. One of them, and probably

the first to make its influence felt, is the employment of women to do the work that was formerly done by men. Forty years ago the majority of public school-teachers were men; now three fourths of them in villages and cities are women. Doubtless women are the better teachers, but the change was due to the fact that they would work for lower wages, and thus a fixed school fund could, by reducing the monthly amount paid for teaching, be made to pay the cost of keeping the school open a greater number of months in the year. Twenty-five or thirty years ago there were few women bookkeepers, stenographers, telegraph operators, or even women clerks, in dry goods stores. The work that is done now by a lady bookkeeper for $5 to $10 per week would have been done twenty-five years ago by her brother for $15 to $20. Women have invaded all professions and all occupations where their strength is sufficient to do the work. In the manufacturing industries the percentage of increase in the number of females employed is much greater than the increase in the number of males. Of what avail is it to an American two-dollar-a-day workman to be "protected" against a one-dollar workman in Europe when an American woman takes his place and does his work for seventy-five cents? During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 the increase in the number of female workers in all occupations in the United States was 113 per cent, while the increase in the number of male workers was only 76 per cent. The change referred to, whether it be for good or ill (and much can be said on both sides), is permanent. The males whose former occupation is gone will have to do "something else." Should the present tendency continue it may yet become necessary for the boys to stay home and do the housework while the girls go out and help to earn the living for the family.

MONOPOLY LABOR'S GREAT ENEMY.

The growth of monopoly is another, and the chief, cause for the decrease in the opportunities for employment. Monopoly in its various forms is the cause of the extremes of wealth and poverty. Monopolies exist and are created for the sole purpose of giving their possessors more than a fair share of the production

of wealth. If the aggregate of wealth in the United States increases at the rate of only three or four per cent per annum, as the census statistics show, the monopolist who adds twenty-five to fifty per cent yearly to his capital gets vastly more than his share; and he cannot get more unless a great many other people get less—perhaps get nothing more than a bare living. Trusts and all other forms of combination to control the output and regulate the price of products are monopolistic in their nature.

NELSON BALDWIN.

THE SILVER QUESTION.*

BY JAY COOKE, ESQ.

NO issue before the country, in my judgment, is of such supreme importance as the question of silver. I am fully convinced that prosperity, and, in fact, the very salvation of the country, depends upon a return to bimetallism and free coinage. And while I speak so strongly I would not have it understood that I lessen or ignore the almost equal importance of that twin measure, viz.: the full restoration of protective duties on our manufactures and products, for we cannot, even with the remonetization of silver, enjoy the prosperity this country is entitled to, unless the heresy of free trade is abolished.

Let us examine this silver question:

It was not until about 1876 that the full effect of the demonetizing act of 1873 was brought to the notice of the public, and not until some time afterwards, when the natural effect of this legislation began to be seen in the depreciation of silver and of all American products, that parties began to inquire more particularly into the matter. It was found that Congress had ignorantly so legislated, and the then president had ignorantly signed a bill most deadly and injurious to the welfare of all our people.

It was freely admitted that Congress had no intention and that the president had no intention of demonetizing silver, when this disastrous bill was passed and signed. It is hardly necessary, at this late day, to present proofs of this assertion, but they are abundant. Judge William D. Kelley said, in the House of Representatives, on March 10, 1878: "I was chairman of the committee that reported the original bill, and I aver, on my honor,

* *Investment News.*

that] I did not know the fact that it proposed to drop the standard dollar, and did not learn that it had done it for eighteen months after the passage of the substitute offered by Mr. Hooper, when I disputed the fact." Senator Thurman said: "There is not a single man in the Senate, I think, unless a member of the committee from which the bill came, who had the slightest idea that it was even a squint toward demonetization." Representative Holman denounced the method of passing the act as a "colossal swindle." Senator Bright, of Tennessee, declared, "It passed by fraud in the House, never having been printed in advance, being a substitute for the printed bill," and there is no end of testimony to the same effect.

I have been told, and whether the story is true or false I cannot say, that this whole action was a conspiracy upon the part of some of our own officials, who had been spending some time in London, hobnobbing with the monometallists of that city, who came home fully committed to this act of demonetization. See how all the circumstances conspired to render the accomplishment of this action very easy, and apparently in the natural course of business. These parties above referred to, one of whom was said to have been the superintendent of the mint, met on his return to his duties the regular commission appointed to supervise the coinage. It was stated, and was a fact, that since the silver dollar of 371¼ grains fineness was made the unit of value in 1792, and owing to the scarcity and high price of silver, only some eight millions of silver dollars had been coined in a period of over eighty years, and the question was submitted: "Why not drop the silver dollar from the coinage and adopt the gold dollar as the unit of value?" The suggestion did not seem to attract much attention, but seemed plausible and was acceded to. When the matter was brought before Congress, it was passed over lightly and carelessly, and adopted without inquiry or examination. Thenceforward, the rights which the people had enjoyed under the Constitution were refused them, and the mints of this nation were violently closed against the free coinage of silver. I have always maintained that the contract between the states and the

United States has been violated by this closing of the mints to free coinage of silver, and, I believe, that if the question can ever be brought before the Supreme Court, it would be decided that all acts authorizing the refusal of free coinage of silver as well as gold would be pronounced unconstitutional.

This is how the mints of our country unconstitutionally have refused ever since 1873 the free coinage of silver. Subsidiary coin of silver, such as halves, quarters, dimes, and half-dimes, being much alloyed and liable to lose weight by abrasion, have never been a legal tender, beyond five dollars at one offer; therefore by refusing to continue the coinage of the old standard unit dollar, all silver became practically non-legal tender. The trade dollar, while containing more silver than the standard dollar, was provided only for the purposes of trade with the oriental countries, and was a makeshift, as, at that time, Mexican and Spanish dollars, which were used for this purpose, had risen to so great a premium and were so scarce that trade with China, Japan, and India was much hindered thereby. Besides, a large influx of silver at that period from the Nevada mines made such an outlet by this special coinage of trade dollars very desirable. A compromise by which the celebrated Bland dollar was issued, and the government undertook to purchase a certain amount of bullion each month, followed afterwards by the Sherman Bill requiring still larger purchases, were all attempts to compromise for the error committed by the demonetization of silver in 1873.

At the time the act demonetizing silver was passed, England alone, with the coöperation possibly of Germany, was the only country pledged to monometallism, and had our country stood firm, neither France nor the other Latin countries would have suspended the coinage of silver at its mints. The natural growth of our vigorous and money-handling population from North to South, and from East to West, would have absorbed every dollar of silver produced in this country, and much possibly that might have been admitted from Mexico.

This act has worked infinite harm and damage to all the debtor classes, which are as fifty to one in this country, compell-

ing all who rely upon the products of their industry to discharge their indebtedness, to pay such debts contracted when silver and gold were both equal standards of value, at a time now when gold alone is recognized as the unit of value and the basis of all value among the civilized nations of the world. The act was an unjust one toward the farmer, the planter, the borrower, and only profitable to the holders of gold-bearing bonds and large capitalists, both at home and abroad.

An increase of nearly fifty per cent in the burden of every one's indebtedness is surely in most instances felt and realized. A recent pamphlet by Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, which I recommend all to read, gives an intelligent view of the effect of demonetization of silver upon the interests of his people in Ireland. Even the whole of England, particularly those portions where cotton manufacturing and agriculture form the basis of trade and commerce, is suffering from the terrible effects of the demonetization of silver, bringing in as it does the direct competition of all the silver countries, not only in India and Egypt but in South America.

There is no longer any profit in farming or manufacturing cotton goods in England, and we all know how disastrously the competition, fostered and built up by the demonetization and depreciation of silver, has affected our own cotton and wheat-fields. The prices of these commodities have fallen in exact ratio with the decline of the London and New York prices for silver. American producers of wheat and cotton and other products which have hitherto formed so vast a proportion of our exports are now, owing to the decline in silver, producing in some instances not over one third the sum with which to liquidate our foreign debt and the interest thereon and in payment for our imports, that such products of our country netted before silver was demonetized. The loss runs up to hundreds of millions per annum and is one of the principal causes of our present distress and hard times.

We have been feeling the effect of this competition of oriental countries where silver alone is used, and not only have felt it, but have cause to fear a still greater encroachment upon our

prosperity from this source. The vast population of those eastern countries, the great variety of climate and productions, the rapid education of the people in agriculture and manufactures, will naturally interfere vastly with the development of our country and its continued prosperity. In fact, much of our present distress has been caused by the rapid competition on the part of these silver countries.

And now contrast our present distress with the conditions that would obtain upon the restoration of silver to its former use as a money metal. Could such remonetization be speedily attained by the return to free coinage on the part of Europe as well as ourselves, we all know that an era of prosperity such as this country has never before realized would ensue. The mints would then be open to free coinage, the vast number of mines, both gold and silver, would be worked to their fullest extent, the railroads in every part of the country, especially those leading to the various parts of the West, Southwest, and Northwest, would be habilitated and made profitable, hundreds and thousands of millions of value would be restored in railroad property, farms, mines, etc., and all the mercantile, farming, and manufacturing communities would again resume their old-time prosperity. And if the proposed international bimetallic conference should prove a failure, my plan would be at once to go back in our own country to bimetallism and open our mints to the free coinage of silver as well as gold. Let the government enact such regulations as would positively insure that not a dollar of silver produced out of our own country should be imported into the country, except upon the payment of such a duty as would be equal to five per cent greater than the depreciation in the markets of the world of silver bullion, or silver manufactured into any shape. I myself would not be at all afraid of any great influx of silver, even if there were no impediments to its importation; but this plan of placing a prohibitive tariff upon it would effectually calm the fears of those weak individuals who express apprehensions of large silver importations and the withdrawal of our gold. We could easily circulate every dollar of the product of our mines, and it would form a natural and

needed increase of the circulating medium in our midst. In the search and development for silver, much more gold would be produced than is now forthcoming.

Provision might still be retained for the exchange of currency of small denominations for silver and gold coin to be held in the treasury, and the notes circulated as a great convenience to the people. The expense of such issues would be a hundred-fold compensated for to the government by the destruction in various ways of these issues of notes and the saving of the really important loss on account of abrasion and the disappearance of gold and silver coins through fires, shipwrecks, and other causes. And upon this one point I want to call attention to the error of those statesmen at Washington who aver that the gold and silver now in the treasury is a vast sum of idle money, and particularly as to silver, a depreciated asset. They are wrong. The notes issued are in lieu of the gold and silver deposited, and they should be so regarded. What should be done is this: The coin, being held by the treasury to the amount of the notes issued, should be a legal tender, and the notes should be expressly issued as mere tokens. However, as they would be redeemable in coin upon presentation, they would be equal to the actual coin to all intents and purposes.

JAY COOKE.

THE ETHICS OF TRADE AND CAPITAL AS RELATED TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

BY DAVID ALLYN GORTON, M. D.

"When the passion for wealth has become prevalent, neither morals nor talents are proof against it."—*Sallust.*

THESE words were written by Sallust of classic memory on the eve of the disruption of the ancient republic nearly two thousand years ago. Rome then had become rich and poor, prosperous and profligate. How significant they are in connection with our own republic to-day!

The republic of America is confronted with a problem of political economics that demands the most serious consideration. It is a problem the solution of which by right belongs to the province of the politician and statesman. It is not a problem on which parties may divide, or which may be settled as the church settles an ecclesiastical question, by synods and councils. It is a problem in political science, and needs to be considered in a judicial spirit, free from partisan bias and the interests of class, and wholly from a politico-philosophical point of view.

The problem is not new. It is as old as society itself, and returns again and again to disturb the existing order of things. This problem comprehends the establishment of equality and fraternity in the body politic, the absence of which has upset republics and disrupted dynasties from time immemorial, and caused more misery than all other abnormal causes put together.

It is interesting to observe that in the evolutions of states and governments, the idea of equality has been dimly recognized, and feeble attempts have been made to incorporate it in the Constitution and the laws. This may be observed in the Magna Charta, the reform laws, etc., of England. It is noticeable, likewise, in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. Fraternity and equality were the watchwords of the Revolution and the idea obtained a place in the Constitution, but as a sentiment

merely, since no provision was made to carry the idea into effect, except by the adoption of universal suffrage. It is not too much to say that the political philosophers of that revolutionary period clearly perceived the divine principle that underlies social and political order, and entertained views concerning the rights of man in harmony with the advanced thought of the most advanced nation—France. The French revolutionists of '93 insisted that men are born equal, that is, that one child is of as good quality as another, and that its condition is not necessarily affected by the accident of the social position of its parents. Vauvenagues, a French writer of that century, maintained, indeed, that the distinction between men is not mental at all, but consists of "a little more or a little less bile."

Jefferson and the much-derided Paine held to the doctrine of universal equality and gave forcible expression to it, but, like other reformers and revolutionists, they confined themselves to postulates and precepts, failing utterly to devise or embody a system of political ethics that would give it practical effect. They clearly saw and seriously deprecated the evils which afflict the masses of mankind under the iron rule of social despotism, but did not, like Solon and Lycurgus, possess sufficient sagacity to devise means to prevent their generation and development in the polity of the new government. Instead of boldly extirpating the deadly upas which had strangled and was strangling society in Europe, and establishing an ethical system in the industrial polity of the republic, they depended on the ballot to secure equity and to maintain equality in the new country. Surely, thought they, with the ballot in every man's hand he will be able to take care of himself. Their bearings were all astray. It was as if they had planted the vine without first destroying the thorns, or sown rare grain and left in the soil the seeds of a noxious weed to grow up, choke, and destroy the wholesome plant. But it may be said that the people were too ignorant or too selfish to appreciate or give effect to a polity of economics that would secure justice and equality in the body politic, or that they were not prepared to accept a polity of equity and fair dealing, preferring rather the privilege of scrambling for profits

and spoils, and taking the chances for winning a fortune in what, to the ignorant and unthinking, is the game of life. The latter was undoubtedly the case. The man of to-day, like the semi-savage that he is, prefers an industrial polity that allows him to act for himself and his family unhampered by moral distinctions, or the scruples of conscience, regardless of justice or the rights of his fellowmen, taking the risk of the poorhouse or penitentiary, rather than content himself with honest toil and the fruits that it brings. He aspires to the supremacy that great wealth fosters, and would not, if he could, have an order of things in which great fortunes, which mean great swindling, could not exist. It is "the deep-rooted selfishness which forms the general character of the existing state of society," says John Stuart Mill, "that is at fault in this matter"—a selfishness, he says, that is "fostered by existing institutions."*

He that is greatest among you, let him be your teacher, not your master and despoiler. It is one of the strangest inconsistencies to be observed in so-called civilized society, that while the human animal gravely prays for the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth and for grace to imitate his divine Exemplar, he deliberately and covertly preys on his fellowmen and disregards the precepts of the divine Teacher. The reflective observer cannot but be amazed at the spectacle of an honest man—a so-called Christian man—practicing all manner of secrecy, deceit, duplicity, prevarication, and downright lying to further schemes of selfish profit to the wrong and injury of his fellows. Such wrongs are rated legitimate by a misguided public sentiment, and he who is most accomplished in their practice is an object of admiration and is looked upon as shrewder than other men and the fittest to survive. He is the successful man, and for that reason is intrusted with great enterprises, in which large fortunes are won—not earned—from a public less sharp and cunning, but more confiding, than himself.

He who possesses or controls the property of a people is master of their liberties. It matters not how it is done, whether by sharp practice or by piracy, the exactions of a czar or taxation,

* "Autobiography," page 233.

"corners" or special legislation, "combines" or the laws and customs of business—the people are enslaved all the same. The lesson taught by the ancient republic ought to be instructive to this. Or must a republic, like youth, learn by its own experience? There is no certain way to judge the future but by the past. Let us cite a solitary example from Rome: When Rome acquired possession of Italy, large estates fell into the hands of the patricians and conquerors. These estates were cultivated by tenants who, free before, now became slaves. Thus was prevented the growth of a free, agricultural class, the evil consequences of which may be seen in Italy to-day. The patricians, by these means, gained enormous wealth, which they used to corrupt the commonalty of the capital. By monopolizing the products of labor, they subjected the laborer. War and rapine served the patrician and demoralized the people through the power of wealth. When Rome became a nation of soldiers she threw off the toga, the emblem of citizenship, and put on the sword. The condition of the middle class fell by degrees to that of the plebeian—living mainly on the expenditures of the privileged class, forced to do their bidding and to fight their battles. And when a reformer arose in the person of Tiberius Gracchus, and proposed to limit the possession of the soil by the patrician to four hundred acres each, and to divide the balance among the people, giving them thirty acres apiece, he was violently assailed, and finally slain at the hands of a patrician mob. It was to prevent the repetition of such movements in behalf of justice and equality that a stronger government was introduced and a Julius Cæsar enthroned.

The fate of democracy at Rome has been repeated in the history of every people. The most modern illustration of the enslaving of a people by spoliation in Europe may be found in Russia. Living a simple pastoral life, cultivating the earth and the arts of peace, the people of that empire enjoyed for centuries the free possession of the soil they tilled and lived upon. Peace prevailed, if not plenty, and mendicity was unknown. But evil days came by the irruption in the sixteenth century of that great robber and chieftain, Boris Godounof, who established a system

of government which was fast dying out in the rest of Europe, namely, the feudal system. The change from a peaceful, pastoral life to one of strife, war, reprisals, and rapine, developed the usual results—rival factions and powerful chieftains, civil and military, among whom the people and all their possessions were freely distributed. The land, the common mother and rightful heritage of all men, became the exclusive property of those whose might in strife proved themselves to be equal to its possession. Life estates were established, at first by force and afterward by law. Thus was laid the foundation of a noble and privileged class. The owners of the soil were freemen; the tillers of the soil were vassals, whom the great Godounof, at a later period, boldly reduced to a condition closely allied to slavery. His decree was "that the servants of nobles who worked by contract should not be allowed to quit their masters; and the masters were prohibited from dismissing their servants who had lived with them for a certain period. By this law multitudes became serfs without knowing it."*

A century later came Peter the Great, whose greatness consisted in riveting the chains of servitude on the masses which were so skilfully forged by Godounof. What had hitherto been held as a life estate, Peter made hereditary and perpetual. In 1845, nearly the whole of the vast territory of Russia was held by a few thousand nobles, and with it, also, the men, women, and children and other animals who were permitted to drudge upon it—slaves every one as abject and absolute as a Louisiana negro before the Civil War—numbering, exclusive of beasts, about twenty-four million souls, or rather serfs, for their souls were long since crushed to death beneath the iron heel of a selfishness as base and demoniacal in conception as any the arch enemy of mankind might devise. Need we wonder that it produced resentments which materialized into nihilism? Rabbe and Duncan characterize the conduct of Peter the Great "as a most atrocious crime, far outweighing any service he may have rendered to civilization." By beggaring the people he despoiled them of their liberties.

* "History of Russia," Vol. II., page 267, by Alphonse Rabbe and Jonathan Duncan.

What Peter the Great did in Russia, Charlemagne in Germany and France, William the Bastard and his mail-clad followers and adventurers did in England—and by the same means, despoiling the people of their lands. Having taken forcible possession of the island, William proceeded to divide it into baronies, and to apportion them among his foreign coadjutors and native adherents. "The whole kingdom," says Hume, "contained about seven hundred chief tenants, and sixty thousand, two hundred, and fifteen knights."* Some of these land grants were enormous. His majesty's sister's son, Hugh de Brincis, received the whole county of Chester; Odo, bishop of Baieux, had four hundred and thirty-nine manors and lordships; Robert, earl of Montaigne, nine hundred and seventy-three; Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, two hundred and eighty, etc. These feudal grants were at first life estates, but were afterward made hereditary, because "a man would more readily expose himself in battle if assured that his family should inherit his possessions." This was the foundation of that great robbery, the land tenure of England, by which nineteen-twentieths of the English people own no land and are practically serfs to-day.

The status of ownership of land in England has changed somewhat for the better during the last century. While the number of landowners has increased, three hundred and thirty-three peers still—I was about to say own, but can one own any part of the solar system?—have possession of about one sixth of the soil of England. More than one half of the ratable land of England is held by less than five thousand persons—the gentry. One fourth of England is held by seven hundred and ten persons; one twentieth by public bodies and corporations; about three quarters of a million hold a fraction of an acre apiece; while upward of nineteen millions are landless. In Scotland, the landed situation is still worse, the half of her soil being held by seventy persons. Less than seventeen hundred persons hold more than nine tenths of her territory, about half the area of England. Her nobility possess immense estates from which they derive princely revenues. These estates are hereditary, be it

* "History of England," Vol. I., page 195.

observed, and cannot be bought or given away out of the family, except by revolution or confiscation. This last procedure would have long since taken place had it not been for the asylum which the broad acres of America and the English provinces have afforded the oppressed of the United Kingdom.

This state of land tenure had the effect to produce a privileged class, who made laws to promote their interests and to perpetuate their powers and privileges, and to keep in a position of dependence bordering on pauperism the masses of Englishmen. In England, the industrial classes live to toil, and toil only to eat and die. Within a few years since, "the ox, the ass, the man-slave, and the woman-slave were in the same legal position; their comfort and desires were no further consulted than was necessary to keep them in good condition for work."* The rulers held up the cross, the symbol of self-sacrifice, before the masses, but trampled it under foot themselves. Wages were regulated by law, and were barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. Young children were put to toil, and were forbidden by statute to go to school or to learn to read. In Russia, the catechism of the Greek Church taught children to love the czar before God, and went so far as to denounce it a crime to love any one but the czar. The circulation of the Bible was prohibited, and the penalty for a peasant reading it was flogging and banishment to the mines of Siberia.

In England, under the feudal system, the masses were even more degraded and oppressed than in Russia, and for a like reason. Their function was to work and to serve at such wages as the laws in which they had no hand in making prescribed, the profits of which went to swell the coffers of their masters. As society emerged from feudalism and the civil power assumed the functions hitherto exercised by the military, the existing order of social distinction was guarded with zealous care. The masses were denied a voice in the government, in making or interpreting the laws. Property was held in higher regard than human life. The penalty for robbery was the same as for treason. The enginery of religion and the terrors of superstition were invoked

* *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1875.

to keep the masses in ignorance and subjection. They might learn to repeat the catechism and to pray for their rulers and all others in authority, but it was unlawful for them to learn to read. Was not Bunyan thrown into prison for teaching the Bible to the poor but a little more than two hundred years ago? Their education was prohibited by special statutes. The man or woman who refused to work on terms prescribed by law was a rebel, an outlaw, and had the letter V burnt into his flesh—meaning villein—or was sent to prison and kept on bread and water. No Christian priest dared tell his flock that mankind were of one flesh and blood until long after the Reformation.

Such were the causes and such the conditions of society in England until long in the eighteenth century. It was followed by what we are wont to call, and falsely so, prosperity, meaning an increase of wealth. Wealth did increase enormously. So likewise did poverty and destitution. England became the richest country in the world—and the poorest. She is so to-day. The sun never sets on her dominions, but, nevertheless, one sixth of her population depends for support, in whole or in part, on public or private charity. Her prosperity was followed, and legitimately so, by an enormous increase of the criminal class. Late in the sixteenth century the state was literally deluged with thieves, burglars, highway robbers, pickpockets, coin-clippers, beggars, etc. During the reign of Henry VIII. no less than seventy-two thousand thieves and robbers, made such by wrong and oppression, were executed; while a larger number of honest men languished in prison for debt.

Let us repeat and emphasize our maxim: He who controls or possesses the property of a people is master of their liberties. "The destruction of a people is their poverty," said Solomon. And Robert Dale Owen declared that "men in the mass cannot be miserable and virtuous,"* and, let me add, neither can they be miserable and healthy. George Eliot with equal force likened poverty to leprosy. With the loss of liberty there follows a long train of evils, destitution, loss of self-respect, vagrancy, petty larceny, disease, and criminal impulses, which mean inherited

* "Essay on Labor."

resentments against wrong and oppression. Let us not deceive ourselves as to the causes of disease and crime, or overlook the fact that they are correlative, that is, interchangeable, both as to causes and effects. Mental disease and criminal impulses are frequently identical. Thus physical disease may corrupt the moral nature; and both physical and moral disease may be due to want and misery. An oppressed people propagate a progeny that breed the worst forms of diseases, both moral and physical, by reason of such oppression, and it is an ominous sign to see a state filling up with an infirm and criminal class, necessitating an increase of poorhouses, hospitals, foundlings, reformatories, and penitentiaries. We pride ourselves on the magnitude of our philanthropy and the splendor of our charities. Those things ought to be our shame as a civilized nation. Philanthropy! I hate the name! What the individual needs from society is justice, not alms. In a civilization worthy the name there would be no necessity for philanthropy. The charities are pointed to as evidence of our growth in the humanities. And so they are. But what self-respecting man or woman is there among us who would have such virtues cultivated by practice on him or her? What we would not have imposed upon us we should not impose upon our fellows, nor foster a social condition that makes the imposition a necessity. If the virtue of philanthropy cannot be developed without a subsoil of poverty and degradation to grow it in, in the name of heaven let it be given up.

In contrast with the condition of society in Russia, England, or, indeed, any other European state, that under our government is so greatly improved that one does not feel like finding fault with it. But the experience of the past makes demands that must not be ignored. No observant individual can fail to find in America the leaven of inequality, which is the bane of democracy, insidiously at work in the body politic. There are evils at work in our society over which it is dangerous to slumber. The passion for wealth, which Sallust justly says is proof against morals, has become dominant in America. The weeds of dissension which our forefathers failed to uproot have grown into such proportions as to threaten the existence of popular

government. The development of great fortunes is dividing society into classes similar to those of Europe, namely the cultured and the uncultured, the rich and the poor, the ruling and the ruled. Not only are capital and labor pitted one against the other, but the capitalist and the laborer are at war with each other. Each has organized against the other. Instance the great strike of the last year, in which more than a score of railroad companies, representing upward of two billions of dollars of capital, were arrayed against the American Railway Union of employees, the leaders of which have been convicted of "conspiracy" — conspiracy against interstate commerce, technically, but really against corporate property—and sent to prison.

History is repeating itself. The evils of inequality which have divided society in the Old World, and made a standing army a necessity, are being developed in the New, and from the same causes—the unequal distribution of wealth. Seizure of the soil and the establishment of a landed aristocracy led, as we have seen, to social distinctions, divisions, and disruptions in the Old World; seizure of the soil and the organization and combination of capital and privation of the laborer from sharing the increment of his labor, are the causes which have led to the unequal distribution of wealth and the creation of social distinctions in the New. A standing army is already a necessity in this great republic to keep peace between the rich and the poor, the employed and the employer. The soil has been alienated from the people to a large extent, but not enough to produce any serious consequences at present. But the effect of these causes is already manifest in the creation of great fortunes—the greatest fortunes the world has seen—and an alarming increase of poverty and of a pauper and criminal class. More than three fourths of the wealth of the country is in the hands of about one tenth of the people. Nine tenths of the people—the producers of wealth—are mostly poor, and live from hand to mouth.

Many of the large fortunes in the United States have been made by direct connivance of the government. In many cases the people's representatives have been bribed to vote subsidies

and land grants to great corporations. The Credit Mobilier affair is fresh in living memory. The courts, too, have been induced by money to violate their trusts against the people's interests. In the matter of interest due the government by the Pacific railroads, the late Senator Stanford—a man of a hundred millions of dollars—is alleged to have bought an opinion in favor of his roads of the United States Supreme Court.

But pickings and stealings and misappropriations of the people's possessions are unhappily not the worst features in the maladministration of the general government. The property of the people is diverted from its legitimate use; the unoccupied lands, mines of gold, silver, copper, coal, etc., fountains of oil, and other resources of wealth on land and in the sea, are being squandered or given away to monopolists and corporations. The government grants and subsidies to railroad companies are enormous. The grants and subsidies to the Union Pacific Railroad Company alone are 12,000 acres to the mile, making a total grant, to 1,800 miles of road, of 21,600,000 acres—an amount of land almost equal to two thirds of the territory of England. It has been equally generous to other Pacific railroads, giving to them, inclusive of the Union Pacific, a total of about one hundred and seventy million acres, or two hundred and sixty-five thousand, five hundred and eighty-seven square miles. The grants of land to railroads other than the various Pacifics are even more enormous, but I cannot undertake to give the figures. This amount of land forms an area nearly six times that of the great state of New York, and more than eight times the territory of New England, or of Old England, larger than California, nearly as large as Texas, and a little less than half as large as Alaska. But the government has been equally improvident—not to say profligate—to these companies in subsidies of bonds, giving its bonds bearing six per cent interest to the amount of $27,236,512 to the Union Pacific alone. The total subsidies of the government to the various Pacific railroad companies in bonds, since 1862, nearly equal the national debt previous to the War of the Rebellion, as the following official statement shows:

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, in accordance with the acts of July 1, 1862, and July 2, 1864, bearing six per cent interest, payable in lawful money, January and July, and redeemable in thirty years:

Central Pacific, principal outstanding	$ 25,885,120
Kansas Pacific	6,303,000
Union Pacific	27,236,512
Central Branch, Union Pacific	1,600,000
Western Pacific	1,970,560
Sioux City and Pacific	1,628,320
Total	$ 64,623,512

Moreover, the Union Pacific Company mortgaged its land grants, from which it realized ten millions of dollars more—which the president of that corporation put into his pocket. Messrs. Stanford, Hopkins, Crocker, and Huntington realized out of those roads from thirty millions to one hundred millions of dollars each, but not one cent in money, either of interest or principal, have they yet refunded to the government.

DAVID ALLYN GORTON.

SHOULD MARRIAGE LAWS BE REVISED?

BY WILLIAM A. JAYCOX.

IN a recent case in the Supreme Court of the United States the court was equally divided on the question as to what constitutes a valid marriage, whether conformity to certain ceremonies or the mere consent of the parties. Marriage, like necessity, knows no law.

There is not a state in the Union where land can be transferred unless the transfer be in writing and duly acknowledged by the grantor; but by the present system of marriage, although either party thereby acquires an interest in the land of the other, the contract need not be in writing, there need be no consideration or any other requisite except the consent (express or implied) of the parties. Marriage being a civil contract should conform to the requisites of other civil contracts and so far as it partakes of the nature of a judgment of a court of law it should conform to the requisites of a judgment.

The marriage ceremony is as binding on the parties as the judgment of any court; indeed few judgments can impose greater responsibilities or be as far-reaching in effects. The ceremony imposes duties on the husband that run parallel with life and are effective in death. No matter what deception the woman may have practiced, what misrepresentation she may have made to him, these are not grounds for separation or divorce. The minute he consents to take her for his wedded wife henceforth he must live with her and support her and at his death her interest vests in his property. By the word "yes" he has signed a contract that will not outlaw, a will that he cannot revoke. Other contracts may be rescinded by the consent of the parties, this one never.

Marriage should be the decree of a court, granted only under prescribed conditions. A court could be established for that

purpose similar to the present surrogate court or that of coroner. The condition of marriage should be framed by statute.

It is rather unreasonable that a divorce should be granted for a cause existing at the time of marriage, even though both parties had knowledge of the cause. If the fact that "one of the parties had not attained the age of legal consent" is a cause for divorce, it is certainly a cause for preventing the marriage. Any condition that is a sufficient ground for divorce should, if existing at the time of marriage, be sufficient ground for forbidding it. In the state of New York there are five causes either of which existing at the time of marriage is a ground for divorce, while the aggregate number of causes in all the states for which divorce and separation are granted is forty-two; yet none of these causes is a legal obstacle to marriage. As a precedent condition of marriage the contracting parties should be required to show themselves free from all these causes.

In the marriage ceremony the husband promises to support the wife. As a condition of marriage he should prove his ability to do it. If a man make a promise it is but reasonable that he show how he is to fulfill it. Great latitude should be allowed under this qualification. One man's wealth is his invested capital, another's his physical strength, and the latter is as stable as the former.

As another condition of marriage the parties should show themselves free from any contagious or hereditary disease. We are here met with the objection that a man cannot be prevented from marrying, that we cannot legislate away the passions. Why not hinder an idiot or hereditary consumptive from marrying as a minor is prevented from conveying land or bringing a suit? Each is under a disability that a state should recognize. It is a general principle to legislate against the disabilities and even misfortunes of men. When a person has smallpox or cholera he is prevented from having social contact with his fellows. Against his consent he may be taken from his home and isolated from mankind. Civil law makes every man his brother's keeper. At the public expense asylums are now built and maintained for the insane, prisons for criminals, and hospitals for the sick. The

object of Christian civilization is to relieve human need and suffering. Prevention is better than cure. It is nobler to hinder need and suffering than to relieve them.

As to legislating away human passions, it is now a common subject of our penal code. While the punishment for rape, sodomy, and kindred crimes is severe, these acts are scarcely more heinous and no more baneful to society than the propagation of idiots, consumptives, or drunkards. Who would think it a harsh law that prevented a leper from marrying! More people die annually in the United States from tuberculosis than from all the so-called contagious diseases combined. It is self-evident that whether we call tuberculosis "contagious" or "prevalent" it has a stronger tendency than these diseases to spread. A family history that would debar a person from life insurance should also debar him from marriage.

Residence is a condition of marriage in nearly every country of Europe and a few states of the American Union make marriage registration compulsory. While residence, as a condition of marriage, would often be an inconvenience to one of the parties, in every instance it would be easy to establish thoroughly their identity. This would do away with fictitious unions, localize the parties, and put the question of marriage beyond dispute. Registration is of no value unless the identity of the parties is established. Thus the legal status of the parties, their property, the legitimacy of the children, become a matter of record and stable.

WILLIAM A. JAYCOX.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

BY HON. J. L. M. CURRY, LL.D., SECRETARY SLATER FUND.

THE most obvious hindrance in the way of the education of the negro has so often been presented and discussed—his origin, history, environments—that it seems superfluous to treat it anew. His political status, sudden and unparalleled, complicated by antecedent condition, excited false hopes and encouraged the notion of reaching *per saltum*, without the use of the agencies of time, labor, industry, discipline, and what the dominant race had attained after centuries of toil and trial and sacrifice. Education, property, habits of thrift and self-control, higher achievements of civilization, are not extemporized or created by magic or legislation. Behind the Caucasian lie centuries of the educating, uplifting influence of civilization, of the institutions of family, society, the churches, the state, and the salutary effects of heredity. Behind the negro are centuries of ignorance, barbarism, slavery, superstition, idolatry, fetichism, and the transmissible consequences of heredity.

Nothing valuable or permanent in human life has been secured without the substratum of moral character, of religious motive, in the individual, the family, the community. In this matter the negro should be judged charitably, for his aboriginal people were not far removed from the savage state, where they knew neither house nor home and had not enjoyed any religious training. Their condition as slaves debarred them the advantage of regular, continuous, systematic instruction. The negro began his life of freedom and citizenship with natural weakness uncorrected, with loose notions of piety and morality, and with strong racial peculiarities and proclivities, and has not outgrown the feebleness of the moral sense which is common to all primitive races. The *Plantation Missionary* of this year, a journal edited and published for the improvement of the "black belt" of

Alabama, says, "five millions of negroes are still illiterate, and multitudes of them idle, bestial, and degraded, with slight ideas of purity or thrift." The discipline of virtue, the incorporation of creed into personal life, is largely wanting, and hence physical and hysterical demonstrations, excited sensibilities, uncontrolled emotions, transient outbursts of ardor, have been confounded with the graces of the Spirit and of faith based on knowledge. Contradiction, negation, paradox, and eccentricity are characteristics of the ignorant and superstitious, especially when they concern themselves with religion.

The economic condition is a most serious drawback to mental and moral progress. Want of thrift, of frugality, of foresight, of skill, of right notions of consumption, and of proper habits of acquiring and holding property, has made the race the victim and prey of usurers and extortioners. The negro rarely accumulates, for he does not keep his savings, or put them in permanent and secure investments. He seems to be under little stimulus toward social improvement, or any ambition except that of being able to live from day to day. "As to poverty, eighty per cent of the wealth of the nation is in the North and only twenty per cent in the South. Of this twenty per cent a very small share indeed falls to the seven millions of negroes who constitute by far the poorest element of our American people."* "While it is true that a limited number of the colored people are becoming well-to-do, it is also equally true that the masses of them have made but little advance in acquiring property during their thirty years of freedom. Millions of them are yet in real poverty and can do little more than simply maintain physical existence."† No trustworthy statement of the property held by negroes is possible, because but few states, in assessing property, discriminate between the races. In *Occasional Papers*,‡ No. 4, Mr. Gannett, in discussing the tendency of population toward cities, concludes that "the negro is not fitted either by nature or education for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities," and that as the

* *American Missionary*, November, 1894, page 390.
† *Home Missionary Monthly*, August, 1894, page 318.
‡ Issued by the Trustees of the Slater Fund.

inclinations of the race "tend to keep it wedded to the soil, the probabilities are that the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from the cities and cultivate the soil as heretofore" (page 16). The black farm-laborers hire to white proprietors, work for wages or on shares, give a lien on future earnings for food, clothing, shelter, and the means for cultivation of the crops. The meager remainder, if it exist at all, is squandered in neighboring stores for whiskey, tobacco, and worthless "goods." Thus the negro in his industrial progress is hindered by his rude and primitive methods of farming, his wastefulness and improvidence. The manner of living almost necessarily begets immorality and degradation. Mr. Washington, in his useful annual conferences, has emphasized the need of improved rural abodes and the fatal consequences of crowding a whole family into one room. The report already quoted from *Home Monthly*, page 22, says: "On the great plantations (and the statement might be much further extended) there has been but little progress in thirty years. The majority live in one-room cabins, tabernacling in them as tenants at will." The poverty, wretchedness, hopelessness of the present life are sometimes in pitiable contrast to the freedom from care and anxiety, the cheerfulness and frolicsomeness, of the ante-bellum days.

The average status of the negro is much misunderstood by some persons. The incurable tendency of opinion seems to be exaggerated optimism or pessimism, to eager expectancy of impossible results or distrust or incredulity as to future progress. It is not easy to form an accurate judgment of a country, or of its population, or to generalize logically, from a Pullman car window, or from snatches of conversation with a porter or waiter, or from the testimony of one race only, or from exceptional cases like Bruce, Price, Douglas, Washington, Revels, Payne, Simmons, etc. Individual cases do not demonstrate a general or permanent widening of range of mental possibilities. Thirty years may test and develop instances of personal success, of individual manhood, but are too short a time to bring a servile race, as a whole, up to equality with a race which is the heir of centuries of civilization, with its uplifting results and

accessories. It should be cheerfully conceded that some negroes have displayed abilities of a higher order and have succeeded in official and professional life, in pulpit and literature. The fewness gives conspicuousness, but does not justify an *a priori* assumption adverse to future capability of the race.

Practically, no negro born since 1860 was ever a slave. More than a generation has passed since slavery ceased in the United States. Despite some formidable obstacles, the negroes have been favored beyond any other race known in the history of mankind. Freedom, citizenship, suffrage, civil and political rights, educational opportunities, and religious privileges, every method and function of civilization, have been secured and fostered by federal and state governments, ecclesiastical organizations, munificent individual benefactions, and yet the results have not been, on the whole, such as to inspire most sanguine expectations, or justify conclusions of rapid development or of racial equality. In some localities there has been degeneracy rather than ascent in the scale of manhood, relapse instead of progress. The unusual environments should have evolved a higher and more rapid degree of advancement. Professor Mayo-Smith, who has made an ethnological and sociological study of the diverse elements of our population, says, "No one can as yet predict what position the black race will ultimately take in the population of this country." He would be a bold speculator who ventured, from existing facts, to predict what would be the outcome of our experiment with African citizenship and African development. Mr. Bryce, the most philosophical and painstaking of all foreign students of our institutions, in the last edition of his great work, says:

> There is no ground for despondency to any one who remembers how hopeless the extinction of slavery seemed sixty or even forty years ago, and who marks the progress which the negroes have made since their sudden liberation. Still less is there reason for impatience, for questions like this have in some countries of the Old World required ages for their solution. The problem which confronts the South is one of the great secular problems of the world, presented here under a form of peculiar difficulty. And as the present differences between the African and the European are the product of thousands of years, during which one race was advancing in the temperate, and the other remaining sta-

tionary in the torrid zone, so centuries may pass before their relations as neighbors and fellow-citizens have been duly adjusted.

It would be unjust and illogical to push too far the comparison and deduce inferences unfair to the negro, but it is an interesting coincidence that Japan began her entrance into the family of civilized nations almost contemporaneously with emancipation in the United States. In 1858 I witnessed the unique reception by President Buchanan, in the East Room of the White House, of the commissioners from Japan. With a rapidity without a precedent, she has taken her place as an equal and independent nation, and her rulers demand acknowledgment at the highest courts, and her ministers are officially the equals of their colleagues in every diplomatic corps. By internal development, without extraneous assistance, Japan has reached a degree of self-reliance, of self-control, of social organization, of respectable civilization, far beyond what our African citizens have attained under physical, civic, and religious conditions by no means unfavorable. It is true that Japan for a long time had a separate nationality, while the freedmen have been dependent wards, but the oriental nation, without the great ethical and pervasive and ennobling and energizing influence of Christianity (for the propagandism of the daring Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century has been effaced) has recorded her ascents by monuments of social life and dramatic events in history. Her mental culture and habits and marvelous military success are witnesses of her progress and power. We have been accustomed to think of the whole Orient, that "fifty years of Europe were better than a cycle of Cathay," but within a quarter of a century Japan has transformed social usages and manners, arts and manufactures, and in 1889, when we were celebrating the centennial of our Constitution, she adopted a constitution, with a limited monarchy and parliamentary institutions.

Much of the aid lavished upon the negro has been misapplied charity, and, like much other alms-giving, hurtful to the recipient. Northern philanthropy, "disastrously kind," has often responded with liberality to appeals worse than worthless. Vagabond mendicants have been pampered; schools which were

established without any serious need of them have been helped; public school systems, upon which the great mass of children, white and colored, must rely for their education, have been underrated and injured, and schools, of real merit and doing good work, which deserve confidence and contributions, have had assistance, legitimately their due, diverted into improper channels. Reluctantly and by constraint of conscience, this matter is mentioned and this voice of protest and warning raised. Dr. A. D. Mayo, of Boston, an astute and thoughtful observer, a tried friend of the black man, an eloquent advocate of his elevation, who for fifteen years has traversed the South in the interests of universal education, than whom no one has a better acquaintance with the schools of that section, bears cogent and trustworthy testimony, to which I give my emphatic indorsement:

It is high time that our heedless, undiscriminating, all-out-doors habit of giving money and supplies to the great invading army of southern solicitors should come to an end. Whatever of good has come from it is of the same nature as the habit of miscellaneous alms-giving, which our system of associated charities is everywhere working to break up. It is high time that we understood that the one agency on which the negroes and nine tenths of the white people in the South must rely for elementary instruction and training is the American common school. The attempt to educate 2,000,000 of colored and 3,000,000 of white American children in the South by passing around the hat in the North; sending driblets of money and barrels of supplies to encourage anybody and everybody to open a little useless private school; to draw on our Protestant Sunday-schools in the North to build up among these people the church parochial system of elementary schools, which the clergy of these churches are denouncing; all this, and a great deal more that is still going on among us, with of course the usual exceptions, has had its day and done its work. The only reliable method of directly helping the elementary department of southern education is that our churches and benevolent people put themselves in touch with the common school authorities in all the dark places, urging even their poorer people to do more, as they can do more, than at present. The thousand dollars from Boston that keeps alive a little private or denominational school in a southern neighborhood, if properly applied would give two additional months, better teaching, and better housing to all the children, and unite their people as in no other way. Let the great northern schools in the South established for the negroes be reasonably endowed and worked in coöperation with the public school system of the state, with the idea that in due time they

will all pass into the hands of the southern people, each dependent on its own constituency for its permanent support. I believe, in many instances, it would be the best policy to endow or aid southern schools that have grown up at home and have established themselves in the confidence of the people. While more money should every year be given in the North for southern education, it should not be scattered abroad, but concentrated on strategic points for the uplifting of both races.

After the facts, hard, stubborn, unimpeachable, regretable, which have been given, we may well inquire whether much hasty action has not prevailed in assigning to the negro an educational position which ancient and modern history does not warrant. The partition of the continent of Africa by and among European nations can hardly be ascribed solely to a lust for territorial aggrandizement. The energetic races of the North begin to realize that the tropical countries—the food and the material producing regions of the earth—cannot, for all time to come, be left to the unprogressive, uncivilized colored race, deficient in the qualities necessary to the development of the rich resources of the lands they possess. The strong powers seem unwilling to tolerate the wasting of the resources of the most fertile regions through the apparent impossibility, by the race in possession, of acquiring the qualities of efficiency which exist elsewhere. The experiment of the Congo Free State, one of the richest and most valuable tracts in Africa, established and fostered under propitious circumstances by the king of Belgium, seems likely to be a barren failure and to prove that African colonization is not a practicable scheme, without state subvention, or the strong, overmastering hand of some superior race. It requires no superior insight to discover that human evolution has come from the energy, thrift, discipline, social and political efficiency of peoples whose power is not the result of varying circumstances, "of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to control."*

* Since this paper was prepared, Bishop Turner, of Georgia, a colored preacher of intelligence and respectability, in a letter from Liberia, May 11, 1895, advises the reopening of the African slave-trade and says that, as a result of such enslavement for a term of years by a civilized race, "millions and millions of Africans, who are now running around in a state of nudity, fighting, necromancing, masquerading, and doing everything that God disapproves of, would be working and benefiting the world." Equally curious and absurd is the conclusion of the editor of the *Globe Quarterly Review* (July, 1895, New York), a northern man, that "nothing but some sort of reënslavement can make the negro work, therefore he must be reënslaved or driven from the land." Could anything be more surprising than these utterances by a former slave and by an abolitionist, or show more clearly "the difficulties, complications, and limitations" which environ the task and the duty of "uplifting the lately emancipated race"?

The negro occupies an incongruous position in our country. Under military necessity slaves were emancipated, and all true Americans accept the jubilant eulogium of the poet, when he declares our country

> "A later Eden planted in the wilds,
> With not an inch of earth within its bounds
> But if a slave's foot press, it sets him free."

Partisanship and an altruistic sentiment led to favoritism, to civic equality, and to bringing the negroes, for the first time in their history, and without any previous preparation, "into the rivalry of life on an equal footing of opportunity." The whole country has suffered in its material development from the hazardous experiment. The South, as a constituent portion of the Union, is a diseased limb on the body, is largely uncultivated, neglected, unproductive. Farming, with the low prices of products, yields little remunerative return on labor or on money invested, and, except in narrow localities and where "trucking" obtains, is not improving agriculturally, or, if so, too slowly and locally to awaken any hopes of early or great recovery.* Crippled, disheartened by the presence of a people not much inferior in numbers, of equal civil rights, and slowly capable of equal mental development or of taking on the habits of advanced civilization, the white people of the South are deprived of any considerable increase of numbers from immigration and any large demand for small freeholds, and are largely dependent on ignorant, undisciplined, uninventive, inefficient, unambitious labor. Intercourse between the Slavs and the tribes of the Ural-Altaic stock, fusion of ethnic elements, has not resulted in deterioration, but has produced an apparently homogeneous people, possessing a common consciousness. That the two diverse races now in the South can ever perfectly harmonize, while occupying the same territory, no one competent to form an opinion believes. Mr. Bryce concludes that the negro will stay socially distinct, as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable. That the presence, in the same country, of two dis-

* The last assessment of property in Virginia, 1895, shows a decrease of $8,133,374 from last year's valuation.

tinctly marked races, having the same rights and privileges, of unequal capacities of development—one long habituated to servitude, deprived of all power of initiative, of all high ideal, without patriotism beyond a mere weak attachment—is a blessing, is too absurd a proposition for serious consideration. Whether the great resources of the South are not destined, under existing conditions, to remain only partially developed, and whether agriculture is not doomed to barrenness of results, are economic and political questions alien to this discussion.

"The great work of educating the negroes is carried on mainly by the public schools of the Southern States, supported by funds raised by public taxation, and managed and controlled by public school officers. The work is too great to be attempted by any other agency, unless by the national government; the field is too extensive, the officers too numerous, the cost too burdensome." * The American Congress deliberately and repeatedly refused aid for the prevention or removal of illiteracy, and upon the impoverished South the burden and the duty were devolved. Bravely and with heroic self-sacrifice have they sought to fulfil the obligation.

In the distribution of public revenues, in the building of asylums, in provision for public education, no discrimination has been made against the colored people. The law of Georgia, October, 1870, establishing a public school system, expressly states that both races shall have equal privileges. The school system of Texas, begun under its present form in 1876, provides "absolutely equal privileges to both white and colored children." In Florida, under the constitution of 1868 and the law of 1877, both races share equally in the school benefits. Several laws of Arkansas provide for a school system of equal privileges to both races. Under the school system of North Carolina there is no discrimination for or against either race. The school system of Louisiana was fairly started only after the adoption of the constitution of 1879, and equal privileges are granted to white and colored children. Since 1883 equal privileges are granted in Kentucky. The school system of West Virginia grants equal

* *Bureau of Education Report*, 1891-92, page 867.

rights to the two races. The system in Mississippi was put in operation in 1871 and grants to both races "equal privileges and school facilities." The same exact and liberal justice obtains in Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

In 1893–94 there were 2,702,410 negro children of school age —from five to eighteen years—of whom 52.72 per cent, or 1,424,710, were enrolled as pupils. Excluding Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the receipts from state and local taxation for schools in the South were $14,397,569. It should be borne in mind that there are fewer taxpayers in the South, in proportion to population generally and to school population especially, than in any other part of the United States. In the South Central States there are only 65.9 adult males to 100 children, while in the Western Division there are 156.7. In South Carolina 37 out of every 100 are of school age; in Montana, only 18 out of 100. Consider, also, that in the South a large proportion of the comparatively few adults are negroes with a minimum of property. Consider, further, that the number of adult males to each 100 children in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut is twice as great as in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In view of such and other equally surprising facts, it is a matter of national satisfaction that free education has made such progress in the South.*

It is lamentable, after all the provision which has been made, that the schools are kept open for such a short period, that so many teachers are incompetent, and that such a small proportion of persons of school age attend the schools. This does not apply solely to the colored children or to the Southern States. For the whole country the average number of days attended is only 89 for each pupil, when the proper school year should count about 200. While the enrollment and average attendance have increased, "what the people get on an average is about one half an elementary education, and no state is now giving an education in all its schools that is equal to seven years per inhabitant for the rising generation. Some states are giving less than three

* *Bureau of Education Report*, 1890-91, pages 5, 19, 21, 24.

years of 200 days each."* It is an obligation of patriotism to support and improve these state-managed schools, because they are among the best teachers of the duties of citizenship and the most potent agency for molding and unifying and binding heterogeneous elements of nationality into compactness, unity, and homogeneity. We must keep them efficient if we wish them to retain public confidence.

Different religious denominations have schools of higher grades in name and general purpose and instruction than the public schools, but unfortunately most of them are handicapped by high-sounding and deceptive names and impossible courses of study. There are twenty-five nominal "universities" and "colleges," which embrace primary, secondary, normal, and professional grades of instruction. These report, as engaged in "collegiate" studies, about 1,000 students. The work done is in some instances excellent; in other cases, it is as defective as one could well imagine it to be. This misfortune is not confined to colored schools. The last accessible report from the Bureau of Education gives twenty-two schools of theology and five each of schools of law and of medicine, and in the study of law and medicine there has, in the last few years, been a rapid increase of students.

A noticeable feature of the schools organized by religious associations is the provision made for industrial education. In the special colored schools established or aided by the state, of higher order than the public schools, such as those in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, manual training is required for both sexes. As few white schools of the South are provided with this necessary adjunct of education, it would be unjust to criticise too severely what is being done, along industrial lines, in colored schools. It is rather a matter for rejoicing that the schools have even been started in this most hopeful direction, and especially as the long-wished-for industrial development seems to be dawning on the South. Whatever may be our speculative opinions as to the progress and development of which the negro may be ultimately capable, there can hardly be

* *Annual Statement of Commission of Education for* 1894, page 18.

a well-grounded opposition to the opinion that the hope for the race, in the South, is to be found, not so much in the high courses of university instruction, or in schools of technology, as in handicraft instruction. This instruction, by whatever name called, encourages us, in its results, to continued and liberal effort. What such schools as Hampton, the Spelman, Claflin, Tuskegee, Tougaloo, and others have done is the demonstration of the feasibility and the value of industrial and mechanical training.* The general instruction heretofore given in the schools, it is feared, has been too exclusively intellectual, too little of that kind which produces intelligent and skilled workmen, and therefore not thoroughly adapted to racial development, nor to fitting for the practical duties of life. Perhaps it has not been philosophical or practical, but too empirical and illusory in fitting a man for "the conditions in which he will be compelled to earn his livelihood and unfold his possibilities." The effort has been to fit an adult's clothing to a child, to take the highest courses of instruction and apply them to untutored minds. Misguided statesmanship and philanthropy have opened "high schools and universities and offered courses in Greek and Latin and Hebrew, in theology and philosophy, to those who need the rudiments of education and instruction in hand-craft." This industrial training is a helpful accompaniment to mental training, and both should be based on strong moral character. It has been charged that the negroes have had too strong an inclination to become preachers or teachers, but this may be in part due to the fact that their education has been ill adjusted to their needs and surroundings, and that when the pupils leave school they do so without having been prepared for the competition which awaits them in the struggle for a higher life.

Whatever may be the discouragements and difficulties, and however insufficient may be the school attendance, it is a cheer-

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* Principal Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, as the representative of his race, made an address at the opening of the great Atlanta Exposition, which elicited high commendation from President Cleveland and the press of the country for its practical wisdom and its broad, catholic, and patriotic sentiments. The Negro Building with its interesting exhibits shows what progress has been made by the race in thirty years and excites strong hopes for the future. The special work displayed by the schools of Hampton and Tuskegee received honorable recognition from the jury of awards.

ing fact that the schools for the negroes do not encounter prejudices which were too common a few years ago. In fi there may almost be said to be coming a time when soon th will be a sustaining public opinion. The struggle of man throw off fetters and rise into true manhood and save souls fr bondage is a most instructive and thrilling spectacle, awaken sympathetic enthusiasm on the part of all who love what noble.

J. L. M. CURI

OUR PRESENT MONETARY CONDITION.

BY JAMES A. QUARLES, LL.D.

A MAN'S credit depends on what the creditor thinks of his honesty and ability to pay. This simple statement needs to be carefully noted. A man's credit is not what he himself thinks of his willingness and power to pay. He may be sure of his own sincerity; he may be confident that his affairs are in a good state, or that his business is likely to prove prosperous, and yet the bank may refuse him a loan, or decline to renew his note.

Moreover, a man's credit does not depend on his real honesty and ability to pay. There are occasions when true and solid men are unable to get credit, because they are not known to the creditor. Let the most reliable man in the country present himself to a bank where he is unknown, and ask for a loan of one thousand dollars, and he will be at once refused. On the other hand, scores of cases occur in which men without integrity and without means are readily accommodated, to the disappointment and loss of their creditors.

We repeat then that a man's credit depends on the opinion which his creditor has of him. He may be worthless in character and in resources, and yet receive credit if the bank thinks him worthy. He may be as honest and as solid as a gold eagle, and yet fail of credit if the bank thinks him unreliable.

The same simple principles apply to communities and to nations; a people's credit depends on what their creditors think of them; not on what they think of themselves, nor even on what they really are and have.

We are a debtor nation; there is floating to-day probably an aggregate of three billions of our paper. This includes national, state, municipal, corporation, and private debts. Our federal government owes one half of this immense sum; evidenced by its bonds and treasury notes.

Our creditors are partly our own citizens and partly foreigners. Our home creditors are found chiefly in the East and in the cities; the foreign live in Great Britain, Germany, and France.

What do our creditors think of us? This seems to be clearly shown by several facts. The financial depression of 1893 still hangs like a pall of gloom over us. Bradstreet's and Dun's agencies both report business unsatisfactory. The stock market is at its lowest ebb. Foreigners are refusing our investments and selling their United States securities. The outflow of gold to Europe continues. Our government is forced to borrow in order to maintain its gold reserve, and at rates showing a lack of confidence in its credit. Manifestly our creditors think that we are not gilt-edge.

Why are our creditors cautious and doubtful? Let us first glance at our political state. It is probable that a majority of our home creditors affiliate with the Republican party, and so we might think that the origin of their distrust is a lack of confidence in their political adversaries, the Democrats. That this, however, does not account for the uneasiness is shown by the fact that the Republicans have overwhelmingly defeated their opponents in the elections of the past three years, and are now morally certain of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of our government for years to come. If, therefore, distrust of the Democrats were the cause, the sure evidences of the clearing of the skies would be manifest; as the Democrats are now powerless for good or ill. The fact, however, is that business is still reported unsatisfactory, and the draining of the treasury's gold continues.

The creditors have cause enough to doubt the Democrats; for they have shown themselves incompetent to rule, their organization and discipline are a rope of sand; they are hopelessly divided on both money and the tariff, and the man whom their national conventions of the last twelve years have chosen as their leader their local bosses and political bummers have mercilessly knifed. There is no wonder that the country has repudiated the party with disgust.

But the creditors have equal cause to doubt the Republicans, whose financial leaders have brought us to our present condition; who formulated and passed and judicially and legislatively confirmed the legal tender treasury note act; one of whose candidates for the presidency, Allison, joined with Bland in opening the flood-gates of silver; whose financial idol, Sherman, framed, and whose last president signed, the silver bullion act; who politically own the free silver mining states of the West; one of whose New England senators has already introduced a free silver coinage bill; and one of whose reputed candidates for the presidency has dared to come out unequivocally in favor of a sound currency. There is no wonder that the creditors distrust the Republicans.

The tariff is not the cause of the distrust: for the creditors, as such, do not care for the tariff; the trouble began under the McKinley Act, it continued under the Wilson Act, and it continues now that the McKinley party is again triumphant; the Wilson Act has produced more revenue with less taxation than did its high tariff predecessor.

Our creditors are financiers, and are therefore moved by financial considerations. Moreover, they are financiers of a definite school of thought. There may be said to be three financial schools, so far as money is concerned. The lowest holds the populistic idea of fiat money; the next, the free silver scheme; and the highest, the single gold standard doctrine. There is no doubt that our creditors, with rare exceptions, belong to the gold standard school. This is true of those who are our fellow-citizens, and it is more universally true of our foreign creditors in Great Britain, Germany, and France.

If this is a fact, and no one will question it, then it matters not whether our creditors are right or wrong in their financial theory, so long as they hold to that theory they will be controlled by it. The gold standard may be wrong, and the free silver or the fiat money view may be correct; nevertheless, our gold-bug creditors look at us through their gold-rimmed glasses and estimate us accordingly.

Moreover, the creditors of the civilized world are gold men;

even free silver magnates, such as Senator Stewart and Governor Altgeld, are said to draw their bills receivable on the gold standard. So that, should we wish to transfer our three billions of credit from the gold-bugs to the silver or the fiat men, we could not do it. We are forced, right or wrong, willing or unwilling, to be measured by the gold standard. If we measure well by it, we have credit, we can borrow on good terms, creditors will be glad to get and keep our paper. If we measure ill by it, our credit suffers, we borrow on bad terms, creditors will be slow to take and willing to get rid of our paper.

All this seems as clear as the sun; let us then test ourselves by the gold standard and see how we measure. According to the latest information, obtained by our Treasury Department and furnished by the courtesy of the director of the mint, our country has too little gold. Of our total circulation, $1,660,400,000, only $618,100,000 are gold, about 37 per cent. The insufficiency of this as a basis for our money will be better seen by comparison with others in the following table (United States figures are for November 1, 1895, all others January 1, 1895):

	Total Circulation.	*Gold.*	*Per Cent Gold.*
United States	$ 1,660,400,000	$ 618,100,000	37
The world	10,627,200,000	4,086,800,000	38
Europe	5,905,800,000	3,072,400,000	52
France	1,370,000,000	850,000,000	62
Germany	900,400,000	625,000,000	70
Great Britain	808,400,000	580,000,000	72

In the judgment of our gold standard creditors we have too much silver, as this table will show:

	Gold.	*Silver.*	*Per Cent Silver.*
United States	$ 618,100,000	$ 625,600,000	101
The world	4,086,800,000	4,070,500,000	100
France	850,000,000	187,900,000	57
Europe	3,072,400,000	1,410,400,000	46
Germany	625,000,000	215,000,000	33
Great Britain	580,000,000	115,000,000	20

It will be equally apparent that we have too much uncovered paper:

	Gold.	*Paper.*	*Per Cent Paper.*
United States	$ 618,100,000	$ 416,700,000	66
The world	4,086,800,000	2,469,900,000	60
Europe	3,072,400,000	1,423,000,000	46
Great Britain	580,000,000	113,400,000	20
Germany	625,000,000	60,400,000	10
France	850,000,000	32,100,000	4

These facts show that we have a less percentage of gold and a greater percentage of silver and uncovered paper than has the entire world, the whole of Europe, or any one of the three countries where our foreign creditors live. We cannot think it strange that the financiers of Europe, and especially those of Great Britain, Germany, and France, look upon us with distrust, and are disposed to realize on their American debts, are shy of American investments, and call for gold in the settlement of commercial balances.

Perhaps we should stop here, and let this paper have the single purpose of showing why our credit is not good from the standpoint of our creditors. There are, however, other evils in our monetary condition which we shall briefly present.

In our present system, the national government is not only responsible for its own issues of bonds and treasury notes, but is also the security for the paper of the national banks and for our vast volume of silver money. It is pledged by law to redeem the national bank issues with its own treasury notes, and being equally pledged by law to preserve the parity of gold and silver, it is compelled for this purpose to redeem the silver bullion notes with gold. Every greenback treasury note ($346,681,016), every Sherman silver bullion note ($139,583,280), every national bank note ($213,960,598), and every currency certificate ($48,735,000), making a total of $748,959,894, are virtually sight drafts on the United States treasury for gold.

Under our present laws, the United States government is compelled to redeem in gold over seven hundred millions of paper, and yet has no means of procuring gold except the buying of it with bonds. Every dollar of its revenue can be paid in silver or in paper; it is compelled to pay in gold, but none of its dues can be collected in gold. As a fact, no gold is paid into its treasury on imports or on excises.

Moreover, as matters now stand, the United States treasury is compelled to furnish all the gold needed to settle our commercial balances. A debt of ten millions is due in Europe, no cotton or wheat or other commercial bills can be bought to offset it, the gold must be sent; the banker (whose business it is to furnish

such exchanges), instead of going to his own vaults for the gold, draws it out of the United States treasury. The banks of the country conduct the foreign exchanges, so long as they can be affected by mere bookkeeping, but, as soon as gold is necessary, they consider the United States treasury the only foreign exchange bank in the land. Our laws allow and invite them to do this.

To complete the fatuous absurdity of our system, the law forbids the United States treasury to cancel its notes after they have been redeemed in gold, and compels it to issue those redeemed notes again. The purpose of this enactment was to prevent a contraction of the currency; but surely it does not contract the currency any more to withhold a greenback from circulation than to withhold any other kind of money. If the treasury does not pay out greenbacks for its expenses, it must use some other form of currency.

The effect of this law is to make our greenbacks the endless chain cups of an elevator, pumping the gold out of the United States treasury into the vaults of European bankers. Any one so disposed can, with malicious or merely humorous intent, wreck the United States treasury with a ten-dollar greenback; nay, with ten dollars of any kind of money. Let him begin with a ten-dollar silver certificate. For this he can get ten silver dollars; for the ten silver dollars some one will give him a ten-dollar Sherman silver bullion note. This he can exchange with a friend for a ten-dollar national bank note, which the United States treasury must redeem with a ten-dollar greenback. He is now ready for business; this one little cup is all he needs. He is the chain and the greenback is the cup. He revolves the chain with its cup to the United States treasury and takes out ten dollars in gold; the chain then moves to a bank, empties its gold, and gets another greenback cup in place of it. The chain rolls round to the treasury again and scoops up ten dollars more in gold; moves back to the bank, empties the gold, gets another greenback cup, and so on and on, until the last gold eagle is drawn from the treasury.

Thus we see that by our system the United States treasury is

made to back all the credit money of the country with its gold, and to furnish all the gold for our foreign exchanges. It is compelled to do these things without the power to get a dollar of gold through any ordinary channel of its business. It is deprived of power and loaded with responsibility.

Another evil of our monetary condition is the inelasticity of the national bank issues; rather, it is the certainty of their contraction, when the expanding business of the country requires increased currency to facilitate it. This is strikingly seen in the fact that the national bank notes reached a maximum of three hundred and fifteen millions in 1882, and contracted to one hundred and twenty-three millions in 1890. As the country prospers, its bonds are reduced, its outstanding obligations appreciate, and the banks find it unprofitable to use them for circulation.

To sum up the evils, they are too little gold, too much silver and paper, government banking, and an improper basis for our national bank issues.

THE REMEDY.

We have not yet perhaps fully recognized the evil in too little gold, too much silver and paper. The silverites and Populists will shiver or boil when it is declared that we are suffering from an undue expansion of our currency. That this is true, however, every economist will see, as soon as a few facts are called to his attention. Unquestionably every community needs less money in proportion to its facilities for banking and intercommunication. Unquestionably, the area of trade is becoming more and more world wide, and the law of supply and demand is equalizing prices gradually throughout the realm of traffic. Unquestionably, money, like other values, when trade is free, flows from where it is in excess to where it is in deficiency.

Let us apply these principles to our case. The United States has made in the last twenty years immense advances in its facilities for banking and intercommunication. London, the focal center of the world's business, needs and uses but one dollar in a hundred for its exchanges; and England, the greatest commercial

nation in the world, has the smallest amount of money in proportion to its business of any country on the earth. In 1860, we had in circulation $435,407,252, a per capita of $13.85; in 1879, at the resumption of specie payments, we had $818,631,791, a per capita of $16.75; December 1, 1893, we reached the maximum of $1,726,994,290, a per capita of $25.57; December 1, 1895, the volume had shrunk to $1,594,195,479, a per capita of $22.61; we have lost from circulation over one hundred and thirty millions in the last two years. We still have a per capita fifteen per cent greater than Great Britain, thirty per cent greater than Germany, and an aggregate twenty-two per cent greater than France, eighty greater than Germany, and over one hundred per cent greater than England. Manifestly we have a disproportionate amount of currency.

With an excess of money our prices are inflated. This is not observed so long as general business is prosperous; when, however, the pinch comes, and we have to compete in the world's market with rival producers, whose prices are not fictitiously inflated, then we go to the wall and are forced to yield to our competitors. That seems our condition now; with stores of corn, cotton, and wheat unsold, and unsalable *at our prices* in the markets of Europe.

As we cannot pay for our foreign purchases in our own products at our prices, we are compelled to pay for them in money. As neither our silver nor our paper is current in Europe, or in London, the world's clearing-house, we are forced to ship our gold, the only recognized money of the civilized world, in order to meet our balances. This gold the banks decline to furnish, preferring to put the burden, as we invite them to do, on the United States treasury.

Economic laws are now working to correct inflation, but, in the mean time, we must suffer in the recovery from our debauch, our *mania a potu* from the silver tank. Our legislation, so far as this evil is concerned, is now as it should be; we are making no more silver dollars, and we are coining all the gold that comes to our mints.

The next, and now the pressing, evil is our government being

forced by law to discharge the two banking functions of issuing paper money and mediating foreign exchanges. Both of these evils may be corrected by the retirement of the treasury notes; because these are the paper money issued and are the means by which the treasury is forced to furnish gold for foreign exchanges. We may get rid of them by the plan suggested at the late banker's convention in Atlanta, or by the plan of President Cleveland. The former proposes to keep the objectionable treasury notes in existence, but to lock them up in the treasury vaults where they can do no harm, and make them the basis for the issue in their stead of national bank notes. This plan is recommended by its providing a basis for our bank issues, on which the government pays no interest. As objections, it seems tainted with fiatism, it makes the bank notes inconvertible paper, and leaves the treasury notes where a future populistic Congress may call them forth for further evil.

President Cleveland proposes to redeem the treasury notes with government bonds, and then destroy the notes. (This cuts off the mad dog's tail just behind the ears and forever disposes of him.) Their place as money is to be supplied by national bank notes, based on government bonds. As the government is not a bank and as evil has arisen out of its attempt to bank, clearly it should withdraw from the business and give bonds instead of paper money for its obligations. Only one objection occurs to this plan, and that is the objection of the fiatists; why pay interest on the government debt, when treasury notes would do as well? The answer is plain, because treasury notes have not done as well. Moreover, these very treasury notes, though they do not bear interest themselves, have recently increased our bonded debt with high-rate bonds, to the amount of over one hundred and sixty millions of dollars; and if they are not retired, are likely to add as many more.

When the treasury notes are disposed of, our only paper money, besides the coin certificates, will be national bank notes, unless we have state bank currency. Shall we have it? Surely not, for every reason. No man sixty years of age, a resident of this country, will wish again to be plagued with these pests;

some of which were indeed as good as gold, but most of which were as bad and baseless as fiat money. We cannot have a uniform, universally recognized, and certainly secure paper money under state laws. What kind of paper money would Stewart and Wolcott, and Peffer and Bland and Altgeld and company issue?

The arguments for state banks are merely specious. It is said that we want a local currency for local use. The only truth in this is, that local banks of deposit, discount, and exchange are needed for local purposes; but local banks of issue are not. Are the tea, coffee, sugar, cottons, woolens, etc., we need produced in every local community where used? Are the gold and silver coins and treasury notes minted or issued in all the local communities where they are used? Are the national bank notes confined in their circulation to the place of their nativity?

Moreover, why may not banks under a national law be local, as well as those organized under state laws? The national authority extends over every state and over the territories as well, so that every community which wishes a bank of issue under a national charter can have one by complying with the common regulations required of all.

There is only one reason which would make state bank notes more local in their circulation than those of national banks, and that is their doubtful credit. This reduces the argument for local state banks to a plea for banks whose issues would not circulate beyond their own restricted territory, because of their lack of credit. This places the advocacy of state banks on the same ground as that which underlies free silver and fiat money; a wild cry for more currency, and the poorer the better.

The new paper then, which takes the place of the treasury notes, must be the issue of banks organized under the common, national law of the land. This alone will insure their uniformity, reliability, and universal circulation. The problem will be to provide a plan which will combine perfect security with elasticity. Our present national banking system is safe but not elastic. What is known as the Baltimore Plan would remedy this defect in the system, by providing for an emergency circula-

tion, like the clearing-house certificates issued in 1893, which would be retired as soon as the strain was over, because of the tax placed upon it by the law.

If our new Congress will rise above the plane of low partisanism to the height of intelligent patriotism, and enact a law providing for the retirement of all the treasury notes by the issue of low interest bonds in their place, and substituting for them as currency bank notes issued under national authority, with conditions insuring their security and elasticity, our financial sky would clear, our credit would be restored, and prosperity would again bless the land.

JAMES A. QUARLES.

SHALL PRISONERS BE REFORMED? AN IMPORTANT STEP IN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ARTHUR L. BATES, ESQ.

ON the 26th day of June, 1895, Governor Daniel H. Hastings of Pennsylvania set his hand and approval to an act of assembly, authorizing the erection of workhouses in the several counties of the commonwealth. The provisions of this act are substantially as follows:

It declares that it shall be lawful for county commissioners of any county of this commonwealth, having first obtained the approval of two consecutive grand juries and of the Court of Quarter Sessions of such county, to establish a workhouse.

Such workhouse shall be under the control of the county commissioners, and they are empowered to make such by-laws, rules, and regulations as they may deem necessary for its government.

They are authorized to use land already held for county purposes, or to purchase lands not exceeding fifty acres, and to repair or erect buildings.

In case of such erection or purchase, the county commissioners shall transfer from the county jail to the said workhouse all persons having more than ten days to serve, who shall have been committed for vagrancy, drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, and also such other persons as the Court of Quarter Sessions of such county may direct to be so transferred; and thereafter, when any person or persons shall be convicted in said court of any offense, the punishment whereof, by existing laws, is or may be imprisonment in the county jail, said court may either sentence to said jail or workhouse all persons convicted of vagrancy, drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, or of any other offense for which they may now be sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail, there to be fed and clothed and treated as provided for in this act and the rules and regulations of such workhouse.

An important feature of the act is, that any magistrate of the county, including all justices of the peace in any city, borough, or township, may commit vagrants to such workhouse for a period of not less than thirty days, nor more than six months, and any person convicted of drunkenness for a period not to exceed thirty days; with the provision that if the sentence shall be for less than ten days the party shall be committed to the county jail instead of the workhouse, and that on a second conviction for any of these causes the parties respectively may be sentenced for double the time of their former commitment.

Every person committed to the workhouse, either by the Court of Quarter Sessions or by justices and magistrates, shall, unless disqualified by sickness or otherwise, be kept at some useful employment, such as may be suited to his or her age and capacity, and such as shall be most profitable to the institution and tend to promote the best interests of the party; and if any person shall refuse to perform the work assigned to him or her, or to be guilty of other acts of insubordination, it shall be the duty of the superintendent to punish such person by close confinement on a diet of bread and water only, or in such other manner as the rules and regulations hereinbefore provided may prescribe, of which refusal and punishment the superintendent shall keep a record and report to the county commissioners. It is also required that a separate apartment in said workhouse shall be provided for habitual drunkards.

The commissioners of the several counties are by the same act authorized to issue bonds upon the credit of the county for the purchase of land and erection of buildings, and to levy a tax to pay interest and face of the bonds.

The foregoing is the substantial and important part of the act recently passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature, and by the governor made a law.

The question is being asked more and more frequently, by those who have given any attention whatever to the subject of prisons and prison discipline, whether the reformatory system is not a great step in advance over the system of mere incarceration so long followed in this country.

Idleness breeds crime. It never prevents it. Shall those who have been committed to jails and prisons, especially those who are guilty of the lesser grades of offense, be simply punished, or shall they be reformed?

Shall the state set before those who are committed for the infraction of its laws the good example and wholesome lesson of industry, or shall it allow the imprisoned inmates, through idleness, to be turned out upon the world at the expiration of their sentence—worse and more depraved, rather than better?

Work is discipline. We are all sentenced to work. From that early time when God said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," there has never come to a sober-minded citizen a single day in which there is not work, and which is not crowded with duties.

From having sustained an official relation to the government of my own city for the past six years, my observation is that there are a large number of offenders who are committed over and over again to the jail for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and vagrancy, to whom confinement in the jail is no punishment at all. I refer to a class of idle loafers to whom wholesome, well-directed labor would be something of a punishment, and at the same time most excellent discipline, compelling them to acquire the industry which would be a practical benefit to them on being released.

In the old days public punishment appears to have had but one object, and that to terrify and deter through torture. The cruelties and horrors of the prison houses were almost past belief. But under our modern civilization, thumb-screws, ponderous irons, merciless scourgings, underground dungeons, and chaining to dead bodies have given place to a far different system.

I believe that all punishment, especially the punishment of crimes of the lesser grade, such as are for prisoners who are kept within our own counties, should be conducted mainly with the view of reforming the offenders. The culprit is the patient. The judge who consigns him to punishment stands as the parent, guardian, or master. The malady is chronic rather

than acute, but the treatment ought to be regulated by principles carried on under a certain system and administered with a firm and unflinching hand.

Keeping persons merely as boarders is becoming exceedingly expensive. Each year the demands of our charitable and penal institutions grow more urgent and numerous upon the public treasury, as well as upon private benevolence.

Our best people seem to devote more time to the relief of the present distress without consideration of the causes which produce the growing evils, while our law-makers occupy themselves more with projects for increasing revenues by taxation, in order to provide larger sums to pour into public sieves, than with the study of measures for stopping the leaks in our social economy.

According to Mr. Boies, a member of the Pennsylvania National Prison Association, in his work on "Prisoners and Paupers," the cost of county jails in Pennsylvania alone was $372,290 for 1880, and $723,013 for 1890, an increase of 94.2 per cent, and there was expended in support of all classes, including hospitals, homes, etc., in 1880, $4,480,351, and in 1890, $9,511,970, an increase of 110.9 per cent for a single decade. This indicates an alarming and unnatural increase in the number of criminals and all other wards supported at public expense.

Our state institutions are crowded to their utmost capacity on account of this rapid increase. The cost of the county jails has multiplied more than four times as fast as the increase in population.

If relief is to come, as it surely must, if we are to make public burdens lighter rather than heavier, it must come from some intelligent effort, calculated to remove the cause and cure the diseases which afflict society, rather than by a lavish extravagance of appropriations wrenched from other sources. Indiscriminate public charity nourishes and cultivates public pauperism just as certainly as indiscriminate private charity increases beggary and want.

The modern county jail is a hot-bed of crime. I repeat that the indiscriminate mingling of persons of every age, sex, and

class, with the life of idleness allowed and carried on in our county jails, together with unrestricted visitation by outside friends, and the supply of depraved papers, literature, cards, tobacco, and sometimes liquor—in short, the utter absence of all reformatory influences and a prevalence of every means of corruption—must result and does result in confirming all the inmates in a criminal course of life.

The act of the Pennsylvania Legislature, an outline of which is given in the opening of this article, provides that every person committed to the workhouse shall be kept at some useful employment.

The great merit of the workhouse system seems to be the skill acquired in trades and handicraft by so many otherwise idle and useless hands. Convict mechanics are rarely found ready-made. The statistics of the results of the workhouse system show hundreds if not thousands of cases where the prisoner, during the term of sentence, has been taught a useful occupation and has followed it industriously after his discharge.

The English statistics show where the system has been followed for years that eighty-two per cent of the total number of convicts employed at useful trades learned them while in prison.

The system which county workhouses would inaugurate is not an untried one. The annual reports from the Huntingdon Reformatory and the state institution at Elmira, New York, both speak volumes for their success; they show that the cost of keeping criminals has been largely decreased by systematic and thorough supervision, together with the avails of the workshop and forge and other departments of industry fostered therein; but, better than all, and what speaks loudest for the success of the system, is the long list of those who, formerly criminals, have become sober, industrious, law-abiding citizens.

It is asserted by those who have made a careful study of this question, among others the Honorable Eugene Smith, one of the vice-presidents of the National Prison Association, in a paper recently read on the evils of sheriffs' management, that if all the convicts now herded in the county jails were placed in reformatories and workhouses under proper management, that eighty

per cent of them would be so trained as to lead a life of honest self-support. As to the economic gain to property and taxpayers, the statement is made, which appears at first somewhat startling, but which can be fully vindicated by positive figures at command, that the saving to the community computed in actual money, resulting from reclaiming eighty per cent of our jail convicts, would be sufficient in a single year to rebuild all the county jails in the United States.

But the objection is made that the expense of such an institution would be too great for one county to bear. If we are short-sighted, and look only at this matter through a few short years, this may be true. But what is best, is that which will gradually improve the condition of the criminal class, and in that way stop the rapid increase of the number of inmates of the jails and prisons.

Whether it is expedient for counties immediately to erect workhouses is a question to be determined by commissioners, assisted by grand jurors and courts, after viewing all the facts, such as expenses, available funds, tax levies, and especially the needs and wants of the community.

What would be a moderate cost per capita for maintaining prisoners in one county might be either cheap or exorbitant in another, so much depends on local surroundings and economic management. Nor let any one flatter himself that a perfect system of prison management can be at once adopted in this country by abandoning the jail system, except as a place for detention, or that workhouses can be immediately erected and our law-breakers and vicious characters immediately transformed into skilful mechanics and law-abiding citizens; but the statement already made can be emphasized and here reiterated, that idleness and careless treatment of those committed to prison are wrong both in theory and in practice, and make the prisoner a worse citizen at his release than when he was sentenced. The gain to the county or to the institution is a small and inconsiderable item, but the gain to society, in teaching men who have been warring against it and against themselves, to become regular in habits, proficient if not skilled in labor, and fit to go in

harmony with the world at large, rather than to fly in its face, is worth all the effort made, and is a result more far-reaching in its effects than the mere saving of dollars and cents.

In sheer defense we must do something other than what we are doing. If a single county cannot afford to erect a work-house, let the law be so amended that two or more counties may join in the project. Pauperism and crime are becoming an enormous burden and drag upon our public prosperity. Neither patriot nor philanthropist, Christian, pagan, capitalist, nor wage-worker can afford to ignore the subject. The task is full of promise, rather than hopeless. The tendency and spirit of the time are toward that legislation and action which would reform rather than simply punish. Punishment may be all the offender deserves, but society and the body politic deserve and are entitled to more, and our highest duty is to society and the state.

ARTHUR L. BATES.

NEEDED CHANGES IN MUNICIPAL METHODS.

BY HON. J. H. WALKER, LL.D.

WHEN a system is inefficient and wasteful, it is in that degree, necessarily, essentially corrupt, and when a service is unnecessarily a poor service, it is a dishonest or corrupt service. There is not a business man who does not know that any private enterprise would have been made bankrupt a score of times in the last forty years under such management as prevails in city business. An entire separation of the authority to decide on what work is to be done, the doing of the work, and the approval of the work after being done, is fundamental to good government. In order to this, a large legislative body is absolutely necessary. The will or sense of the people—the participation of the people in their own government—cannot be had except in a large legislative body; neither can it be had unless its members are elected on a general ticket rather than singly. Elect ten persons on a general ticket, and each party will be obliged to put on the ticket persons representing ten classes in its constituency, in age, in occupation, in organization, and in opinion, or the ticket representing a class or only a few will surely meet defeat. That is the only way all classes can be represented. A small legislative body necessarily and inevitably absorbs in itself the executive and judicial powers.

I cannot here give the details of what a city charter should be, but I will only say it should provide for absolute and complete local self-government, limited only by the constitution and laws of the state. It should provide for a large legislative body, and how that body should be constituted.

For instance: In a city as large as my own* elect each year a mayor, with powers corresponding to those of the governor of the state, having the veto power, not only over each act, but also to veto any item in an act.

* Worcester, Mass., 100,000 inhabitants.

2d. Elect five aldermen each year in each of the nine wards, for the term of three years, on a general ticket, and five aldermen-at-large, each for three years, on a general ticket, making a total of 150 aldermen.

3d. Elect ten members of the common council each year in each of the nine wards, for three years, on a general ticket, making a total of 270 councilmen.

This plan would give desirable, true, and consistent minority representation.

4th. Prohibit any member of the board of aldermen or of the common council from having any control over or in any way interfering with any work being done by or for the city; provided, however, that this provision shall not hinder any committee of the city council, or of either branch of it, from taking part in any investigation into any transaction in which any person employed by the city was or is engaged, or from doing any work or furnishing any supplies to the city as a bidder under any public advertisement for work or for supplies ordered by the city council.

5th. That those persons now clothed with any power, by any authority whatsoever, by any existing law or act of any city official, shall not be curtailed in their powers or duty excepting as is now provided, until the city council shall devolve such duty on some other body or individual.

This, in substance, is all the charter we need. We can govern ourselves without interference from anybody, so we do not act contrary to the laws of the state.

Give us this system and we shall have a legitimate minority representation. It is only in this way that the minority can put its best men into their legitimate place.

This system, in its working, would give the city the services of its sons in the years of their highest ideals and aspirations, their purest patriotism and sublimest courage. They would at that time have a chance to serve the city they love. How the memory of the patriotic enthusiasm with which I entered upon my duty in the city council, to which I was elected in my twenty-third year, comes back to me! Give the young men a

chance! Then we shall know whom of them to call to the broader field of state and national councils.

At least ten of the 270 men will be under twenty-five years of age, and over fifty will be under thirty, and they will not be the least useful part of the council.

The one and only disgrace that has come to any political unit in Massachusetts has been in her cities. How many of us have gone over the list of discredited city governments? Our fathers constituted large legislative bodies in Massachusetts, and there was no one thing they more tenaciously insisted upon than that the three functions, legislative, executive, and judicial, should not be vested in them; but each in different individuals, and in different bodies of individuals. The whole body of experience in democratic government, without an exception, proves that accountability, efficiency, and economy cannot possibly be secured in any other way. The organization of our city governments thoroughly violates this principle.

I repeat, it has been conclusively proved that distinct, conspicuous, and sole responsibility, of the responsible executor of work, is the only condition under which prompt, cheap, and efficient service can be secured. The mixing of legislative, executive, and judicial action and responsibility, as is now done in our city government, makes it impossible to "fix" responsibility, for results, on any individual. It permits, invites, and then conceals and protects, incompetency, neglect, and positive fraud. It is our duty now to correct our system, so that what has been true hitherto shall be true in the future, and before disgrace comes upon us.

We must remember that success in enterprises does not so much depend upon individual ability and industry as upon systematizing work, and the making it impossible for the persons executing the work to evade responsibility for failures.

Look at the great Washburn & Moen works; how long would they run if their management depended on the general ability of one man alone? But the system is such that the head of the concern can touch a wire that puts him in contact instantly with any department and any employee; if even the humblest

worker goes wrong, he touches a wire that communicates it at once to the head, and either he immediately corrects his error or he loses his job.

Extensive business enterprises are not successful, primarily, because of conspicuous business ability, or industry, in their management, as compared with system and organization.

In the organization is the greatest ability shown; and, secondly, in selecting the agents to execute what is planned. Superior organization and system, with only moderate ability in management, beat out and destroy competitive establishments less carefully organized, even when the latter are managed by men of ten times more natural ability and better technical training. All well-organized establishments have a system upon which every man employed and every piece of work done can be, and is, measured and tested to approval, or loss of position.

It is patent to all that every successful private business is directed and controlled by one mind. He secures his ascendancy in fair competition and the unbiased decision of his associates. This autocracy is a condition precedent to success. Only advice of each partner is sought outside the subordinate domain of each. Each executes his particular work to the approval of all, finally tested in the market.

In nature extremes always meet. Thus good government must be either by one wise man, or by a large body of men, in legislation. This action accords with all human experience. There is no middle ground.

Our state government is a success. Why? Because in it the legislative, executive, and judicial functions are absolutely separated from each other. Our town governments are successful. Why? Because of the legislation in the town-meeting, and the execution of work being given into the hands of their selectmen, every citizen being a critic upon their acts, not a boss of them. In our hermaphrodite city governments, there is no such separation of the several functions. In communities where men are less honorable than our citizens, corruption inevitably results.

Look at the corruption in New Jersey—upper body of twenty-one members, lower body of sixty members; the corruption in

Louisiana, thirty-seven and ninety-eight; the corruption charged in Ohio, thirty-one and one hundred and seven; the corruption in New York, fifty and one hundred and sixteen; while the British Parliament has 700, and no difficulty is found in legislating. After reaching a given number, the larger body has less debate. The speaking is left to the ablest men in it. In small legislative bodies the constituents of each member demand that he shall "amplify himself," as the farmer said of his noisy bull. It is proved that corruption in government thrives, other things being equal, in proportion to the number of members in the popular branch of its legislative body, the rule being, the smaller the body the more corrupt the government.

The popular branch of a government not only has the legislative function, but it is the great inquest or grand jury of the people. Men do not investigate themselves. To be faithful and efficient to its duties, it must be kept clear from executive and judicial duties. It is notoriously true that the Massachusetts House of 240 members passes good legislation, to be many times defeated in the Senate before it becomes law; and that the Senate of forty passes bad lggislation, to be defeated in the House many times before the people are afflicted with it. Legislation in small bodies is had because of log-rolling, trading in the coat-rooms. They practically legislate in the dark; discussions in them are for the purpose of hoodwinking the people in too many cases; to conceal real motives and purposes rather than to elicit and proclaim truth and righteousness.

Theoretically these three functions may be kept separate when small legislative bodies control in cities, but in practice it is proved by all past experience that only when large legislative bodies are in control does the legislative body fail practically to absorb in itself the executive and judicial function, to the utter confusion of authority, the waste of the public money, and the preventing of the people knowing who is responsible for the abuse of their confidence.

Students of civil government all agree in condemning the results attained in the government of American cities. There is not a student of the principles on which free government is

founded, there is not a man who has studied the results reached in the government of American cities, who does not deprecate existing conditions and is not in so far ashamed of his country. They are all severe on the false principle followed in all of their governments.

Their charters are so faulty in principle that they are necessarily being constantly tinkered toward despotic power in their mayors. Their governments are being called to account in a way that violates every principle of trusting the people and allowing them to govern themselves. Witness the constant appeals to the legislature by the citizens of nearly every city against the city governments. These things are not done because such acts commend themselves to the people, but in utter desperation changes are constantly being made toward the evils of despotic power to escape the evils in cities that every one deprecates.

Every expedient has been suggested and resorted to, to improve city governments, excepting the true one, viz.: that of trusting the people to govern themselves and making it sure, in large legislative bodies.

In many European cities, a very few of the largest taxpayers elect a part of the city council; then comes a larger number who elect another part; a very small fraction of the council is elected by the whole population. This gives a practical business government, by those qualified to engage in it, but it is not a government by the people.

The corruption in New York City is notorious. It has only one body of twenty-six; Philadelphia has two bodies of thirty-one and ninety-nine; Baltimore two bodies of eleven and twenty-two; Chicago one body of thirty-four; Boston two bodies of twelve and seventy-five.

Conspicuous defects and maladministrations of public officers are almost impossible of correction by the legislative branch of the government, because members of the small boards of aldermen and council, in fact, the whole legislative branch of the government, that only can correct them, are mixed up in the executive and judicial acts complained of. In fact, they become

a part of the evils to be corrected, and who ever knew corrupt governments to reform themselves?

It is said there was once a member of the committee on lighting streets in our city council, who, after the committee had driven the stakes for setting street lights, changed them to suit his friends, he being "boss" of the doing of the work.

There was once an alderman who actually altered the decree fixing the grade of a street—and very materially altered it—without the knowledge of any other member, and it went through as he altered it. I know what I am talking about. This is not conjecture.

In 1854 and 1855 there was a young man in the council who looked into the management of the fire department. He exposed its inefficiency and mismanagement. An old and influential member arose and said: "Well, what are you going to do about it?" He replied: "I'm not going to do anything about it. I've given you the facts and now you will take the responsibility." And they were forced to go ahead and reorganize the department. We have had the best fire department in the state from that day to this.

How long is the government of our cities to be run by a body of men so small that it is practicable for its business to be done upon the principle in legislation of each legislator to say to the others, "You mind your department and business and I will mind mine." In small bodies it is the custom to legislate upon the understanding that, "I will tickle you if you will tickle me," and that custom is so high and noble, and works so well in practice, it is distressing to me to call it in question.

Again, for the city council to allow a person, paid for his services out of the public treasury, to receive gratuities in money or any other valuable thing from any citizen (as is the custom now), is advertising justice to be sold to the highest bidder.

What think you of allowing the drinking of alcoholic liquors by guardians of the public peace? There is scarcely a respectable citizen who does not believe any policeman should hold his place for a day who will not be a total abstainer from alcoholic liquors from the day he takes his commission until he goes out

of the service. If the police cannot be total abstainers, from the day they enter the service until the end, they have no business on the force. When it comes to a policeman being discharged for drunkenness, it is a lasting disgrace. Why should be be allowed to remain there until he becomes a drunkard?

Again, in every constituency there is a very active body of men with large personal pecuniary interests in securing bad affirmative legislation, or in defeating good legislation. In small bodies or in darkness, they find their opportunity. Our system of city governments invites these persons to use their art to their personal advantage and against the public interests, and prevents the application of any remedy.

Still again, the people have a right to visit their legislative servants and witness their work. To seclude the mayor and aldermen and common council so as to prevent it, deserves the severest condemnation.

The workroom of the city officials should be one great room, taking in a whole story, so that when the mayor or any citizen steps into the city hall, he can see what is being done there. Moreover, each officer thus will prompt every other officer to faithful and more efficient service in his department, as in private corporations. As it is now, the workrooms are simply private retiring rooms. Put them all in one room and we shall get many times more efficient service.

What we desire must be had as constitutions of states are amended, by a body independent of the local legislative body, and appealing directly to the people, who are the masters of the local body, not its servants.

Again, the submitting of an amended charter to the city council for approval is like submitting a question in controversy to one of the parties in interest, for its decision!

What body must initiate the work? Shall it be the board of trade or the clubs? Not any one of them alone. Perhaps not all combined. It must be done by a body of citizens representing all classes of the people. Its work need not be long. Agree on the principle and the thing is done.

J. H. WALKER.

WHAT THE COUNTRY'S WELFARE DEMANDS.*

BY HON. JOHN P. ALTGELD.

YOU ask what the 2,000,000 of Christian Endeavorers can do to advance the welfare of the country. As you look to other sources for light from a religious standpoint, you naturally expect me to answer from a purely secular point of view.

Your country, like your God, demands reality, demands earnest purpose. It demands absolute honesty and candor.

This country never before called so loudly and so earnestly as it does to-day for character, for real manhood and womanhood, not of the dazzling, showy kind that depends on wealth and fashion, but that quiet, self-reliant manhood and womanhood that seeks only the right and dares to do it. This country is calling loudly for strong public men, who shall stand for principle and be leaders of thought, instead of being only torchlight heroes.

In some portions of the world governments seem to be only gigantic machines which serve as a convenience for despoiling the people, and those governments do all in their power to prevent the enlightenment of the masses.

In this country, government being in the hands of the people, has been conducted for a century on the theory that it should be their protector and not their despoiler.

I will not discuss the question as to what effect the recent great concentrations of capital and consequent corruptions are going to have. They will, however, produce the same results here that they have produced in all countries and in all times where they abounded unless we can find some different method of dealing with them. That result has been summed up in the lines:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

* A letter by Governor Altgeld to S. L. Mershon, Chicago.

Everything, therefore, depends on character, on manhood and womanhood. If these shall decay there will be little left worth preserving. The government will be what the people make it. If they possess earnestness and high principle so will the government. If they are rotten at heart, it will be also.

Among all people and in all countries, wealth, power, and fashion go together. They arrange themselves at the top, and, impelled by the eternal law of selfishness, they assume to control everything in their own interest without considering how others may be affected. As the press is controlled by wealth it is on that side, and the elements at the top, whether in society or nature, tend to form a crust which bears more or less heavily on the elements beneath, and naturally tends to resist any upward movement of what there is below. On the other hand, the Almighty seems to have decreed that for a healthy existence of society there must be a constant development, a constant growth from the bottom upwards.

All great reform movements have emanated from the bottom. Even the Christian religion came not through the splendor at the top but through the suffering at the bottom.

Under the fierce law of competition any upward struggle encounters resistance from the elements above. In some cases the crust had become so hard and formidable that it could only be broken with human blood. But under republican institutions there should be such a constant upward movement from the people and such a constant development that no formidable crust could be formed to resist farther growth.

As the elements at the top are the most attractive and possess those things that are sought after by men, theirs is always the fashionable, and even popular, side, and those people who constitute what is sometimes called the "hanging-on class" are always arrayed on that side and are generally the most loud in denouncing any innovation.

At the time of the Revolution the fashionable people were Tories. During the slavery agitation most of the wealthy sympathized with the slaveholders. Even cultured Boston closed its doors to such a splendid specimen of noble and cultured man-

hood as Wendell Phillips. The early temperance workers were not only denounced, but were egged. In fact, every movement that has benefited humanity has met the fierce hostility of those people who claimed to possess the intelligence and culture of the time, and who should have been friendly.

What is still more remarkable is the fact that this hostility assumes to speak for patriotism. The Tories talked patriotism. The abolitionists were denounced as agitators who disturbed the peace of the country. The temperance advocates were condemned as fanatics who disturbed the good order of the community. The legislation to take women and children out of the mines in England and the subsequent movement to shorten the hours of labor from fourteen and fifteen to ten were bitterly opposed, even by the bishops in Parliament, on the ground that it threatened the supremacy of England.

In this country every effort to bring about a permanent improvement in the conditions which surround the men who toil with their hands is denounced as dangerous agitation. No matter what wrong you attempt to right, there will be people to denounce you, and generally they will be people who are in some ways good people, and who make much pretension to respectability. You will find that the side of the strong will always be the most ably and the most forcibly presented through the press and otherwise, while, from the very nature of the case, the side of the weak, even when right, will be imperfectly presented. Consequently the public is often misinformed, so that public sentiment for a while will often run against the right. It was so even in Christ's time. Yet if you would serve your country you must do justice—justice to the weak as well as the strong, and you must not stop to inquire what will be popular.

Therefore, unless you are prepared to stand alone, and be utterly independent and indifferent as to who approves or who disapproves, it will not be worth your while to think about doing much for your country. In that case it will not be worth while to get accurate information on any public question nor to have convictions on any subject, for it might be inconvenient to suppress them. Just accept newspaper statements and misstate-

ments and go with the crowd. That is the course usually pursued by the people who seek popularity, and, although it is a sign of weakness, yet it is the easy way.

On the other hand, if you are prepared to serve your country in the same manner as you must serve your God, to be heard by him at all—that is, be deeply in earnest, ask only what is the right, seek for facts, have convictions, and act on them and care not who approves or disapproves. If you believe that public men should be positive leaders instead of weak followers then I repeat your country is calling for you, and I will remind you that the despised teachers of one age often become the heroes of the next and that those measures which have to be nursed through great tribulation in one age frequently become the controlling forces of the next—in fact, become in turn themselves a part of the crust and have, in time, to give way to new forces. I will further remind you that the great men and women of the past who led the human race onward were not reared, as a rule, in the lap of luxury; they came, as a rule, from the bottom and not from the top, they were familiar with hardships, and were acquainted with sorrow.

The lesson of their careers is one that one hour spent in contemplating the stars and gazing into the silent depths of the universe will lift you higher and carry you farther, will give you more lofty purpose and elevation of soul than would a whole year spent in the most splendid drawing-rooms of the land.

JOHN P. ALTGELD.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

NEW YORK.—A report of very great value has been submitted to Governor Morton by the commissioners appointed by him, under the authorizing act passed last winter, to devise simpler and sounder methods for the transaction of the business of the legislature. Suggestions are made looking to the prevention of "snap" legislation, the smothering of important bills by committees, and the rushing through of mischievous local measures. Simon Sterne, A. I. C., is a member and, the *New York Times* says, "the guiding spirit of the commission, a natural result of his long and careful study of reform legislation."

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NEW YORK: *New York.*—The Good Government Clubs are taking steps, says the *Evening Post*, "to rehabilitate themselves and remove the consequences of the blunder of running a ticket in the last election. Resignations from the clubs have been frequent since the election, and it is only in this way, it is believed, that the membership can be retained to do good work in future elections." Concerning the frauds practiced in the recent Republican enrollment in the city, the *Tribune*, *Mail and Express*, and *Commercial Advertiser*, which represent the sentiments of the best representatives of the party, have only words of unqualified condemnation. The last-named journal courageously declares: "If the Republican party of New York County cannot be kept alive except by fraud, then let it die!"

LOUIS F. POST recently addressed an audience of more than a thousand at Carnegie Hall, New York, on "The Elements of Civics." He described civics as a science whose function it is to "put sense into patriotism." The lecture as a whole was an attempt to correlate the various branches of the subject, with ethics as the integrating factor. Proceeding from this idea the speaker declared for democratic government as the only principle that bears ethical tests, because it is the only one that recognizes equality of rights in the social relation; and for home rule and universal suffrage as inevitable deductions from the democratic principle. The lecture was delivered under the auspices of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, the oldest and wealthiest industrial organization in the country, and among whose most honored and useful members is Hon. Stephen M. Wright, A. I. C.

NEW YORK: *Brooklyn.*—The first of a series of conferences for the study of municipal conditions as affecting Brooklyn was held December 17. The series, which will be continued throughout the winter, has been organized by prominent men in the city without regard to their political affiliations. The general scope of the conferences is tersely defined in the title: "Brooklyn: Actual and Possible." The introductory address, replete with information and suggestions of value, was delivered by St. Clair McKelway, editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, and was published in full in the *Eagle* of December 17.

OHIO: *Columbus.*—This city begins the new year with a Civic Federation fully organized. Its constitution seems so well adapted to its purposes that we present it in full as a reply to the many inquiries addressed to the Institute of Civics as to suitable plans for similar organizations.

ARTICLE I.

"1. This organization shall be called 'The Civic Federation of Columbus, O.'

"2. Its object shall be the promotion of the welfare of this city and its citizens.

"3. Its work shall be to study and improve in every practicable way the common conditions of the public weal, including (*a*) civic improvements and civic economy; (*b*) education and recreation; (*c*) relief and employment; (*d*) order and law; (*e*) civic office and civic duty; (*f*) sanitation and health.

"It proposes to bring together on a non-partisan, non-sectarian basis, men and women of all creeds and classes, that they may work together for those objects in which they can agree.

"4. Its methods of work shall be through papers, reports, discussions, resolutions, public meetings, the press, committees, and the personal efforts of its members.

ARTICLE II.

"1. The membership of this federation shall consist of two classes.

"(*a*) Representative membership. Every local church or parish, or other society founded on a religious, moral, or philanthropic basis, may be represented by its presiding officer and a delegate, or by two delegates.

"(*b*) Individual membership. Individuals not representing any of these organizations may be chosen to membership on recommendation of the membership committee by a three fourths vote of the members of the council present at any regular meeting. Those persons who are present at the meeting for organization, and who approve this constitution, shall also be members of the federation.

ARTICLE III.

"1. The executive body of this federation shall be a council, chosen by the federation, composed of thirty members, fifteen of whom shall be chosen at the first election for one year and fifteen for two years. The terms of all councilors chosen at subsequent elections shall be two years.

"2. This council shall choose a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer, all of whom shall be officers of the federation as well as of the council.

"3. There shall be a finance committee of three and a membership committee of three, all of whose members shall be chosen from the council.

"4. There shall also be a working committee of five, chosen by the council, for each of the six departments of work named in article 1, section 3. The chairman of each of these working committees shall be a member of the council, but the other four members may be members of the federation outside the council.

ARTICLE IV.

"1. The annual meeting for the choice of councilors shall occur, after the year 1896, on the third Monday of January, at 7:30 p. m. At this meeting reports shall be presented by each of the working committees and an address by the president reviewing the work of the year.

"2. By-laws governing its own work and the work of the federation may be made by the council.

"3. Twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the federation and ten councilors a quorum of the council.

"4. This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting of the federation, notice of the same having been given in writing at a previous regular meeting."

TENNESSEE.—The one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Tennessee to the Federal Union, June 1, is to be duly celebrated by the citizens of that state, with the coöperation of committees in every county. It is proposed to have an exposition at Nashville illustrative of the progress and present condition of the state in respect of arts, industries, literature, education, etc.; and as at the Atlanta Exposition, the women of the state will have a separate and important department. The program has not been issued.

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MASSACHUSETTS.—Governor Greenhalge, in his inaugural address, warmly commends the civil service system so far as now operative in Massachusetts, and urges its extension. In discussing citizenship affairs, he suggests legislation looking to the following ends:

"(1) Greater care should be exercised in the administration of naturalization laws, so far as our state courts are concerned.

"(2) A probationary period of residence after naturalization might be prescribed by constitutional amendment. The twenty-third amendment was such a constitutional provision; this was repealed as unnecessary and oppressive, but existing circumstances may seem to justify at least a shorter term of probation.

"(3) While there may be a division of opinion as to disfranchising for felony, as is done in some states, it seems clear that persons undergoing sentence in penal institutions should not be permitted to vote."

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INDIANA: *Terre Haute.*—The Civic Federation of this city has en-

rolled itself among the organizations in affiliation with the American Institute of Civics. Its aims, as described by its chief executive officer, Rev. R. N. Hunter, are: (1) to secure the enforcement of existing laws; (2) the enactment of better laws in the interests of morality; (3) to secure the best possible administration of municipal affairs. The federation, with the aid of detectives, has already exposed and suppressed numerous evils, including gambling dens. Public support has not been given to the work to the extent hoped for, but its leaders are full of courage, and believe that the "better days" for which they are preparing the way "are surely coming."

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PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—Resolutions have been adopted by a committee of citizens representing a great meeting recently held in the Academy of Music recommending municipal ownership of street railways, and calling upon councils to take action to acquire the various lines on behalf of the city. There were fifteen members of the committee at the meeting, including Chairman Thomas Martindale, ex-Governor Pattison, and George Burnham, A.I.C. It was proposed that the city should lease the roads for a term of twenty or twenty-five years to the highest bidders, the lessees to pay all the money required for the purchase of the roads by the city, so that the first cost should not fall as a burden on the taxpayers. In addition, the resolutions suggest, the lessees should be required to "do everything required of the present companies, agreeing to reasonable rates of fare, transfers, etc., paying to the city a satisfactory proportion of the gross receipts, and at the end of the term of lease turning the roads and their equipment over to the city in good running order without further cost or consideration, as in the case of an ordinary improvement lease."

To prove the possibilities of cheapened transportation statements were given of the dividends paid by ten of the most important subsidiary companies now embraced in the traction companies during the ten years that ended with 1891. The dividends of these roads as quoted averaged about twenty-six per cent per annum on the capital stock paid in.

Investigations of the citizens' committee disclose the fact that Republican rule in Philadelphia has fostered political criminality hardly less flagrant than that which flourished in New York under Democratic Tammany. Unimpeachable testimony shows that unlicensed saloons (called speak easies) and disreputable houses are under police protection. It is claimed that there are 280 of these houses in the Eighth Police District alone! The picture of municipal corruption presented is a sickening one. Here, as in New York, present political methods are condemned by their results. While the good citizens of our municipalities divide themselves on *isms* foreign to the interests of their cities, the elements of corruption are massed on whichever side gives them best promise of power, and the oligarchies of crime usurp the functions of republican government.

Republican citizens, on December 28, held a meeting for the purpose

of organizing a movement intended to secure such action at the coming primary elections as will secure the nomination of only men of the highest character and ability for membership in the councils. The members of the organizing committee are William Potter, John Russell Young, Alexander Biddle, Francis B. Reeves (A. I. C.), Charlemagne Tower, Jr., Richard M. Cadwalader, Frank L. Neall (A. I. C.), Joseph de F. Junkin, J. Edward Carpenter, Charles B. Adamson, Theodore Cuyler Patterson, J. Willis Martin, Eli Kirk Price, William McCallum.

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OHIO: *Dayton.*—A. B. Shanck, educational director of the Y. M. C. A. in this city, reports the results of practical work in civics. The association has a class which gives systematic attention to studies and discussions in affairs of history, government, etc. Young men of all shades of opinion are brought together in perfect harmony, it being thoroughly understood that each is to be accorded the privilege of entire freedom of speech. The work of the class has included a general review of United States history and biographies of eminent men around whose lives cluster many important historical facts. Birthdays of noted men were observed and special evenings given to them. Special papers on finance, on railway strikes, on the calling out of the militia, on the observance of national holidays, on the improvements in the various states to be aided by national appropriations, on the maintenance of a standing army, on the building of a great navy, all giving as wide a range as possible to the subject so that more reading would be necessary to an intelligent appreciation and a thorough knowledge of public affairs.

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CONNECTICUT: *Hartford.*—Has a "League of Good Order" made up of children from the public schools who accept this pledge:

"I promise not to throw papers, bits of fruit, or any refuse whatever into the public streets, parks, or picnic grounds, but to deposit such refuse in a waste can or other suitable receptacle, and to use my influence to lead others to do the same. I promise to do all I can to keep the streets and sidewalks clear of rubbish and not to deface any public property."

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"A PRACTICAL SUM IN CIVICS," says the *Hartford Courant*, was the subject of an address before the Civic Club of Hartford December 6 by Mrs. Mary E. Mumford of Philadelphia. We quote a few sentences from her inspiring remarks:

"'Urbane' and 'urbanity' certainly stand for graciousness of speech and conduct. In the city is the great field for the development of the philanthropic virtues. Cities are the center of privilege and it is a privilege to live on the topmost wave of life, but it is also a great responsibility. We must act, were it simply to defend our own. Here there is work for all and the need of the help of every one. So it has come to pass that women begin to take a part in the great responsibilities which devolve upon all dwellers in cities."

NEBRASKA: *Omaha.*—Instruction in civics, setting forth its importance and presenting suggestions as to methods, was urged upon the attention of the Douglas County convention at its recent meeting in this city, in a vigorous paper by Prof. I. N. Stanford of Valley.

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

MEETING OF TRUSTEES.—At a recent meeting, the Institute trustees gave careful consideration to plans calculated to enable the Institute's executive officers to avail themselves of the opportunities for increased usefulness everywhere presented. The president called attention to the delay in carrying into effect arrangements made for enlisting in special work the willing services of members of the National Committee of Councilors, who now represent more than three hundred and fifty important cities and towns, and stated that the delay was due to the shrinkage in the voluntary contributions made to the expense fund caused by present financial conditions. While the total of the Institute's receipts had not decreased, this fact was explained by the increase in its membership, and in the number of those depended upon for its maintenance. The growth of the Institute's activities without a corresponding increase in revenues had resulted in a small deficit. It was decided to seek special subscriptions to a fund sufficient to warrant the executive officers in undertaking the important new work in contemplation, and the chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. W. H. DePuy, was authorized to solicit subscriptions to this fund.

E. E. Hitchcock and Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne of New York, and Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, one of the founders of the organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and editor of its official publication, *The American Monthly*, were elected trustees to fill the three existing vacancies.

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NATIONAL LECTURE CORPS.—Prof. Thomas E. Will, who is in charge of the department of civics in the State Agricultural College of Kansas, and William J. Mann of New York City, have been made members of the Institute's National Corps of Lecturers, the whole number of members now being about 250. Prof. Will's latest lecture is on Lessons in Municipal Administration drawn from the Experience of English Cities. Mr. Mann's subjects include three exceedingly interesting and instructive historical lectures on the Discovery, Settlement, and Beginning of National Life in the New World; and one on the Meaning of American Citizenship. These lectures treat the story of our country as the story of the growth of modern liberty.

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EDWIN D. MEAD, editor *New England Magazine*, Boston, announces lecture topics as follows: The Pilgrim Fathers; six lectures illustrative of the essential Puritan spirit, and intended to enforce the importance of keeping it alive, as follows: (1) Puritanism; New England in England; New England in Holland; Bradford's Journal; John

Robinson; Plymouth; (2) The Study of History; (3) The English Commonwealth; (4) Washington's Relations to the Great West; (5) Representative Government. Mr. Mead was orator at the annual banquet of the flourishing and useful A. I. C. organization in Pawtucket, R. I., and spoke on the subject "The Message of Puritanism to Our Times."

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THOMAS C. MANNING, who is doing noble service in the purification of politics as president of the Southern Ballot Rights League, and who has been made a member of the A. I. C. Lecture Corps, declares:

"There is but one issue in the South to-day—honest elections. The silver question, the tariff, reciprocity, the Monroe Doctrine, all are of secondary importance, for until the vital question of a free ballot and fair count is settled it is idle to discuss these subjects. The league invites to membership all people who believe in square election methods, and who desire to advance the material interests of the South by attracting immigration and capital, which will surely follow the discontinuance of frauds on the franchise. In Alabama a non-partisan state ticket will be presented next year, which will probably contain but a single plank—'We demand honest elections.' The same program will be carried out in Georgia and Louisiana, and probably in several other Southern States."

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WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., A. I. C. Lecture Corps, has recently delivered his admirable lecture on "Leaders of Political Thought," in the University Extension courses at Tarrytown, N. Y., and Lancaster, Pa.

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DR. EDWARD T. DEVINE, president American Society for University Extension, lecturer on civics of that society, and member A. I. C. Lecture Corps, has just completed a series of lectures at the new Carnegie Free Library in Pittsburg, which is highly praised by A. I. C. members in that city.

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REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D., is to lecture before the Y. M. C. A. of Springfield, Mass., on "Citizenship—What Does it Mean?" "Our Flag, and What it Stands For," "American Institutions—What Are They?" "Evils of Partisan Politics."

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COL. HOMER B. SPRAGUE, A. I. C., Orange, N. J., is announced as one of the University Extension lecturers.

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DR. LEWIS G. JANES, of Brooklyn, N. Y., has prepared an able lecture on "The Sociological Significance of Political Institutions," which he recently delivered before the members of the Brooklyn Institute. We quote the closing sentences:

"The true tendency of all governmental evolution is from militarism and toward industrialism; from imperialism and centralization toward the more perfect recognition of the rights of local self-government; from the arbitrary control of the autocrat and the unbridled will of the

majority toward a government by laws equal in their operation upon all, recognizing the rights even of a minority of one, and enforced by the internal restraints of conscience and the developed moral nature of the individual rather than by external coercion."

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PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago Theological Seminary, of the Institute Lecture Corps, has been delivering lectures at Dunning, Ill.

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REV. CORNELIUS E. WALKER, D.D., pastor Congregational Church, Sherburne, Minn., holds himself in readiness to lecture on "Christian Citizenship" when circumstances permit him to do so.

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INSTITUTE MEMBERS.—HON. J. H. WALKER, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, expresses the opinion that the present financial problems are to be solved in one of three ways:

"First, issue $500,000,000 of bonds and use the proceeds to redeem and cancel the United States legal-tender notes and treasury notes. Second, increase the revenues to exceed the expenditures by a sum sufficient to redeem and cancel in the near future all such notes as they are presented for redemption. Third, make it for the interests of the banks and thus induce the banks to assume the 'current redemption' of all such notes, compensating the banks for so doing by allowing them to issue circulating notes against the assets of the banks to an equal amount.

"The first two schemes have been tried only to fail utterly, because of the determined opposition of the people. On April 12, 1866, an act was passed authorizing the treasurer to sell bonds to retire the legal-tender notes, $10,000,000 the first six months, and $4,000,000 for each month thereafter. When only $59,000,000 were retired the people manifested such repugnance to the law that it was repealed in January, 1868, without the president's signature. Again on January 14, 1875, the law authorized the treasurer to sell bonds to retire legal-tender notes down to $300,000,000, and after January 1, 1879, all such notes were to be retired as presented for redemption. After only $35,000,000 had been retired the people objected so vehemently that Congress repealed the authority to retire the notes on May 21, 1878. Not only that, but enacted in the law a requirement of the treasury to again pay out all such notes as fast as they were redeemed.

"If Congress should to-day pass a law providing that the surplus revenues should be used to redeem treasury notes it is the belief of the most experienced men in Congress that it would be repealed within twelve months. It seems, therefore, to the Banking and Currency Committee that they are shut up to the third method of correcting existing evils, namely, to induce the banks to become responsible for the 'current redemption' of every dollar of paper money by retiring every existing dollar and having it issued by the banks of the country, half to be a new bank greenback. The committee is anxious to have the assistance of the most experienced bankers of the country in devising

some plan for accomplishing this result in view of the popular opposition to the destruction of the government paper."

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REV. RUFUS C. BURLESON, D.D., president Baylor University, Texas, recounts in the *Young Men's Era* the fact that Parsons, the Chicago anarchist, who belonged to a highly esteemed southern family, was once one of the brightest, most high-minded, and promising students in Baylor University, and a favorite among all who knew him. Before graduation he became a victim of the saloon, left college, lost caste, joined his fortunes with the corrupt elements in local politics, and sunk so low that even white scalawags turned away from him. An unusually intelligent mulatto woman, until then a respectable married woman, became infatuated with him, and the pair fled together to Chicago, where the subsequent record of both is well known. But for one saloon licensed by the Christian citizens of Waco, says Dr. Burleson, Albert Parsons might to-day be one of the noblest men of Texas.

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W. H. DEPUY, D.D., LL.D., chairman Executive Committee, A. I. C. Board of Trustees, is soon to issue through the publishing house of J. S. Barcus & Co., New York, a *magnum opus* under the title of "The University of Literature." Its twenty splendid octavo volumes will present the newest and by far the best and most complete cyclopedia of universal literature yet presented in any language.

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GEORGE H. MARTIN, supervisor of schools, Boston, writing in the *Journal of Education*, says:

"American society has reached that stage in its development when from each extreme exudes a class of idlers, one over-dressed and overfed, the other ragged and hungry, but both alike preying upon the public, both alike subject to the vices which idleness entails, one killing time by coaching and fox-hunting, the other by tramping on the road, one by the very contrast baiting and exasperating the other. More and more as time goes on we shall find our ingenuity and our effort taxed to limit these classes. The extreme of peril in popular government is reached when one of these classes furnishes leaders and the other voters, as in the later days of the Roman Republic."

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HON. G. L. EBERHART, of New Brighton, Pa., evidences his deep interest in affairs of civics not only by his contributions to this magazine, but by his useful local activities. He is an alumnus of Washington College, served on the staff of General Meade in the Union army, has achieved success not only at the bar, but as superintendent of public schools in his county, as mayor of his city, and as a member of the legislature. He is the Ecclesiastical Judge in the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburg, and his friends urge his election to the Bench in the thirty-sixth.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, of the Institute's Board of Trustees, and secretary of the National Municipal Reform League, recently gave a most instructive lecture before the Wheaton School of the University of Pennsylvania on the work of the reform organizations in Philadelphia. With such leaders as Mr. Woodruff, these organizations cannot fail to increase in strength and usefulness.

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DR. LUCIEN E. WARNER, of New York, for many years one of the foremost leaders in Y. M. C. A. work in his own state, has been elected chairman of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., with Alfred E. Warling, of New York, and Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago, as first and second vice-chairmen. All of these gentlemen are interested members of the A. I. C.

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MRS. MARY S. LOCKWOOD, Washington, D. C., is the editor of *The American Monthly*, the excellent publication which represents the Daughters of the American Revolution. Its handsomely illustrated Christmas number is full of matters of interest to patriotic women.

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JOSEPH O'CONNOR, the scholarly and highly esteemed editor of the *Rochester (N. Y.) Post-Express*, has retired from his long service on that journal. Mr. O'Connor is an examplar for all that is best in American journalism. Scorning the unworthy measures so often resorted to by mere seekers of profit, he has boldly and successfully upheld the highest standards in civic, business, and social life. It is reported that he is to become editor of the *Buffalo Enquirer*.

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AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS.—Among the organizations which have entered into affiliation with the Institute, the Good Government League of Lima, Ohio, and the Civic Federation of Terre Haute, Ind., report plans for aggressive reformatory work.——By oversight, a communication received from Curtis Hillyer, secretary of the Civic Federation of San Francisco, which should have appeared in a former issue of this magazine, has been omitted. Mr. Hillyer writes: "Pursuant to instructions of the Executive Committee of the Civic Federation of San Francisco, I herewith extend to the American Institute of Civics the cordial sympathy of our organization, and express on its behalf its willingness to coöperate with your institute in the common work of reform." The officers of the federation are I. J. Truman, president, M. McGlynn, 1st vice-president, Rev. Hobart Chitwood, 2d vice-president, Curtis Hillyer, secretary, O. C. Terrill, treasurer, Maurice Woodhams, librarian.

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LETTERS FROM MEMBERS.—GEO. ALEXANDER RITTER, Nauvoo, Ill., expresses the opinion that Florence Percy Matheson's article on "Woman's Natural Debarments from Political Service" is the best article on the question he has seen.

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S. S. PARR, superintendent of public schools, St. Cloud, Minn., ex-

presses his belief that one of the most important contributions of the nineteenth to the twentieth century is the growing interest of all classes in civic affairs, and testifies to his hearty appreciation of the work of the A. I. C. in contributing to this result.

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GEO. B. FOSTER, University Club, Boston: "The work which you are engaged in is most noble and one of which our country stands in great need. I take pleasure in contributing ten dollars for its support and wish it were much more; but my best wishes and hopes for the continued success of the Institute go with even this little contribution."

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REV. C. H. STOCKING, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.: "Most heartily do I concur with the expressed civil philosophy, that—'Through good citizenship, from first to last, lies the way to good government.' For the helping forward of a work so great, so noble, and so vital to the interests of our common country, I cannot hesitate for a moment in accepting election, and pledging my hearty coöperation, as far as time and circumstances may permit."

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J. M. DODSON, Wickliffe, Ky.: "The valuable books and literature received, I appreciate very much. I think the mission of the Institute a grand and important one."

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CIVICS IN GENERAL.

FAILURES OF REFORM MOVEMENTS.—The statements elsewhere presented, relating to the reign of civic corruption in Philadelphia, ought to occasion no surprise. Nor should the partial, and the prospect of the complete, recovery of the lost power of Tammany in New York be a disappointment to any citizen of ordinary intelligence. These conditions are but the natural outcome of the detestable form of fetish worship which sets up false images in local communities, before which purblind and folly-led citizens bow in senseless and shameful worship. "Reform" becomes a by-word for scoffers when reform efforts are confined to the circle of those who proclaim their inability to accomplish any worthy purpose, by the clanking of the fetters which bind them.

The tariff and the currency and other national issues may properly afford a basis for national party divisions. But when these issues divide the citizens of a community, placing them in hostility to each other in the decision of matters affecting the purity of local government, and the safety and sanctity of their own households, professedly good citizens become copartners in the work of ruin invited and fostered by their own criminal folly.

When enough citizens, regardless of national political issues, are sufficiently wise, patriotic, and home-loving, to unite as one man for the protection of the sacred interests which are interwoven with all that concerns the highest welfare of their own homes and families, and not until then, will good government be established in the cities and

towns of the United States. For ten years the Institute of Civics has persistently voiced an appeal to the intelligence, the manhood, and the patriotism of the better elements in our cities urging them to heed this truth. The appeal has been taken up and voiced by others, and it has not been put forth entirely in vain. Its fruits, so far as permanent results are concerned, have not yet appeared. But the appeal has listeners now, and when men begin to listen to its voice, the conquests of truth are at hand.

H. R. W.

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UNEDUCATED SUPERINTENDENTS OF EDUCATION.—There are such, and their number is not few. The Institute of Civics has an intelligent young lady correspondent in a town in Montana, who was "examined" by one of these as to her qualifications for the work of teaching. At the conclusion of the farcical proceeding, she writes: "I wonder how a county superintendent who knows almost nothing, not even how to write a letter, expects to be able to examine a candidate in algebra and plane geometry?" Montana is ambitious and progressive. She has recently enacted a law requiring teachers to pass a satisfactory examination in civics as a condition of receiving a certificate entitling them to teach in her public schools. In this she sets a worthy example to older states. She should go further, and pass a law fixing the qualifications of her educational overseers, so as to shut out the man who "knows almost nothing."

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THE YOUNG MAN AS A CITIZEN.—Revival of civic pride and municipal patriotism is one of the signs of the times. Christian men, and especially Christian young men, are learning that they owe a duty to society as citizens as well as Christians. And as citizens especially because they are Christians, for nowhere can the influence of Christianity be felt to better advantage than in the public affairs of city, state, and nation. . . . . No matter what a man's political views may be, he should be prepared to act intelligently and conscientiously in carrying on the government under which he lives. The primary is said to be the weakest spot in our political machinery. It has been in the past the sport of spoilsmen and political wire-pullers of the baser sort. It need not be such if every Christian citizen does his duty.—*Young Men's Era.*

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Y. M. C. A. WORK IN CIVICS.—The editor of the *Young Men's Era* believes that the Y. M. C. A., as an intensely practical institution, has a legitimate and important work to do in the field of civics. He says:

"A realization of the necessity of the possession by the people in general of a more intimate connection on their part with political affairs, emphasizes the value of the opportunity before the Young Men's Christian Associations. These organizations may lead in the popular instruction so much needed just now along sociological, industrial, and political lines, occupying always the middle ground, never being partisan, ever abreast of current discussion, striving for the good of the individual, the state, and the church."

VERMONT: *Rutland.*—Hon. Charles P. Harris, the Rutland, Vt., member of the National Committee of A. I. C. Councilors, has been conducting inquiries as to the work of the public schools in his vicinity in the matter of training for citizenship. From one of the reports, that made by Alfred Turner, superintendent of public schools in Rutland, we quote as follows:

"The teaching of patriotism in the public schools is considered and recognized as an all-important duty—a duty which it is dangerous to neglect. The selfish spirit of the times, the greed of great monopolies, the tendency toward communism and anarchy, which have been recently developed in this country, the vast influx from foreign lands bringing to our shores thousands of immigrants to whom the history and traditions of our country are utterly unknown, make it the imperative duty of the present hour to do our utmost toward developing a spirit of loyalty to American institutions, toward inculcating such principles as shall yield the fruitage of patriotic devotion to liberty.

"Our work in this direction divides itself practically into three parts:

"1. Every morning the schools carry out in full the Col. Geo. T. Balch [A. I. C.] flag salute. This observance of the salute each day is of recent origin and when properly executed ought surely to aid in cultivating a love for the flag as the emblem of our liberty and power. It is not a military salute made in obedience to the cast-iron requirements of military discipline in which the heart may possibly not beat in unison with the movements of the hand, but rather one of the methods which the little citizens take to express their sense of gratitude for and appreciation of the great privileges and opportunities which our system of education has established and maintained for their advancement in citizenship. The teachers are expected to supplement this at various times by teaching the children the national hymns and songs, the origin of the flag, where it was adopted, what trials it has encountered, and what blessings it has preserved. It should be in every home to be cherished, loved, and honored. And thus with the salute and history of the flag begins the patriotic education of each little citizen.

"2. Besides the inspiration of patriotic song and story, besides the lessons drawn from the notable lives of those who have contributed to their country's glory by acts of bravery and self-sacrifice, we observe so-called flag-days, which commemorate notable events and achievements. Appropriate exercises are held in all schools, stirring extracts are read and recited by pupils, patriotic songs sung, and, in some instances, as Memorial Day, addresses are made by interested citizens.

"The following dates have been selected for the coming year, on account of their historic significance, for the display of the school flag, and I feel that they are a means of bringing pleasant and ennobling associations into the daily routine of school-work, as well as to favor and strengthen that spirit of patriotism which is so essential for the existence of a republican form of government. I am happy to say that all our schoolhouses are supplied with flags, and unless the weather is

exceedingly inclement, they are raised above the houses at the proper time.

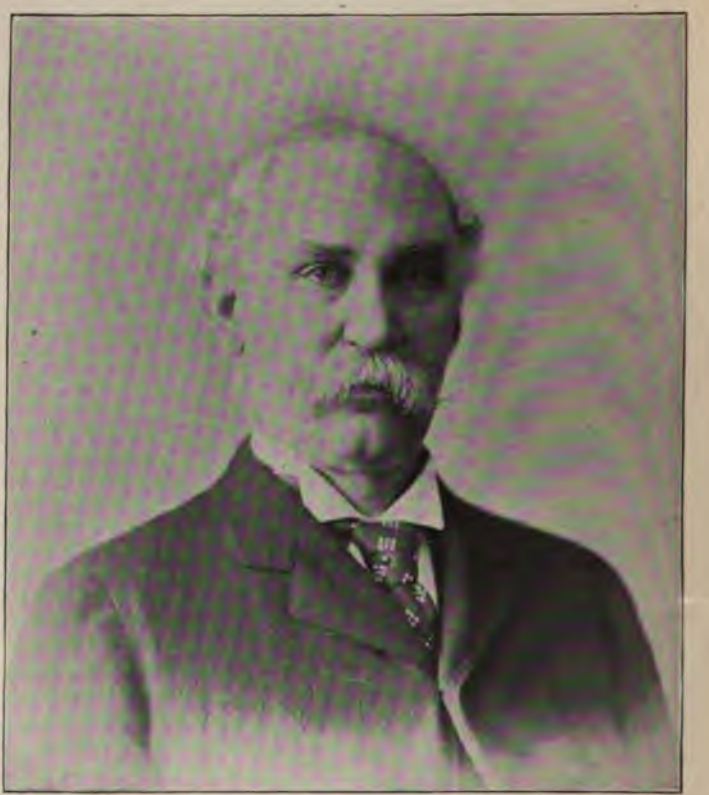
1777, January 16, Vermont's Declaration of Independence.
1809, February 12, Lincoln's Birthday.
1732, February 22, Washington's Birthday.
1791, March 4, Vermont's Admission to the Union.
1775, May 10, Capture of Fort Ticonderoga.
1868, May 30, Memorial Day.
1761, September 7, Rutland became a town.
1892, November 19, Rutland became a city.

"3. The reading for the year is of course supplementary to the regular work of that department but I think is quite complete. As illustrations I would cite: "The Patriot School Master"; Heaton's "Vermont"; "The Liberty Primer"; "The Historical Primer of Vermont," a book full of stories of noted men whose acts have been of a patriotic nature; W. W. Grout's "Address at Washington," giving the early history of the state; "Green Mountain Boys"; extracts from the newspapers, etc. This reading matter has been especially provided for this purpose. Our regular studies, such as language, reading, and history (national as well as state), give plenty of opportunity to weave in patriotic thoughts and to develop the same."

PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

ORDER OF FOREIGN WARS.—This new national organization held its first annual meeting last month at the Brevoort House, in New York. Those eligible for membership must trace their descent, by male line, from an officer in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the War of the Barbary States, or the Mexican War. There are commanderies in New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. Officers of the order for the ensuing year were elected as follows: commander, David Banks; vice-commander, James H. Morgan; secretary, Robert Webb Morgan; treasurer, George Livingston Nichols; registrar, Dwight Lathrop Elmendorf; judge-advocate, Frank M. Avery; surgeon, Dr. Clarkson Crosby Surgeon; chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Stafford Dronne; deputy secretary, Maturin L. Delafield, Jr. Companions of the Council elected are Generals Fitz John Porter, Alexander S. Webb, and John Porter Hatch, Rear-Admiral Daniel L. Braine, Lieutenant Irving M. Avery, J. Kensett Olyphant, Fellows Davis and Jacob Van Wyck.

SONS AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—The New Jersey Society held its annual meeting and banquet in Newark, December 26. The following officers were elected for the year: president, John W. Whitehead, Morristown; vice-president, Franklin Murphy, Newark; secretary, G. Wisner Thorne, Newark; treasurer, Frederick Frelinghuysen, Newark; register, John Jackson Hubbell, Newark; historian, W. S. Stryker, Trenton; chaplain, the Rev. Lyman W. Allen, Newark; board of managers—Theodore Coe, Newark; P. H. Hoffman, Morristown; E. O. Doremus, East Orange; W. W. Ketcham, Newark; A. W. Biray, Newark; Walter Chandler, Elizabeth; Joseph G. Ogden, Elizabeth, and W. S. Nicholas, Newark.



HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.
Member National Body of Councilors American Institute of Civics.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

MARCH, 1896.

ARE WE A NATION OF RASCALS?

BY JOHN F. HUME.

IF anything should be honest it is money. It supplies the test of integrity in nearly all dealings between man and man, because it is the measure of values. Without absolute reliability on its part few transactions can be satisfactorily consummated. Whatever may be the cause of weakness or of strength, injustice directly flows from its instability. As every fluctuation brings loss to some one, it can neither go up nor down without cheating somebody. Hence no community can safely and honorably do business with a varying and untrustworthy currency any more than a merchant can honestly sell goods with an unreliable yard-stick, a changeable bushel, or a deceptive balance.

We can readily imagine the mischief that would result from a sudden shrinkage of all the yard-sticks of the country. If all at once they were to contract from the long-established thirty-six inches to only half that space, the confusion produced would be simply intolerable. The lady who had purchased and paid for goods supposed to be sufficient for a complete suit of fashionable construction, would find that she had barely enough material for a modern bloomer costume, and the gentleman doing the same thing would be forced to put up with knickerbocker pantaloons and a coat unadorned with tails. The housewife who had bought carpets for her floors would have half the boards uncovered when her order was filled. Even the carpenter, who had paid his money upon the understanding that he was to be supplied according to ordinary board measure, would

discover that he had only half enough lumber for the house he had contracted to build.

And so in other things. If the gallon was suddenly contracted from four quarts to two, and the quart from two pints to one ; or, turning to matters of avoirdupois, if all the pound and penny-weights in our markets shriveled until they would only provide us with half the usual quantity of fish, or beefsteak, or sugar, or salt, or tea we had been accustomed to get for our money, the effect would be appalling. Nine tenths of our families would be reduced to half rations. And what an outcry there would be! Thousands of voices would be raised in denunciation of the change. They would charge rank injustice upon those accountable for it. And altogether correct would they be. The swindle that would be consummated by such a revolution in weights and measures would be beyond question or apology. Nor would it matter to us of what material our new yard-stick and other measures were constructed. They might all be made of silver and we would be none the better for it. Their importance to us would depend, not upon the substance or substances entering into them, but upon their capacity of measurement. What we are accustomed to speak of as the "standard" in such matters, and which regulates the quantities purchased and to be delivered, would be the essential thing.

Now, our yard-sticks, our weights, and other regulators in buying and selling are made of money. If not exactly composed of the same materials, their measuring capacity is determined by its purchasing power. We can change every one of them, to all intents and purposes, by merely changing the standard—that is, the value—of our currency.

But would any one in all our broad land be rascally enough, it may be asked, to seek to so contract our measuring standards—our yard-sticks, etc.—that they would only give us half the values for which we had been contracting and paying? Even so, it must be admitted. That is the very thing proposed by large and influential portions of our countrymen, who are led in the movement they are urging to that end by men that are prominent in public life, and who call themselves statesmen

and economists. They are seeking to bring about the change suggested by revolutionizing the money standard of the country —by substituting fifty per cent silver for one hundred per cent gold. That is the effect which the success of their policy would involve.

And why do they favor such a result? It is not difficult to understand why the citizens of the so-called "silver states," when we bear in mind the fact that people in most business operations consult the higher moralities less than their own interests, real or fancied, should champion it. They have silver to sell, and if they can realize one hundred cents for what in the market is now worth but fifty cents by a change in our monetary system, they will naturally enough advocate the new yard-stick and other similar innovations. Perhaps, as the world views such things, they would not be to blame, provided the means employed by them to reach their ends were fair and honorable. But are they fair and honorable? Our people are supposed to be equals in all respects, but to be such they should have equal representation in the lawmaking department; while we find that, in point of fact, the silver states have far more than their share. Colorado, the leader of the silverite communities, has but about six hundred thousand inhabitants all told, which is less than one third of the population of New York City alone, and yet Colorado has as much actual power in Congress, through its representation in the United States Senate, as the whole state of New York. Nevada has but scant sixty thousand inhabitants, while New York has over six millions. The disproportion is a great deal more than sixteen to one. New York, which is emphatically a gold standard state, has more people, as well as more wealth, than all the silver-mining states combined, and yet their voice in legislation is many times more potential than hers. And what in the peculiarity mentioned is true of the silver-producing states is also largely true of those that are now in sympathy with them. Can legislation affecting money matters obtained through such disparity be said to be strictly honest?

But many of the communities favoring the new yard-stick are

not mining camps. They have no silver to sell. On the contrary, their people would suffer proportionately with any of the rest in their purchases under the new system proposed. Why do they champion it then? Simply because it is to be inferred that in another way they suppose it will subserve their interests. They are the debtor communities of our country, and they are presumed to argue that it is easier to pay fifty cents than it is to pay one hundred. But that would not be just; it would be repudiation; and are there American communities that would consciously stoop to its adoption? Well, the question is not altogether a new one. History at this point may throw a good deal of light upon the matter. In point of population and influence the largest group of silver-supporting states is in the South, and according to Professor Scott, of the University of Wisconsin, in his recent book on "The Repudiation of State Debts," the commonwealths composing it to-day owe over three hundred millions of dollars in the form of state debts which they have repudiated or left unpaid. The obligations so dishonored are not all of Carpet-bag origin or legally controverted. For instance, West Virginia in becoming a separate state solemnly assumed to pay her fair proportion of the ante-bellum debt of Old Virginia, which was about one third of $45,000,000. She has never paid a penny of it, and does not act as if she ever intended to. She is said to be strong for silver.

The state of Mississippi many years ago issued and sold her obligations amounting to several million dollars, and used the proceeds for legitimate domestic purposes. Those obligations have long been overdue, but not one of them has been paid, or is likely to be paid. Mississippi is for silver.

The state of Tennessee did not wholly repudiate her debts, but she "scaled" them. She gave her creditors the option of taking sixty cents on the dollar of what she owed them, or nothing at all; and afterwards, when she found how easy it was to settle old scores in that way, cut down the allowance ten per cent more. The country has no more earnest supporters of the silver standard than the United States senators and many other leading representatives of Tennessee.

And so on, through the list of states that have discredited their paper, including the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, etc., every one of which is said to be enthusiastic for the silver yard-stick.

In response to the foregoing, however, it may be alleged that some of the strongest pro-silver districts are neither in the silver-mining belt, nor in the repudiating portion of the South. Illinois, where a state convention assuming to represent one of our great political parties recently met especially for the purpose of upholding silver, would naturally be the first place to be named. But Illinois has a record. While she has dishonored none of her own paper, there has been no other state in the Union in which cities, counties, and townships have shown such disregard of their obligations, as the holders of bonds issued in aid of the Paris & Decatur Railroad, the Ottawa, Oswego & Fox River Valley Railroad, the Danville, Bloomington & Pekin Railroad, and similar enterprises can testify. The courts are still worrying over suits brought upon them by outraged creditors.

Adjoining Illinois on the west is the state of Missouri, which occupies practically the same position upon the currency question, and here we find the same disregard of the obligations that communities had assumed. So far did the repudiators go that they held a state convention and put out an address in vindication of their course, in which the extraordinary position was taken that, in reference to the debts from the payment of which they were seeking to escape, "questions of good faith and moral obligation, independent of the question of their legality, have no application." Do we not in this declaration have a key to much of the sentiment that now prevails in that region in reference to the national currency and its bearing upon the liabilities of different sections?

Immediately west of Missouri is Kansas, another state said to be thoroughly devoted to the silver cause. How it stands upon the question of treating public debts, or debts, for that matter, of any kind, is indicated by a very significant incident. Its capital, the city of Topeka, at one time, for the purpose of securing a desirable improvement that was to be built up by out-

side capital, put out a considerable amount of bonds. The issue was authorized by a vote of its citizens, the equivalent contracted for was duly rendered, and everything was supposed to be regular, when a technical flaw in the proceedings was discovered that led to the legal decision adverse to the securities, and Topeka at once declined further payment, and has continued to do so ever since. Has the state of Kansas, which is discredited by having the only repudiating capital in the Union, taken any action to vindicate its honor? Perhaps the fact that others of its communities have followed the capital's example may help to explain its seeming indifference.

Continuing in the same direction, we then come to Colorado, the heart and soul of the silver movement, and the state of the foremost champions of "sixteen to one." Lake County, Colorado, has recently avoided payment of a large amount of its paper, not because it was without ample consideration, but because the county had succeeded in obtaining credit beyond the limit it was legally authorized to run in debt. The significance of the incident is in the fact that Lake County includes Leadville, the richest silver-mining camp in the world, and which, instead of disapproving of the action of its superior authority, has been seeking to escape a large amount of its own indebtedness on the same ground.

Now, the pertinency of the facts just recited cannot fail to be apparent when we come to consider the animus of the movement for the legal rehabilitation of silver as a money standard, a correct understanding of which is necessary for a true estimate of its character. Do they not show that the idea of discharging debts, in whole or part, otherwise than by full and honest payment, is not altogether a stranger in some parts of our country, and that familiarity with it has largely robbed it of the abhorrence its first appearance would naturally excite? It would seem to rest on a theory not unlike that of the Highlander described by Sir Walter Scott, who, when in one of his raiding expeditions he was expostulated with by his victim, a brother Scotchman, for robbing his own flesh and blood, replied, "Why mon, its na' a matter of flesh an' blud, but of siller." With the

advocates of the new standard of values the point at issue seems to be literally as well as figuratively a matter of "siller." The comity that is supposed to prevail when the interests of different sections of a common country are involved, is ignored, and even considerations of right and wrong would seem to carry little weight with them. In short, the facts referred to go far to prove that, instead of a romantic attachment to a deposed and injured potentate, the sentiment underlying the attempted restoration of silver is sectional, selfish, and dishonest.

But in this connection another historical reference may not be amiss, as it seems at this point to fit into the subject under discussion. History is ever a timely as well as a faithful instructor. The legal demonetization of silver, except as to limited quantities, was effected in 1873. Then it was that the great crime against the white metal, according to the claims of its advocates, was perpetrated. It was at that time that the movement for what was known as "the inflation of the currency" was in progress, and almost at its height. It is a curious fact that the deposition of silver should occur in the midst of an effort of uncommon determination to give us more money. The same elements were then at work, and for the same purpose, that are active now, but they did not champion silver. They had nothing to say about silver. Their contention was for greenbacks, or for what was known as "fiat money." What they then wanted, as now, was cheap money—easy money to pay debts with. Silver would not then have answered their purpose, because it was not at a discount. Its free and unlimited coinage would not have particularly helped them. It was not until silver had started on the down grade, and gone a considerable distance, that its virtues became apparent to them, and they began to cry out against the injustice to which it had been subjected.

They care nothing for silver. It is notorious that, in making contracts for money coming to them, they never provide for payment in silver. They may call for gold, but for silver never. They do not want silver for themselves. They want it, as some evil-disposed persons are said to want boils and ulcers and the scratches, to inflict upon somebody else. What they do want is

cheap money, and cheap money, in view of all existing contracts and conditions, is dishonest money.

Is it not a remarkable circumstance that in practically all the speeches and other discussions we have had upon the currency issue, only its material aspects have been dwelt upon? It has been treated as if it involved merely a question of so many dollars and so many cents. To the writer, however, it does seem that there is a moral side to it, and that it is by far the more important side. Its decision is something with which the national conscience should have a great deal to do, and it is high time that it was being invoked and aroused for the purpose. It is no small matter, both for the honor and integrity of the nation, the whole of which will be held responsible for whatever is done, that in the settlement of a question so far reaching in its consequences as that of the currency, justice should be maintained. Our people cannot fail to suffer in character as well as in reputation, if we permit our money to deteriorate in quality, and be used by one part of the country to gain an undue advantage over another. We should remember that we shall be judged by the character of the money we use, and very properly so. No people in time of peace were ever better than their money. Their money furnishes the very best evidence of their standing. For savages and the ruder barbarians shells and stones and iron have been good enough; with the semi-civilized silver is the favorite; but when we come to the more intelligent and more refined nationalities gold is the standard. The influence of money as an educator, as well as an industrial promoter, is unmistakable. Hence of all kinds of money we want the best. The standard cannot be too high for us.

After the curious dance that silver has recently led it, at times bringing it dangerously near to crushing disaster, our government ought to be able to realize very distinctly the moralities that are involved in the currency issue, and their bearings upon material interests. Certainly its experience has been both ample and impressive. It began by adopting the very questionable policy of buying silver at a discount, and selling it to its own subjects at par. That worked very satisfactorily as long as the

people could be induced to accept it on those terms; but the time came when the United States government, powerful as it was, with the assistance of its legal tender legislation could no longer induce any one to take fifty cents' worth of metal for one hundred cents of values in other property. The result is that it has on its hands an immense accumulation of goods, in the shape of coins that are falsely stamped, which it cannot dispose of except at a heavy loss. The speculation, although the making of a profit was not the moving inducement, has been a losing one because a dishonest one. The experience ought to teach the country the inevitable lesson that honesty is the best policy, not only in money transactions, but in money itself.

While there are unquestionably some points in connection with this currency business about which there may be honest differences of opinion, mainly owing to the positions held by different observers, there is one thing we can all depend upon: If we attempt to impose upon the country and the world a currency graduated at a ratio that does not represent real values, and thus seek to cheat them in the operation; if we so arrange matters that the bond made payable in gold, which the rich and crafty capitalist holds, shall be worth par in the market, while the farm mortgage made payable in current funds, in which the humble and inexperienced citizen has invested his or her savings, shall be worth but half as much; if we frame our laws so that the wealthy banker's hoarded gold shall be doubled in productive power, while the pittance which the wage-earner receives shall proportionately shrink in its buying capacity; and, above all, if, with the full knowledge of the fact that the worst of all governors and governments have been those that have sought to corrupt and debase the money of the realm, and with eyes wide open to all the consequences involved, we go to work to unsettle the foundations of public credit by setting up a monetary standard that on its face would be a lie, the consensus of the world's conclusions must be that we are a nation of rascals.

JOHN F. HUME.

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

BY NELSON BALDWIN.

II.

BENEFITS OF COMPETITION.

THE idea prevails among workingmen to a great extent that competition in trade reduces wages, but a greater fallacy never found believers. The truth is the reverse. Competition reduces the prices of products; the lower the prices the greater the sales and the greater is the demand for labor. It is increased consumption, and nothing else, that will call for a larger production and make work for the idle. Wages are never cut down when there is a good demand for labor merely because profits are small. If a reduction in wages and small profits should be coincident in any case it will be found that the demand for the goods had fallen off for some reason and there was in consequence a lessened demand for labor. So long as there is a good demand for labor, the smaller the profit to the capitalist the larger will be the pay of the laborer. This is so plain that it should need no demonstration. We have seen from the census figures that the average profit of capital invested in manufacturing in cities of 20,000 population and upward is twenty-four per cent per annum. Some capitalists get more than this and some much less; but the establishment that is making a net profit of only ten per cent often pays higher wages than does the monopolist who is making a clear profit of fifty per cent. Thorold Rogers, in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," says that when wages were at their lowest in England manufacturers made from 100 to 1,000 per cent profit in a year on their capital. When their monopolies were broken and their enormous profits were reduced the wages of labor were increased.

Private monopolies were originally created by monarchs as a means of raising money. They were neither more nor less than the sale of the privilege of robbing the people. In our republic

the only change has been to make a free gift of the monopoly when government has it to dispose of, but the purpose of its existence is exactly the same now that it was three hundred years ago. Monopoly is labor's worst enemy, and workingmen, more than any other class, should desire its extinction.

THE TRUSTS.

A form of monopoly that has attracted great attention in recent years is the trust. When a particular industry is organized into a trust the first thing it does is to reduce the output of the product which it controls in order that it may create an artificial scarcity and secure a higher price. The trust does not believe in the old motto, "Quick sales and small profits." Why? Because more money can be made by slow sales and large profits. An illustration may be unnecessary, but I will give one: Suppose an article is produced at a cost of 80 cents and sold at $1; the profit is 25 per cent. Put up the price to $1.20 and sales will naturally fall off one fifth, but the profit on each sale will be doubled. At the lower price the sale of 100 of the articles will bring in a profit of $20; after the advance in price the sale of 80 will bring a profit of $32, an increase of 60 per cent. One fifth of the men engaged in the industry will be thrown out of work. Are those who retain their places as likely to get more pay because of the increased return to capital? On the contrary, when they see one fifth of their former fellow-workmen out of a job they will be glad to work for any wages they can get in order to keep their places. The position here taken concerning the effect of trusts is not only theoretically correct, but its correctness has been practically demonstrated by the history of every trust combination which has come into existence.

When the manufacture of bicycles was controlled by three or four persons a wheel was sold for $150 that was no better than one that can be bought now for $75. In consequence of the reduction sales have more than doubled, and the number of bicycle-factory employees has increased in the same proportion. As the same amount of money that was formerly spent for one hundred bicycles will now buy two hundred and give work to twice as many men, it is perfectly clear that competition in that business has

been a great benefit to labor. Capital is taking a smaller share of the product and labor is receiving a larger share, and that is what may be always looked for as the result of competition. With competition taking the place of monopoly throughout the entire field of industry there would be no more natural antagonism between capital and labor than there is naturally between any man who has something to sell and another who wishes to buy it.

PATENTS—MACHINERY.

Another form of monopoly is the patent right. It is not unusual for a patented article to be sold at a net profit of 100 per cent. When it is remembered that all wealth is created by labor, and that the net result is the addition of only about three per cent yearly to the aggregate wealth of the nation (all of the people), it will be readily understood that when the owner of a patent makes 100 per cent labor sustains a severe loss. The patent right that would give its owner a fortune of $100,000 would probably cause hardship and privation to 100,000 men.

I do not, however, include among the causes of the increasing scarcity of employment the invention of labor-saving machinery. It is not the invention of machinery, but the monopolization of its benefits, that hurts labor. A machine run by one man that would do the work of ten men might for a time inconvenience nine of the ten, but labor as a whole would lose nothing if the invention at once became the property of the public. It would cheapen the price of the article to which it was applied, thus increasing sales and the demand for labor in the production of the raw material of that industry, also the demand for labor to do those portions of the work of making the article which the machine could not do. Some people might not buy any more of that article because the price was reduced, but if they did not they would have more money left to buy other things with, and thus give additional employment to labor in various directions. Labor would, after the readjustment, gain more than it lost by the invention of the machine. But if the sole benefit accrued to one man or a few men the case would be different. Labor would have to lose more or less until the patent ran out. Fortunately

a great majority of the useful inventions are common property.

This phase of the industrial problem is a difficult one to deal with. It has been wrestled with by several parliamentary committees, but they have never been able to agree to anything but a disagreement. Inventive genius ought to be encouraged; inventors are entitled to reward. But the reward, in view of the fact that labor pays it, ought not to be excessive. The reward has been sometimes $100,000 when perhaps $10,000 would have been a fair recompense. We copied our patent laws from those of England, but with our greater liberality we allow a patent to run 17 years, while England gives it a life of 14 years. Our system originally provided for granting extensions, but that abuse has been stopped. I think half of the English term would be about right. If the life of a patent ran for seven years the inventor would be fairly compensated if his invention possessed substantial merit.

THE BURDEN OF TAXATION.

Any burden put upon industry checks production and lessens the demand for labor. One of the heaviest burdens borne by industry is taxation. It is heavier than we realize because so much of it is unseen. From the foundation of government taxation has been a means of oppression and fraud; and of all tax frauds the indirect tax is the worst. It makes people believe they are paying a light tax, or none at all, when in reality they are taxed to the point of extortion. Often have I heard the remark in New York that that state was very liberal to poor men; that it exempted them entirely from taxation; there being no poll or occupation tax, the poor man was not called upon to contribute a cent to the expenses of the government. Consequently in the municipalities of New York, when a proposition to levy an additional tax is voted upon, men who are not on the assessor's lists are not allowed to vote. When the "incidence of taxation" is studied it will be found that the men who are not on the assessors' list pay nine tenths of the taxes. The man who rents a house, and not the landlord, pays the tax. The claim is often made that the state government of Pennsylvania is mainly supported by taxing the corporations. It is not true.

The state government is maintained by taxing the people. The corporations get the credit of paying the tax, but in reality they are the tax-gatherers, not the tax-payers. Railroad companies make the people pay all the cost of operating the road, including taxes. The state government is no more maintained by the corporations than a municipal government is maintained by its city treasurer. Nearly all of our taxes can be, and are, shifted by the first payer, with the result that eventually nine tenths of the taxes are paid by labor.

It is a prodigious, but common, mistake of workingmen to suppose that they can be benefited by extravagant government. I admit that there is a great deal in the way of public improvement that should be done by government; but in all cases the work should be one of public necessity and government should always get the worth of its money. The work should not be done merely with a view to benefiting labor, because labor will not be benefited. Suppose, for example, the government decides to construct a ship canal from the lakes to the ocean: the revenues are insufficient and to raise more a tax is levied on tea and coffee. Labor would pay nine tenths of that tax, but labor would not receive more than half of the expenditure; the other half would go to capital as profits. Instead of labor being benefited at the expense of capital, capital would be benefited at the expense of labor. There would be more men employed in using the pick and shovel, but a less number in other occupations, because the amount of tax that every workingman paid when he bought tea and coffee would lessen to exactly that amount his ability to buy other things. Labor would simply be taxed $90 and would be given back $50. If the tax were levied on large incomes the effect might be different, but the Supreme Court has decided, in effect, that the Constitution doesn't authorize any system of taxation other than that now in operation, namely, the tax on consumption.

TAXATION LESSENS PRODUCTION.

The weight of taxation is a double burden on labor. It not only makes the laborer pay more for what he has to buy, but, by increasing the cost of products, it lessens production and de-

prives men of employment. The taxes levied on a factory, on its capital stock, its raw material, or its finished product, are all included in the cost of the product; and so far as they increase the price they restrict sales and lessen employment. Taxing an industry has a similar, but not exactly the same, effect as taxing a saloon. The higher the license tax, the fewer the number of saloons—if the tax were high enough they would be taxed out of existence; the higher you tax an industry the nearer you tax it to death. Put a fresh tax on an industry, and it must either make the consumers of its product pay the tax, which will lessen sales and consequently employment, or it must take the tax directly out of the wages of the men. In either case the wage-earner suffers. The taxes on industry are much heavier than the census reports indicate, for the returns include only the direct tax; those paid indirectly are included in the cost of material.

Labor ought to favor honest and economical government. It ought to favor the abolishment of every tax on industry that can possibly be dispensed with.

THE RATE OF INTEREST.

Another cause of restricted production is the high rate of interest. Manufacturers, selling as they do for credit, have to borrow large amounts for their weekly pay-rolls. The interest paid is part of the cost of producing the goods. Indirectly it is a burden on labor. The tax on money at interest is one of the taxes that ought to be abolished. It is paid by the borrower and not by the lender. It helps to keep up the rate of interest. Anything that will reduce the interest rate will help labor. Nothing will contribute so much to bring this about as a sound, stable, non-fluctuating currency. Workingmen have as great an interest as any other class in a sound monetary system. Labor bears its full share of the losses incident to a fluctuating currency and shares none of the gains.

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Among the propositions for the benefit of labor is the making of eight hours a legal day's work. It would be a good thing, provided the system were enforced in spirit as well as in letter.

The main purpose of the eight-hour day should be to give work to the idle, but this purpose would not be fulfilled so long as workingmen manifested an eagerness to work overtime. Most employers would rather give their regular force two or three hours' extra work than put on new men.

WHY SLAVERY WAS ESTABLISHED.

Perhaps we may be aided in our efforts to solve the labor problem by studying the history of the rise and fall of what our southern fellow-citizens were wont to call their "peculiar institution." The good people who founded colonies in America considered it necessary to establish slavery soon after their arrival. The Puritan of New England and the cavalier of Virginia were equally guilty. They were both of one mind because they were both actuated by the same selfish motives. Their views as to the moral right to steal, buy, and sell human beings differed only when their interests differed. Our ancestors established slavery because they believed that in a well-regulated, prosperous society there must be one class of people to work for another class. To carry out this idea they imported poor people from Europe, but these "assisted immigrants"—the first contract laborers—would work only long enough to pay the cost of their passage. Then a lot of criminals were brought over. These had to work until they had served out their sentences, but could rarely be kept any longer. Why was it that these working people were so independent and soon threw up their situations? Because the new-comers soon discovered that they were under no obligation to the older settlers for giving them work, and when this fact dawned on their minds they went to work for themselves. The aristocracy of the colonies then said: "If we cannot hire people to do our work for us, at whatever wages we choose to give them, we must devise some way to compel men and women to serve us." They tried compulsion on the Indian at first, but without success. Then ships were sent to Africa and came back loaded with negro captives, who filled the long-felt want. Things continued in this way for a hundred years or so, fresh ship-loads of negroes being sent for as they were needed, when suddenly, in the North, it was discovered that

slavery was wicked, and the bondman was freed. It is a singular coincidence that the fact was discovered at the same time that slavery was unprofitable. Injustice is never admitted to be wicked so long as it pays. Free labor had become more profitable than slave labor because, the land in the northern colonies having then all been taken up, the poor laborer was no longer able to employ himself, but had to depend upon the owners of property for a chance to live and was obliged to take what he could get; and he often got less than the slave, for the latter was sure of enough to eat, of clothing enough to keep him warm, and of shelter. As he represented a money value, it was to his master's interest to keep him in good condition. Among all the accounts of the cruelties of slavery that have come down to us there are no stories of slaves dying of starvation. It is, however, a shameful fact that thousands of free-born men, women, and children in this land of plenty have died of hunger, cold, and other privations; died because they could not earn money enough to sustain life.

INDIANA'S APPEAL.

Indiana was admitted into the Union as a free state, in accordance with the provisions of the famous Ordinance of 1787, in which Thomas Jefferson dedicated the entire Northwest to freedom. Five times Indiana, through its legislature, begged and pleaded with Congress to amend the ordinance so that slavery might be established; but Congress refused. The Indiana Legislature said that slavery was an absolute necessity; that every immigrant, no matter how poor, obstinately persisted in working for himself, and could not be induced by love or money to work for anybody else. The richest man in the state had to do his own work, with no help but that of his sons in the fields, and his wife and daughters had to do the work in the house or let it go undone. What they prayed Congress to grant them was the privilege of bringing human beings into the state against their will, of denying to the latter the right to work for themselves, and compelling them to work for their owners. Nobody in Indiana to-day wants to establish chattel slavery. Why? Because labor is no longer able to employ itself; it must look

for employment to those who have been felicitously styled the "captains of industry"; it must accept work from them or starve.

We had hard work to convince the South of the sinfulness of slavery, and for years it thought we had treated it harshly, but even in that section the fact is now recognized that free labor is cheaper than slave labor. In northern cities this winter, donations of cast-off clothing were shipped to the South for the destitute colored people. Nothing of the kind was ever necessary before the war. It is necessary now because the freedman receives a smaller compensation for his labor than was given to the slave. The latter received only his victuals and clothes, it is true. The freedman, and a good many white men up North, cannot earn money enough to buy food and raiment.

We cannot restore the conditions which prevailed in the colonies two hundred years ago and in Indiana in the early part of this century; but if we can approach those conditions to some extent—if we can devise methods for labor to employ itself—we will accomplish a great deal toward the solution of the labor problem. The success of Mayor Pingree's potato patch scheme shows that the poor are willing to employ themselves when they can get a chance. I believe, too, that coöperation can be made a success.

IMMIGRATION.

Excessive immigration is often spoken of as the cause of the apparent oversupply of labor. While I think the volume of immigration has somewhat overtaxed our powers of assimilation, the fact of immigration itself cannot be a detriment to labor unless the country is overpopulated, which is an absurd supposition. With no artificial restrictions on production each newcomer would make for others as much work as he performs himself.

SOCIALISM.

I am a steadfast believer in the doctrine of individualism—of equal individual rights. All men have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If all have an equal right to life it follows that all have equal right to the means of sus-

taining life; not the right to share in the product of each other's labor, but equal opportunities of securing a living by labor, and the right of each to then work out his own salvation. The nearer we can get to an equality of opportunity for each to labor, with the reward of each one's toil proportioned to its results, the nearer we will approach the true solution of the industrial problem. Secure this kind of equality and there will be no need of charitable organizations except to care for those whose misfortunes are the result of accident or other unforeseen and unavoidable causes; the conditions which make converts to socialism will then no longer exist.

LABOR IS KING.

The people who do the work of this country are its rulers. Not all of the evils which afflict society can be remedied by law; but if there be any industrial wrongs that can be righted by legislation the responsibility for their continuance rests on the workingmen alone. Yet it is doubtful if anything tangible in the way of labor reform will ever be accomplished by a distinctively labor party, because if all who live by labor should get into one party to-morrow, by the day after to-morrow the organization would discover that it was so overwhelmingly strong that there was enough of it to split and form two parties. This would be inevitable under the present conditions for the reason that the working masses are far from agreement among themselves as to what they want. I believe, however, that an earnest, thoughtful study of the problems of political economics and social science will eventually bring a near approach to unanimity of sentiment. When that shall have been attained the politicians will tumble over each other in their haste to secure standing room on labor's platform. United labor, guided by an intelligent regard for its own welfare, will demand only equity and justice, and its demands will be conceded because it will have the power to enforce them.

NELSON BALDWIN.

CANADIAN TARIFF REFORM.

BY J. W. RUSSELL.

IF there is any truth in the "economic unity" of the North American continent—the close correlation of industrial forces throughout the continuous part of its productive area—the prospect of a marked change in the commercial policy of any considerable nation existing thereon is a subject of common interest. The imminence of a general election in the Dominion of Canada, in which the retention or abolition of the existing protective system will be the dominant issue, has given unusual urgency and importance to the discussion of the trade question in that country. The struggle for tariff reform in the United States has gone on side by side with a similar struggle in Canada, where the various stages in the great movement which resulted in the Wilson Bill elicited the keenest watchfulness and most interested comment. Without doubt the victory gained by the Democratic party, partial though it was, quenched the beginnings of an agitation in Canada which had its origin in the severe pressure of the McKinley Bill, and might have grown more troublesome had not that pressure been withdrawn. This "economic unity"—a principle of which freer trade between Canada and the United States is a corollary—is implied in the statements which form the tariff policy of the Canadian Liberals; and though derided by Conservative opponents as a doctrinaire and misguiding phrase, it is nevertheless recognized in certain of their own declarations and acts. They also profess willingness for closer commercial relations with the United States. Their arguments in defense of the "National Policy" are qualified by the reservation that, so far as the great republic is concerned, they are willing to lessen the rigor of protective doctrine if thereby a measure of reciprocal trade on fair terms can be secured. The Canadian people are thus familiar with professions of a desire, on the part of both Liberals and Con-

servatives, to obtain a larger share of the industrial life of the continent. To the assertion that the professions of one party are more consistent than those of the other it has been replied that, in the former case, economic reasons were considered apart from undesirable political consequences; while in the latter, considerations of commercial gain were subordinated to the political requirements of a nation representing British power in North America.

The passage of the Wilson Bill is believed by Canadians to be a definite pledge and commitment of the American people against protection. As far as can be judged from the utterances of the press and public men in the Dominion, there is little anticipation that Congress will reimpose such duties as those of the McKinley Bill. Republicans control the House of Representatives; but the Senate is most unlikely to pass high tariff legislation, and the presidential veto stands in the way of all attempts on that line until March, 1897. Recent reverses of the Democratic party are not looked upon as a condemnation of tariff reform, but partly as a punishment for the half performance of a trust reposed and partly also as the stroke prompted by distress, which does not reflect upon the causes of calamity and blindly takes vengeance upon the party in power.

The question is, Will Canada follow the United States in the direction of tariff reform? Some considerations in support of an affirmative answer to this question may be of interest to readers of this magazine in both countries. The people of the Dominion are not without the experience which ought to teach them where their industrial interests lie. Though they have never been (as no nation has ever been) absolute free traders, nor yet under the highest possible protective tariff, they have known the variations of economic life resulting from intermediate stages of taxation. At the beginning of their political existence under British authority, and for many years thereafter, they were bound by the system of the Navigation Act; and though their commercial energies were monopolized by the parent state, all restrictions were endured because the parent state was rich and powerful, and, as Burke once said when

speaking of the operation of the same act upon the American colonies, "because men do bear the inevitable constitution of their original nature with all its infirmities." Between 1846 and 1879 there was a revenue tariff, varying from twelve and a half to twenty per cent, which afforded a moderate protection to manufactures, and was qualified, during the period between 1854 and 1856, by a treaty with the United States for reciprocity in natural products. Since 1879 the tariff has been protective.

Throughout these changes in her industrial policy Canada has been influenced by the economic experiences of her great southern neighbor, and has had the benefit of their instruction. It would be auspicious if, at the present time, she would use her coign of vantage as profitably as she did in 1866. In that year the statesmen who assembled to frame a constitution had for their guidance the results of the growth of British responsible government, as well as the successful working of American federalism. The outcome of their deliberations was a Dominion whose polity combines the leading features of the two systems; and in both cases they appropriated what had been well tested by experience and serious emergencies. In like manner their successors may be guided by the industrial record of England and the United States, whose fruitful lessons of success and failure are in evidence. Hardly a test to which free trade or protection could be subjected has been untried in the economic history of the two countries; and from the traceable causes which have helped or hindered their industrial greatness there results a body of instruction sufficient for Canada though the rest of the world should be disregarded.

The protective tariff of 1879 has been on trial for over sixteen years, a period amply sufficient to prove its excellence or lay bare its defects. Whatever was promised by its promoters has had ample room for performance; and if performance has failed, it is because of the impossibility that protection should succeed in Canada. But it is only just to say that assertions of its success are vigorously made, and that the Conservative party renews its appeal to public confidence on grounds precisely similar to those advanced at every general election since 1878.

What are the facts? Fortunately they are of such significance that a large enumeration is unnecessary. During the hard times that were general in the few years after 1873, it was asserted that Canada was a slaughter market for cheap American goods, and that her warehouses were filled with the sweepings of American manufacture. At that time the Dominion tariff averaged seventeen and a half per cent on dutiable imports. To revive industry, secure the home market for the farmer and manufacturer, attract immigration, and fill the fertile lands of the Northwest with settlers, the tariff was raised to thirty-five per cent. The figures of the last census, and of government returns since, show the extent to which the anticipations thus broadly outlined have been realized. They prove the utter failure of the protective experiment. The well-known facts will bear repetition. During the decade ending in 1891 the population of the Dominion increased from 4,324,810 to 4,833,239—a gain of little more than half a million and less than twelve per cent; and this notwithstanding an influx of more than 850,000 immigrants during the same period. A conservative estimate would place the natural increase, exclusive of immigration, at 750,000; and the showing of the census is, therefore, as if all the 850,000 immigrants had left the country and had been followed by over 240,000 of those included in the natural increase. In the preceding decade, during nine years of which a revenue tariff was in force, the population increased over seventeen per cent, although a world-wide commercial depression prevailed. It is said that a back-stream of French-Canadian emigration from New England has begun, but as this is known to have originated in the panic of 1893, from which the United States is rapidly recovering, there is little likelihood that it will be sustained.

An exodus like this is a proof of the failure of protection beyond which it is hardly necessary to go. It is a label of comprehensive failure. No matter how it may be explained, the truth remains that in ten years more than a million of people found it necessary to leave Canada for the United States in order to better their condition. With regard to manufacturing, the

suggestive fact is presented that most of the important concerns now in working order were in existence before protection—the so-called "National Policy"—was introduced; while a large proportion started under its auspices are now dead or dying, with the attendant loss of many millions of capital wasted in unprofitable production. A duty of $4 per ton and a bonus of $2 do not prevent the importation from the United States of three fourths of the iron now used in Canada. The total production of iron and steel in 1893 was $1,100,000; the total export, $350,000; leaving $750,000 as the value of the home product consumed in the Dominion. In the same year the imports amounted to $13,200,000—a convincing evidence of the extent to which the home market has been secured to the manufacturer of iron and steel goods. Nor has Canadian coal been able to gain a foothold in the home market. In spite of a heavy duty Ontario prefers to import coal from convenient centers across the line rather than haul it from the distant mines of Nova Scotia.

The projectors of the "National Policy" bravely promised exemption from decline in farm lands and in the prices of agricultural products; but the decline has come, and protection is nullified by competition in the free trade market of England. The increase of mortgage indebtedness has been very large, and the farmer has to pay relatively high prices for implements and factory goods out of the reduced returns of his products. The dulness of the shipping interest, especially in the Maritime Provinces, is evidence of the blight of another industry which greatly prospered under a revenue tariff. All this decline and depression has been concurrent with an outlay which has increased at an alarming rate. Since 1878 the expenditure has increased from $23,000,000 to $28,000,000. During the same period the national debt has grown from $140,000,000 to more than $250,000,000. A large part of it was incurred in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other public works; but a policy which has expatriated more than a million of people in ten years is not likely to find remunerative use for a great system of railways and canals. An attempt was

recently made by the government to ascertain whether a reduction of the tariff would not be practicable; but the result was a modification, not a substantial reduction. The manufactures and combines asserted their power and put an effective stop to the tariff tinkering which looked too like reform. The general depression of industry is now as severe as ever, and the latest variant on the general dulness is a revenue deficit of more than $4,000,000.

In short, the results of protection in Canada have been similar to what might have been confidently predicted if the northern tier of states in the republic had been cut off by a double row of tariff walls from the commercial life which pulses throughout the rest of the Union. No native vigor or well-practiced economy could have won prosperity from such an isolation; and though distant markets of export would have been a limited compensation, they could not have atoned for the loss of costly production on too large a scale for domestic use, and the denial of cheap foreign goods which could not be profitably made at home. Such has been the case of the Dominion. Its home market is specially difficult of cultivation under a protective tariff. Variety of production, discouraging in any case where the line of population extends across the continent in a fringe practically in the same latitude, is further handicapped by great distances between the centers of industry.

The policy proposed to infuse energy into this languishment has not been uniform, except in opposition to protection. Previous to June, 1893, the tariff platform of the Liberals was based on the idea that free participation in the United States market was worth more than any other commercial advantage to be striven for. A glance at the history of tariff negotiations between the two countries will reveal much in support of this view, which has been voiced by statesmen of both political parties. During the earlier history of Upper and Lower Canada the British government, which at that time regulated colonial tariffs, saw the advantages of free trade between those provinces and the United States, and on more than one occasion sought a measure of reciprocity. The prosperity of the provinces was

seriously threatened when England discarded protection and left them to face the economic necessities of their position. Having lost their preferential treatment in the British market, commercial discontent soon showed itself, with a request to restore them that market or procure others of equal value. At that time the United States tariff was protective, and its pressure against Canadian trade was so strong that an annexation propaganda was organized. The well-known manifesto of 1849, including among its signers men afterwards eminent in public life, showed the depth of feeling aroused. The timely negotiation of the treaty of 1854, obtained by the tact of Lord Elgin and the compliance of southern politicians, allayed the agitation. The following thirteen years were the most prosperous in Canadian history. In 1869 Canada was willing to go further than the treaty of 1854, and extended her offer to include a large list of manufactures. In 1871 the British commissioners who took part in the negotiation of the Washington treaty tried to get the treaty of 1854 renewed, but failed. Again, in 1874, a Canadian commissioner, the Honorable George Brown, was sent to Washington to assist the British minister there to secure a measure of mixed reciprocity, including natural products and certain manufactures; but the Senate would not take the matter into consideration.

Still further, the protective tariff bill of 1879 contained a clause providing for the free admission of certain natural products from the United States as soon as Congress should remove the duties on similar Canadian products. That bill was based on a curious mingling of menace, conciliation, and economic experiment prompted by political expediency. Sir John Macdonald had never been a protectionist on principle; and that his course was not exclusively determined by evidence and argument may be inferred from his threat that "he would have reciprocity of trade or reciprocity of tariffs." Yet when his tariff measure became law, the reciprocity bait was dangled at the end of it. In 1884 the Liberal opposition tried to use the fishery question as a wedge for reciprocity; but they got little aid from the government, which sheltered itself behind the

anticipation of an adverse attitude on the part of the United States. In 1887–88, during the negotiations of the Fishery treaty, the Canadian representative offered closer trade relations as a means of settling the dispute; but the proposal proved futile. For the last time, after the Dominion elections of 1891, a deputation went to Washington with reciprocity in view; but Mr. Blaine would not grant it in natural products alone and the mission failed.

The number and persistence of these attempts show that, whatever be the trade policy of the government in power in the Dominion, a participation in the United States market would, if possible, form a very important part of it. Why have they failed? Less from any irreconcilable divergence of commercial interests than from political considerations. The concessions required of Canada have been jealously regarded in the light of their supposed effect upon British connection. On some occasions the light has not been dry, and the jealousy has not been well founded; but the national view will, to a greater or less extent, pass through this refracting medium. Certainly one of the most effective weapons of the protectionist is the claim of superior loyalty which, in a way peculiarly his own, he incorporates into the warp and woof of his political partisanship. If, according to the historic phrase, no one can refute a sneer, no more can the Canadian elector escape the vociferous repetitions of devotion to England by which the defender of a protective tariff has to a certain extent displaced argument in order to cast contempt upon a tariff for revenue. The dominant note in the last public appeal of Sir John Macdonald was not some vindicating aphorism in economics, but a declaration of unwavering allegiance to the throne of Great Britain—"A British subject I was born, and a British subject I shall die." It is hardly too much to say that whatever force the protective argument has exerted among its Conservative supporters has been largely derived from the conviction that industrial independence would accentuate political separation from the United States, and would keep afar off the principles of republicanism. When it is considered that the political predilections of Canadians may be

largely traced to the War of Independence, and were intensified by the War of 1812, it is little to be wondered at that a large fund of sentiment, and an active principle of antagonism, should be ready for use by those who are willing to play upon moods and motives which too long have survived their unhappy origin.

The United Empire Loyalists who were expelled from their homes at the close of the revolutionary struggle founded a British power in the then wilderness of Canada; their descendants form the most influential part of the English-speaking population; and though a considerable section of the people do not, perhaps, fully share the keen sympathies of their fellow-subjects on this question, this has not weakened the prevailing tone which speaks for alliance with Great Britain. Oddly enough, from the standpoint of loyalty, the tariff of 1879 was a direct blow at the trade policy of the mother country, coming from the party whose loyalty to her is more loudly professed, though not more genuine. In England the adoption of protection by the Dominion, though viewed with regret and disapproval, was frankly recognized as a consequence involved in the rights of a dependency which is practically self-governing.

The connection between Canada and Great Britain is sure to be an important factor in the party contest for and against tariff reform. It is certain that neither party will slight the necessity of reconciling its economic position with the continuance of that connection. The fear that it had been slighted greatly weakened the attempts of the Liberals in behalf of free trade with the United States. In deference to that fear the very phrase which described their policy oscillated between "commercial union" and "unrestricted reciprocity," the former having excited strong opposition because it implied a common tariff by the United States and Canada against the world, with consequent discrimination against Great Britain. The proposed change was alleged to imply a commercial, if not a political surrender to the larger nation. The result of the treaty of 1854, which killed annexation feeling, was vainly appealed to in support of the Liberal contention. The negotiations, it was replied, would need to go much further in the consummation of commercial union, and

pointed ominously to political absorption. There were other objections equally strong. American capital would not be risked in Canadian industry, if its employment depended upon the tenure of a revocable arrangement. Its condition precedent was permanence; and that condition could not be accepted unless in the unwelcome light of a prelude to political union. That was the difficulty which no explanations could obviate. The increased trade with Great Britain was pointed to as a compensation for the loss of the American market; it was the countervailing argument of the protectionist. That part of the exports to Great Britain were the result of a second choice, that the exporter's profit was too much lessened by the cost of transportation, that free trade with the United States would leave the British market still open were considerations blocked by political suspicion.

Not abating its determination to gain larger markets and lighten taxation, the present policy of the Liberal party is a return to the revenue tariff under which trade and industry formerly prospered. This policy was adopted at a convention held in Ottawa in June, 1893. The most important statements in regard to the tariff are these:

> The customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service.
>
> It should be so adjusted as to make free, or bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessaries of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

Some eminent British statesmen have advised the Dominion to adopt free trade with the world, joined with direct taxation. Canadians will not hear of any scheme which involves the latter expedient for federal purposes. The only practicable course is a revenue tariff which will afford, as it did in former times, a moderate encouragement to such industries as are fitted to become self-sustaining. If adopted, such a tariff would regulate the amount of taxation by the legitimate expenses of government. It would favor the arrangement of duties so as to fall most lightly on the necessaries of life and the raw materials of

manufacture. Its promoters intend a gradual reduction of duties where certain industries would be injuriously affected by a sudden change.

The Wilson Bill has aided the Liberals in formulating a more stable and comprehensive policy. Since the walls of high protection have begun to crumble around the nation whose wealth and natural resources were best able to support them, with the result of renewed industry and increased foreign trade, the less favorably circumstanced country on the north cannot but accept the meaning of the change. Freer trade between the two English-speaking peoples of the continent would be rich in liberalizing influences as well as in material benefits. Protection fosters jealousy and hatred between nations, and can no more be dissociated from lowered standards of public morality than from economic affiliation with monopolies and combines. The Canadian people have had abundant experience of its influence in both respects; and unless the civic virtue of the electorate has been fatally weakened by it, the approaching elections will inaugurate a hopeful deliverance from the restrictions which have so long hampered Canadian industry.

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THE ETHICS OF TRADE AND CAPITAL AS RELATED TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

BY DAVID ALLYN GORTON, M.D.

II.

JEFFERSON, the father of democracy in this country, laid down the broad principle that no government can rightly hypothecate the public domain, the rightful heritage of the people, nor make perpetual grants of it to individuals or corporations for any purpose or consideration whatsoever. It is manifestly inconsistent with this view, or with sound politic ethics, for the government to permit individuals to monopolize, purchase, or appropriate more of the soil than they can use or cultivate to the best advantage. To do any of these things is to trespass on the rights of future generations. It must be confessed that the national government has violated every principle of equity, not only in grants to corporations, but in allowing individuals, both foreign and native, to acquire vast tracts of the people's domain. But they are acts of supererogation on the part of the government, since in ethics there can be no property in the soil. The authority of the government should be exercised only to secure fair play and no favor to every individual; to hold inviolate the soil for the people's use and cultivation; to maintain a system of finance or exchange which operates equally on all classes; to establish an economic system which is just to all classes—which does not enrich one by impoverishing another; and to prevent monopolies and undue concentration of wealth in the hands of individuals and corporations. These are the principal functions of a government of a people and for the people.

It is said that the advantages that accrue to a people in the effect of railroads on internal commerce, and on the value of real estate in sections traversed by them, more than compensate the

people for the gifts of their land and money. That may be. But such enterprises may be carried on without compromising the people's interests. The people should build, own, and operate the roads themselves. The danger of building up, or permitting to be built up, within the state corporations of such gigantic proportions as this involves, is too apparent not to be zealously guarded against. Frequently in our history have such corporations bought up legislatures and courts, and controlled the action of Congress in their interest and against the interest of the people. It is a fact of common notoriety that the great state of California has been under the domination of the Southern Pacific Railroad for years. Its people are crying to Congress for relief to-day. It is equally notorious that much of the legislation of the great state of New York has been controlled by the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad during the last quarter of a century. The state of Delaware is at present under the dominance of a corporation—a trust. For years the Vanderbilts retained a gentleman at Albany to look after the interests of the Vanderbilt railroads. That gentleman did not bribe the legislators exactly, but at the close of the legislative sessions such members as had voted in favor of the Vanderbilt interest, or as had not voted against it, could receive a present of five hundred dollars by calling at his office. For years, the Pennsylvania Railroad has paid an agent twenty-five thousand dollars a year to look after its interest at Trenton, N. J. All know how difficult it is to obtain charters, or to get bills through either branch of the national or state legislatures, that are inimical to great trusts, monopolies, and corporations. Among venal legislators, greedy corporations, and machine politics, the people are despoiled of their property and deprived of a voice or influence in directing public affairs. Suffrage they have, it is true, which gives them an apparent advantage over the commonalty of the Old World. But the advantage is only apparent. Experience shows that the suffrage is powerless against public corruption or the evils of a false economic system.

But the existence of monopolies, trusts, rings, and combinations—forms of business which are inevitable under our

industrial system—is not the worst form of oppression from which the public suffers. A far greater wrong to the industrial classes, a wrong more fundamental and fraught with more direful consequences, is non-participation of the laborer in the profits of his labor over and above his daily wage, and allowing the increment of industry to be absorbed by capitalists. This is an injustice so rank that we wonder the people do not rise up against it. It is an injustice that has been endured so long that the sufferers have become callous and ceased to feel its chafing. Let us look at it a moment:

Mr. A. buys an acre of land in a certain township, for which he pays a few dollars. He locks his deed in his safe or drawer, and disappears from the scene. Meantime, the population multiplies in this township, factories are built, and industries are established. A railroad is run through it. Possibly a mine of some useful and valuable metal is discovered in it, by which reason it becomes a flourishing business center. The property in and around this center, including the acre of land purchased by Mr. A. a few years since at a nominal price, becomes valuable, and that gentleman realizes on his venture a handsome profit. Now, whatever he realizes from these causes over the purchase price is the increment. It has made him rich, possibly, without the raising of his finger. But the increase in the value of his acre is entirely due to the growth and development of an industrial population, and not at all to any thrift or foresight of his own. In equity, therefore, the increment belongs to the community that produced it, and should be shared in by every man, woman, and child that belongs to that community.

It was the increment of labor that put millions in the pockets of the late Mr. Ogden of Chicago, and the Stuyvesants and Rhinelanders of New York City. It is the increment of labor that made the Astors rich. The Trinity Society of New York was made more than princely rich by the increment of an industrious and enterprising people. The Vanderbilts have more than ten times doubled their holdings by the industry and enterprise of the people through whose possessions their matchless railroad runs. Many of these distinguished citizens have

contributed to the increment of possessions that lie by its side, or along the route, of their own, and many of them have not; but it is of small moment in comparison with that which has been added to their own by the sweat and toil of the people in the Empire State. But, I tell you, men and brethren, that in ethics the people have a claim to share in all these properties, and it is the height of ignorant insolence for the holders of them to snap their fingers in the people's face, and declare, "We will manage our own property to suit ourselves."

Another wrong against the industrial classes is debarring them from sharing the profits of the division and organization of labor. A few men working together will accomplish vastly more than a multitude working singly and without concert of effort. But their compensation is not enhanced thereby. Five men by the aid of machinery can build a cathedral, a bridge across the Hudson, or a tunnel under that river, or build a rail-road and run it, but no number of men by independent effort can do any of these things. Five men by united effort can make five machines in half the time that one man can make one machine. Yet the daily wage of the men who do all these things, and numberless other vastly more intricate, is no more than if they worked singly without organization and the aid of machinery. Their earnings, which may be a hundred-fold more than when working singly and independently, go into the coffers of their employers, and help to create a social distinction that did not exist before, and that has no foundation in nature but money and the advantages of culture which money gives.

We are wont to regard the acquisition of large fortunes as due to exceptional thrift and enterprise, or to far-sightedness, and the existence of poverty to indolence and improvidence, as well as to a want of sagacity and foresight. But this is not true. While there is great difference in business sagacity and qualifications for business, no man can earn a great fortune by honest toil, nor can any man acquire a large fortune, by which we mean, become a millionaire, and give the public an equivalent in return for it. Some men have a keener sense of spoils and profits than others, are shrewder in trade and more alert for

opportunities and less scrupulous in improving them than others. The possession of these qualities is rather to be deprecated than boasted of. Who would not rather be poor like a Sumner or a Stevens, a Whittier or a Hawthorne, or even a Burns, than rich like a Gould, a Mills, or a Sage? Again, the love of money is stronger in some than in others. It often amounts to a passion, and dominates all considerations of fair play, honesty, and even honor. Men thus constituted bend all their powers to business, and accordingly succeed, not by weight of talent or exceptional ability, except it be for business, but rather by reason of enterprise and unscrupulousness as to methods.

Men of distinguished ability and commanding talents more often do not acquire fortunes. If they did there never would have been a Shakespeare nor a Dante. The thinkers, scholars, statesmen, inventors, discoverers, men of science and philosophy, the benefactors of the race and the pioneers of letters and civilization, have, as a rule, no love of money or genius for business. One of the best scholars of the day died recently in King's County poorhouse; while at the same time a multi-millionaire, without learning, died in New York in a palace. The man who discovered the author of Junius' letters is buried in Potter's Field, and but for the philanthropy of a millionaire the remains of one of the greatest mathematicians of modern times would lie there to-day, not by reason of improvidence, but from absorption in scientific studies.

We must get rid of the idea, therefore, that it is men of brains that make money, and the lack of brains that keeps a man from making a living and winning a fortune. Oftener it is men without brains, or men with misplaced brains—brains behind the ears—who achieve what is called success, who acquire great wealth, and the brainy man who fails, as failure goes. The inventor of the steam-engine never made a fortune. The man (Sickles) to whom Corliss owes his fame and the steam-engine that bears his name its perfection, died in penury. Although he lived long enough to establish his claim to the invention which revolutionized the steam-

engine and the steering gear of steamships, the money reward of his genius was reaped by others less brainy but more crafty than himself. Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, died in moderate circumstances; Morton, the man who first discovered the anæsthetic quality of ether, went around begging in his later years; Gibbs, the inventor of the sewing machine that bears his name, died poor; and the inventor of the little attachment to the sewing machine called the hemmer, which Singer patented, and from the profits of which his colossal fortune was increased, lives to-day in this city just beyond the confines of poverty. Gerard Sickles, the inventor of the first envelope machine, sold his invention for a nominal consideration, the purchasers realizing an immense fortune from it, while the inventor is supported to-day by his sons. The man whose genius revolutionized the cotton industry, out of which fortunes have been made for other men and countless benefactions showered on mankind, never made anything out of the invention himself. Franklin and his coadjutors in electro-dynamics never made anything but fame for their pains. Even Morse, whose inspired genius developed telegraphy, never greatly enriched himself. On the other hand, the men who have won their millions have mostly begun life without learning or education. The late Jay Gould was a penniless surveyor; John Jacob Astor trapped animals for their hides; D. O. Mills kept a saloon in San Francisco; Dyer, the noted turf-man, kept a meat market; and Croker, the equally noted "heeler," had a political "pull"; the late David Dows, the grain broker, was an uneducated, penniless lad. He left twenty millions (to his relatives), and died without having discovered that any part of his vast possessions belonged to the state and the people from whom he won them. Trainor Park, the Vermont millionaire, began life as a bootblack, and John Starin as a newsboy. Few men who have won colossal fortunes have contributed anything to science, letters, or invention, their millions having been acquired by taking advantage of the genius and industry of other men more brainy than themselves. This is the advantage they possess over other men in the struggle for life.

It is perfectly evident that if society should start anew to-day, under conditions of perfect equality as to property, the laws of trade and conditions of industry remaining the same, scarcely a generation would pass away before wealth would be in the hands of a comparative few, and society be again divided by the extremes of social position—a dependent and an affluent class.

No cause has been so operative in concentrating capital and creating large fortunes and dividing the people into masters and employees, landlord and tenant classes, as non-sharing by the people of the increment of labor. Most of the colossal fortunes of Americans have been won by monopolizing this element of industry. The effect has been to reduce a large majority of the American people, the most thrifty and industrious people in the world, to a condition of dependence—a social condition inimical to the permanence of free institutions, since freedom and pecuniary independence are inseparable conditions.

"So soon as a majority of a people," says Dr. Francis Lieber, in his excellent work on "Political Ethics," "cease to be in a state of substantial independence, eagerly maintaining it or honestly striving for it, so soon will appear *below* a large abject class of submissive paupers, and *above* a turbulent or arrogant class of a few powerful proprietors, who, indeed, may harass government, or extort great franchises for themselves, but must always produce a state of things incompatible with a healthy, vigorous, lasting, and not precarious, civil liberty, having within itself the energy to maintain itself."

There may not be a majority in America who have ceased to be in a state of substantial independence, but there is a large majority who are more or less dependent, dependent in the sense of holding positions and earning a living by the grace or good-will of another. According to the late census, less than fifty per cent of American families, farmers and others, of which there are nearly thirteen millions, own their farms and homes, and twenty-seven per cent of these have encumbrances on them, while more than fifty per cent are tenants. More than one third of the small proprietors, farmers, mechanics, clerks, etc., have mortgages on their property—farms, houses and lots, shops,

factories, etc. These are mostly held by bankers, manufacturers, trust companies, and other corporations. Of the farming class, over thirty-three per cent in this country are tenants, that is, they occupy their houses and till the soil at the will of landlords—as in England and Russia. Of the non-farming class, nearly sixty-six per cent having—or rather, occupying—homes are tenants, subject to having their rents raised or to being dispossessed at the caprice or behest of another.

The people of cities and large towns are worse off in this respect than the farmers. The realty of New York City is owned by less than seven per cent of her families, more than ninety-three per cent being tenants. The showing of Boston is a little better, about nineteen per cent of her families owning the city, leaving about eighty-one per cent of tenancy. About the same proportion of tenants and landlords exists in Brooklyn. Jersey City has a little better showing; so, also, has Cincinnati. About twenty-nine per cent of families of Chicago own their homes, while seventy-one per cent are tenants. The tenancy of Baltimore is seventy-three per cent; Cleveland, about sixty-one per cent; Denver, over seventy per cent; Minneapolis, nearly sixty-nine per cent; New Orleans, over seventy-eight per cent; Philadelphia, more than seventy-seven per cent; St. Louis, nearly eighty per cent; San Francisco, over seventy-eight per cent; and Washington, D. C., about seventy-five per cent. We doubt if the cities of the Old World could show a larger percentage of tenancy than this. Under the existing order of things, the condition of the tenant class must steadily decline. Neither the employed class nor the tenant class is independent in the sense that their employers and landlords are. Many of them are more or less independent, with an increasing tendency to be a little *less*.

Below this class of dependents are the steadily growing vagrant and criminal class—the beggars, tramps, thieves, housebreakers, pick-pockets, confidence operators, highway robbers, train-wreckers, forgers, embezzlers, murderers, defaulters, blackmailers, hypothecators, gamblers—outside of Wall and Broad Streets. Then there exist a multitude of respectable

people, too proud to beg or steal, who trade in money, shave notes, deal in "futures" and "shorts," "puts" and "calls"; the grain and stock gamblers, the "bulls" and "bears," who profit on the miseries of the unfortunate and prey on private purses—all for the greed of wealth and the failure to win wealth by fairer means.

Above this class in respectability are the rich and powerful, who batten on privileges, increments, and franchises; control legislation and the course of justice; buy positions of honor and prominence under the government and in the legislatures; establish trusts and form combines to control the laws of trade and to fleece the public; dispensers of privileges and charities, builders of churches, endowers of hospitals, bosses in politics, and presidents of great corporations, etc. While this class is not what Dr. Lieber would call a turbulent class, they constitute an arrogant class who regard the wage-earner as fit only to toil, or to serve their betters and masters. They are a thousand times more dangerous to the liberties of a people than an army of slaves and dependents, by reason of their power to corrupt courts and legislatures, embarrass the government, and influence the making and execution of the laws. This class, as a rule, has contempt for the commonalty and demands a strong government and a standing army to protect its interests and preserve the autonomy of political and economic affairs. Its interest in free institutions has lapsed with its rise into affluence. It was this class in America that rebelled against the American Union. It was this class at Rome that created a Julius Cæsar. It has always been this class that has subverted popular government.

Far be it from our purpose to ignore the benefits which accrue from combinations of capital—even in the hands of individuals and corporations. It is self-evident that no great industry or public work could be carried on without it. It is better that such industries, however, should be conducted by a responsible center, created by the people, and carried on for the people with the people's money. The benefits to be derived from them would then be shared by all the people, and the profits would

not drift into the hands of a few to create a moneyed aristocracy, and perpetuate divisions and distinctions in the state.

For the existence of trusts and similar combinations of capital, on the other hand, there is little excuse to be made. Nothing is so bad as not to dispense benefits to some one. If there be any exception to this statement, it may be found in the modern trust. The trust is a direct menace to the welfare of the general public. It is organized appetite—a cormorant. By breaking up small industries and destroying competition, it keeps prices up, as compared with cost, and obtains exorbitant profits. Moreover, the principle is wrong. It leads to too great concentration of power in the hands of individuals, and tends to corrupt private as well as public morality. The trust, by its enormous wealth, is able to dictate national and state legislation, fix the wages of workingmen and the prices of commodities, control the courts, and corrupt the suffrage. All of these things it has been known to do—is doing to-day. Instance the Sugar Trust, that dictated the tariff on its commodity. Mr. Havemeyer distinctly stated, in his examination before the committee of the present Congress, that the object of the trust was to fix prices and enlarge profits.*

More notable still, instance the operations of the Standard Oil Trust. The latter combination was openly charged a few years since with breaking up the business of a powerful rival, the late Populist candidate for governor of New York. Its method was bribing the railroad companies and courts; and this method failing, conspiring to blow up its rival's works. For this last act of vandalism the trust stands convicted, and the agents of the crime, instead of having been sent to Sing Sing where they belong, were let off with a nominal fine of two hundred and fifty

* It is claimed that trusts reduce the prices of commodities. That is frequently true, but only so by cheapening the cost of production. As compared with cost, commodities are increased in price, otherwise there would be no object of a trust. Take the testimony of Mr. Havemeyer before the Congressional Investigating Committee, December, 1894:

Senator Allen—"The American Sugar Refining Company is able to control the prices of the sugar sold in the United States, is it not?"

Mr. Havemeyer—"Up to the importing point, it is."

Senator Allen—"And it was organized, Mr. Havemeyer, as I understand it, with the view of controlling the price and output to the people of this country?"

Mr. Havemeyer—"That was one of the objects of the consolidation."

Senator Allen—"And you have succeeded in doing it?"

Mr. Havemeyer—"Yes, sir."

Senator Allen—"That was the principal object in organizing the American Sugar Refining Company?"

Mr. Havemeyer—"It may be said that was the principal object."

dollars apiece. It is amazing that any free people will submit to the exactions or tolerate the existence of such a monopoly. Its existence is far more dangerous to liberty than the robber class whose tactics, under the forms of law, it imitates.

We are no alarmist, and have no wish to magnify the evils of the political and economic situation of the United States. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the history of other republics, or be insensible to the lessons which their fate teaches. It is perfectly evident to the dispassionate observer that democracy in America is passing through the experiences of other democracies. It remains to be seen if it is to share a like fate. The masses must be all free or all slaves. There is no middle status for them. If freedom is to be theirs, they must have equal rights to the soil and an equal share in the profits of labor and in the wealth and culture which labor creates and makes possible to the possessor. On no other condition can the masses of mankind be free. Nor can a nation justly be said to be prosperous when the poverty of its people is constantly increasing. And no real prosperity and no substantial progress in freedom can come to them until the economic and industrial polity shall be so reorganized that every man shall get what he earns, and no man shall get what he does not earn, or what another man earns, without giving an equivalent therefor. But this state of things cannot exist until society is revolutionized, methods of business radically changed, and man lives less for himself and more for his fellowmen. It can only come through an evolution of the struggle *for* life, to what Mr. Henry Drummond has called the struggle for the life of others, which is the complete evolution of what Mr. Herbert Spencer has termed altruism. When this stage of development has been reached, the greatest among us will be the teacher, and the condition of master and slave, rich and poor, criminal and respectable, will be unknown.

Is the wisdom of our statesmen equal to the task of piloting the ship of state into this haven of fraternity and peace? Are the people of America magnanimous enough to make such concessions as may be necessary to promote this end? Will the affluent surrender privileges sanctioned by custom and protected

by law, but which have no warrant in equity, in the interest of the state? Not without a struggle. We recall no instance in history of a class renouncing privileges which custom has confirmed in favor of a subject or alien class. Hereditary privileges possess all the force of natural rights which most men will die for, or at least fight for. Besides, the majority are mad with the passion for wealth, "its vapid pomp and idle toil," and the thirst for power and preferment, and will not permit any consideration for the rights and well-being of others to stand in the way of their attainment. It is idle, therefore, to look forward to, or to expect, anything but a repetition of the struggle between a dominant and a subject class, which has so often convulsed European states, until a revolution takes place and a new order of things supervenes upon the ruins of the old.

DAVID ALLYN GORTON.

AN ANGLO-SAXON CONFLICT.

BY RALPH S. NORMAN.

A MATTER of war between the United States and England has a wider meaning than the question simply of one power coercing or discomfiting another. England has been the modern propagator of a political system allowing freedom for the masses. The practicability of this freedom has been doubtful to many, viewed from the long experience of history, and it has been denied in effect by most of the governments of Europe; so that a part of their hostility to England has been derived from the fact of England's being the principal exponent of it.

A war of the United States with England would be the opportunity of England's enemies. This war, if earnestly undertaken by both, would finally result in the shattering of England's prestige; and her enemies, accomplishing their objects, would be free to destroy, as far as feasible, the fruits of her previous example.

What would then be the conditions following?

Russia's postponement would cease; her wishes would be realized in an extension of area to the south and eastward, and the English courts of justice in India possibly would be changed for the expediencies of Russian authority. The policy of France would be to look upon Northern Africa, and therefore Egypt, as legitimately hers, and, in the inflation of conquest and expansion, become possessed of the vain-glory of another empire; her present condition of a republic, the offspring of humiliation, being readily put aside for one more in accordance with her natural temperament and pride of distinction.

With the overthrow of England would come the occasion, through complications of alliances, for the absorption of smaller nations; this following the course of aggrandizement, now at a periodical tide. As Russia and Austria would gain accessions to the eastward, Germany, having little interest in that direc-

tion, would be permitted to adjust herself, by assimilations of race kindred north and also westward, this including valuable colonies.

Whatever relations ensued, Russia would become actively the strongest power in Europe, as she is now the strongest in a latent or undeveloped sense. Thenceforward in the world's affairs her organization and methods would be potent, whether for political or economic liberty, or the modern European preference of a military discipline ranking as supreme. Now, although Russia is a country of varying aspects, containing unforeseen possibilities, yet what is apparent in the disposition of her people does not so far promise conformity with the essential plan and economic purpose understood and established under Anglo-Saxon auspices. Moreover, the great size of such a country is, and would be, against conditions leading toward greater freedom of government—unless there could be a hope of ultimate dismemberment therefrom.

The interdiction of class privilege has been carried out many times, for a certain period, among different peoples; but it has always been by subordinate or lesser states, at a time of defeat and the absolute need of retrenchment and social reorganization, or at the founding of a nation.

Applying the same observation to the other parts of Europe, with the smaller nations separate, there is a chance for a survival of laws, general and impartially construed; but when the smaller become merged in aggregations, mere principles become lost in the accumulation and diversity of interests, and the bulk is too great for the consideration of equities bearing on the welfare of the majority as individuals.

Accordingly such equities have usually become inoperative, and have eventually ceased with every country that has developed into magnitude, aggregation begetting indifference, at first through a lack of identity of interests, next through an increase of requirements too manifold and contradictory, a multitude of counsels resulting in confusion, until to effect any object barter results, and compromise, and pervading corruption.

Now the lot of England has been that, together with a race

surpassing in energy, practical intelligence, determination of liberty, and a sense of justice, there has been the fortune of a small scope of area, divided from every other territory by the sea. These characteristics have led to the expanding of resources in separate directions; producing growths that have been divided, each in itself. And with herself there has been no overloading or combination of advantages so great as to be beyond the general perception and the power of popular correction.

Therefore when such a country attained much power, and yet remained small in itself, it presented an example of beneficent success, incomparable as an incentive to the majority of mankind. There has never been a commingling of such elements and circumstances in the case of any other people; and so there never has been the counterpart of England, and very probably never will be.

It is undoubtedly true that in the elements of such a commingling, the human material must be considered as by far the most important; otherwise every island would have the same advantages with England; but when these same qualities of material should be placed in wider bounds together they would not yield such an enduring example of encouragement to the common, or individual, liberty and welfare.

But it must be recognized that it is not assured that such an order is fit for universal application. There are those who maintain that uncontrolled incentives to the masses bring about their own destruction; that the resulting individual enterprise, so called, ends in the greed of competitive desperation, unmodified by any other imperative influence. Under this working the masses only destroy for themselves the fabric they are building, and make for themselves the most incorrigible form and complexity of injustices, those that are reciprocal among members of the community. The growth of injustice throughout also keeps pace with the increase of wealth, until it would seem that no exactions could be more onerous than such as the self-interest of the masses, unchecked, may bring upon each other.

A demonstration of this view is conveyed when one branch of

the race that had instigated and exemplified the system should turn upon the other to weaken and displace it through the hostility of rivalry, the judgment being affirmed of unfitness and failure for the vital processes that had developed both. And leaving, hence, as an alternative the recurrent relapse of rule, not depending upon the governed, but upon an impartial prerogative, derived from allotted supremacy and a unity of interest with all. Those who claim this last as the better way would certainly be consistent in abetting an Anglo-Saxon conflict.

RALPH S. NORMAN.

"WOMAN'S NATURAL DEBARMENTS FROM POLITICAL SERVICE": A REPLY.

BY MRS. FRANK O. IMMLER.

THE followers of the woman's suffrage movement have every reason to be grateful to the author of an article published in the December, 1895, issue of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS for the furtherance it has given this movement. I refer to the ably written article "Woman's Natural Debarments from Political Service," by Florence Percy Matheson, which only serves to show, and to show the more clearly by reason of its being so well written, how utterly senseless are the arguments of the opponents of the woman's suffrage movement. In it she strikes the keynote of their present refrain.

Their pet arguments vary from time to time. I remember some years ago the very boys and girls in school could tell you that a woman ought not to vote or hold office because she could n't serve in the army. That was fought down until none but the intensely ignorant dare to bring it forward. Next came the jury argument. A mother who has the care of an infant cannot serve on a jury, therefore women should not vote, though men need not be excluded from that privilege because physicians, teachers, policemen, firemen, and others are exempt from serving as jurors. They still tell us occasionally that women cannot serve on juries in the trial of promiscuous cases, as the mere reading of the court and police reports in any daily newspaper will make evident. If men can serve, why not women? Is not an unclean story just as disgusting to a refined man as to a refined woman? Does not the narration of a cold-blooded murder grate upon the sensibilities of a kind-hearted man in just the same way that it would upon those of a woman? An ideal jury is not composed of filthy-minded or pitiless men. Other arguments followed and in time faded away and the same

fate will doubtless befall the argument upon which the author mentioned above bases her objections to this movement.

She comments upon the fact that "so eager are the suffragists for proselytes and followers the rich and poor are equally welcomed by them." The woman suffragists are appealing to people of brains and these, except the ones to be procured at the meat vender's, cannot be bought with money, but they are found with the wealthy, for they have every advantage of education, and with the needy, for from the ranks of the poor have come some of our best talents in every line of mental work.

The writer of that article "believes firmly that the women who do not want to vote are greatly in the majority" and "that they shall not become possessed of the ballot until women as a class desire it." I believe just as firmly that the children who would gladly be excused from receiving a school education are greatly in the majority. But we do not gratify their desires. Their undeveloped minds do not grasp the importance of the work that devolves upon them. The majority of our women are like children, only partially developed, having been kept confined to tasks that stunt the mind. They do not know what they reject when they reject the ballot, for they have not given the matter serious thought, and that is the reason why the "maids and matrons who oppose it" are not properly equipped to battle with the woman suffragists. Their objections are based solely upon deep-rooted prejudice. This accounts for the fact that upon "that memorable occasion" they were not supplied with "shafts of sarcasm, satire, and ridicule" to hurl back at the suffragists, for prejudice is not argument.

But Mrs. Matheson has "little doubt that the day will come when equal suffrage will be the rule in all voting communities, for a woman who nags generally gains her point though in gaining it she often loses that which is of far more intrinsic value—the respect and affection of those who are nearest and should be dearest to her." The prediction she makes we believe to be true, we have heard the same made repeatedly of late, but she combines with it a thought that can have no connection with it. A woman who continually nags at her husband until he gratifies

her foolish whims must eventually lose his affection and respect, just as a man loses the respect and affection of his wife, if she is continually obliged to yield to his ridiculous demands, just to keep the peace. But whose respect and affection can a woman lose who asks for what is right for justice and equality, for the free development of all her faculties, for the right to have a vote in deciding how her share of the taxes shall be spent?

"No taxation without representation," the war cry of the Revolution. When in our school-days we girls were taught with the boys that "Taxation without representation is tyranny" and in our hearts we fought another revolution with England there in the schoolroom—when we studied the Declaration of Independence and imbibed the philosophic truths contained in it, then were laid the germs of the woman's suffrage movement. We now ask for ourselves what our forefathers demanded as their right.

But her indignation is aroused to the utmost because the ultimate aim of the suffragists is not only the ballot but office-holding, that is, because they claim that women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Helen Gardiner, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and hundreds of others like them should have the same right to aspire to the presidential chair as any tramp whose birthplace happens to be in this country. She does not believe that a woman, save in exceptional cases, can "take upon herself in her young womanhood, the duties of an important public functionary of any kind, with the prospect of doing either herself or the office credit." There is just as much logic in saying that the line should be drawn sharply and decidedly when men aspire to office-holding, because a young man just starting in business cannot possibly perform the duties of a public office creditably.

The writer of the article referred to says that she bases her "objections to a political career for women upon one single reason and that is the fact of her physical organization." She claims that "the fact is incontrovertible that the 'animal function of motherhood' is really the only reason which there was for her being included in the plan of creation at all." The teaching of

this doctrine has been the cause of an amount of wretchedness in the world that is simply appalling! I know a young girl who intends to be married shortly to a young man who is addicted to the habit of drink to such a degree that he has frequently called upon her while under the influence of liquor. Think of the misery that lies in store for that woman! And why? For various reasons she has come to the conclusion that this is her last chance of getting married and she has been taught that marriage and "'the animal function of motherhood' are really the only reasons which there were for her being included in the plan of creation at all." There are thousands of cases similar to this one. If the parties contracting such a marriage were the only ones affected by it, we might pity, but tolerate them. But they are not the only ones concerned in the matter, the whole world is made to suffer from the dire results of this theory that marriage is the union of two animals, obligatory upon the female, not so upon the male, for the propagation of their race. What a multitude of wretched children have come into the world because of it! What hosts of paupers, idiots, insane, and criminals have been reared in consequence of it!

Marriage should be the union of a man and woman whose souls are in harmony with one another, who have the same inclinations and aspirations, who bear each with the other's faults because they comprehend the cause for the existence of these imperfections, who stand by one another against all the world, whose love for one another is based upon mutual respect, not upon animal lust. We must teach our children that it is a crime for them to contract a marriage unless they have the firm conviction that theirs will be such an ideal one. Only the children that spring from such a marriage can be physically, mentally, and morally sound.

If there is one argument brought forward by the opponents of woman's suffrage that is absurd, it is that of referring to the "animal kingdom" as the standard, that the instincts of the lower animals are to be a criterion for our actions. If we lead the life of beasts isn't there danger of our retrograding to the beast-

state? However, in the observation of the lower animals as of all matters, our conclusions with regard to them vary according to the standpoint from which we view them. Now in observing animals we find that they take nourishment and propagate their race that they may perform some special function in nature. The function of insectivorous birds is to reduce the number of insects that might ultimately destroy plant-life, which in turn is needed for the purification of the air. To prevent these birds from increasing to such an extent that they utterly destroy their own source of nourishment there must be other animals that prey upon them and keep down their numbers. And so it goes on throughout nature, the life of the one depending upon the life and destruction of the other. To keep up this balance of power in nature and make possible the maintenance of animal life is the greatest function which animals perform and is shared in alike by male and female.

Human beings also have a great function to perform, the maintenance of a mental or soul-life, which constitutes barbarism or civilization according to the degree of development those beings have attained. This mental life should be developed and maintained by male and female alike. A woman, too, is a human being and no one has a right to relegate her to the position of an inferior animal, to say that her sole function is the propagation of the race. And yet this notion prevails with some, and the more crude the civilization, the lower the grade of society, the more prevalent is it.

A woman who remains unmarried because she has never had the opportunity of being married to the man of her choice, and who disdains to be married to a man she neither loves nor respects, and to exterminate her soul that she may have the chance of performing the "animal function of motherhood" by the aid of this man for whom she engages herself to act as housekeeper—such a woman, no matter how noble the work in which she is engaged, is, to quote the words of Mrs. M. "rising in rebellion against her own nature," "controverting an all-wise Creator's plans"; while a woman who marries a drunkard or a scoundrel for the simple reason that she could n't get any one

else, and gives birth to six idiots or criminals is "fulfilling the purpose for which she was created."

"Up to the age of ten or twelve," says Mrs. M., "the female child is usually the equal of her brother in strength, activity, and courage. Then comes, gradually, but surely, a change which affects her entire personality—the mysterious working of a hidden power which after a time sets her apart from childish things upon the beautiful and exalted throne of womanhood." This is true, but there is also a change in the boy, "a setting apart from childish things." This change does not affect the girl's mental capacity to its detriment, as we see exemplified in all the common schools, high schools, and universities. Where boys and girls, or young men and women, study together and receive the same mental training, the girls continue to be the equals and superiors of the boys.

She depicts "the regularly recurring disturbances of the female organization, which unfit her for *attempting* anything like serious mental or physical work," and "which are often accompanied by symptoms which produce all manner of mental vagaries." But behold the thousands of mothers not only attempting to do but doing hard physical work, washing, scrubbing, polishing, sweeping, dusting, cooking, and administering to the physical wants of their children, if they do not also attend to their mental and moral education. They do this from morning till night, week in, week out, and the world suffers them to do it in spite of their so-called unfitness for it. Then look at the thousands of school-teachers in this country doing hard mental work, work that requires the same characteristics of body and mind which those should possess "who plan, direct, and govern the affairs of the world." Moreover these women are doing the work more successfully than men ever did it.

Mrs. M. thinks that a woman about to become a mother, being subject to whims, fancies, and so on, is unfit for political service. "Imagine a woman attending political meetings, running for office, making stump speeches, and going frenzied over returns at such a time!" Can there be anything more ridiculous than to bring this forward as an argument against woman's suffrage?

If a woman cannot do these things, are there not a thousand others which she cannot do and does not do while in such a condition, if she is worthy the name of woman? There would be just as much sense in restraining all women by law from ever attending theaters.

Mrs. M. further says that at a certain period of her life a woman is a "nervous, irritable, capricious, unreasoning creature, subject to all manner of mental delusions and physical miseries." These qualities she thinks unfit her for public service. Where is all that unfitness in those numerous women engaging successfully in all the professions formerly restricted to men?

But men, too, have afflictions which make of them "nervous, irritable, capricious, unreasoning creatures." We refer to the class of men suffering with diseases we cannot mention by name, a class we deem to be quite large judging from the constantly increasing number of prosperous physicians who make a specialty of treating these male troubles and the numerous patent medicines advertised for the same maladies.

Have men made a great success of the management of governmental affairs? Decidedly no! They have shirked their work and left it to the professional politicians. Appeal after appeal is sent out to men of education, of intelligence, and honest principles to take an active part in politics, but in vain. They claim they have no time. Perhaps women have more time.

Think of the effect upon politics when a woman, being her husband's political equal, will study social science with him and the sons need no longer go to the beer saloon to be initiated into politics. Think of the time when women will have earnest mental work to do, work that requires deep thought and study, so they will not leave their young children in the charge of servant girls or to run loose on the streets while they attend receptions, matinees, "kaffeeklatsches," and backyard gossips to distract their minds.

Mrs. M., in spite of her physical ailments, which warp the judgment, has not only dared to form an opinion upon a political subject, but dared to express it and publish it in a magazine devoted exclusively to civics. Because of the unceasing efforts of

those earnest workers for this cause at whom she flings uncomplimentary epithets, she can do all this without being stigmatized as unwomanly. Moreover, she talks freely about matters to which a woman of delicacy dared not allude in the days when women had not studied medicine.

For those women who have the time and ability, Mrs. M. says, "there is work in plenty along educational, hygienic, charitable, and reformatory lines, and this work they can plan in a way which will leave them free to rest when rest is necessary." But all this work properly belongs to the state and can only be performed by people who have the power to introduce new measures and make necessary changes, which these women have not. Moreover, it is of too much consequence to be left to the sweet will of private individuals, for them to pick up and drop as their whims direct.

If women below the age of fifty are incapable of performing the duties of an important political office or of taking a prominent place in the management of public affairs, their own incapability will prevent them from assuming these duties, and there is no need of laws calling for an age qualification which are not equally applicable to men.

Let it be proven by actual experiment that women are by their physical organization debarred from political service and we have no need of legislating them out of it, any more than we have need of laws restraining a child from walking before it has arrived at the age of six months or an untalented person from executing a great painting. There are natural debarments which keep them from venturing upon a field for which they are not properly equipped. But Mrs. M. herself has no faith in "woman's natural debarments from political service," or she would not be so anxious to keep them out of it by legislation.

In short, women have engaged and do still engage successfully in all kinds of work that require judgment and reason, calm nerves and physical endurance, in fact all the highest powers to be found in human beings, and the writer quoted has not brought forward against woman's voting or holding office a single argument that can stand on its own feet.

For women "to clasp the hands of their ignorant, unfortunate, even sinful sisters in a spirit of true friendliness, loving kindness, and helpfulness" is indeed a good thing. There are many good things we ought to have that have not yet been realized. Which of these should have precedence is a matter of opinion. One of them, however, is woman's suffrage. Let us strive for it with our best efforts!

MRS. FRANK O. IMMLER.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE REPUBLIC.

BY WILLIAM B. BALDWIN.

COULD the early patriot revisit his beloved land to-day, how rudely would his fond dreams of an ideal state be shattered. That bright and roseate vision which he was ever wont to spread before his own gaze and the eyes of his hearers on the natal day of the republic, that vision of fervent patriotism, of wise and broad statesmanship, of honest, clean administration, of pure and elevated and unselfish politics—alas! how unprophetic! The high ideals which our forefathers, the framers of the Constitution and the founders of the republic, set up for public thought and public action—first exemplified in their own lives—have been prostituted to the lowest depths by the modern politician. The federal, state, and municipal governments have fallen so completely under the control of the party boss that the phrase "by the people and for the people" has become a hollow mockery. The offices are filled, as rewards for party service, with party henchmen whose interest is not for the public welfare but the public treasure. The generous, unselfish statesman has given way to one who becomes not the leader of his country but of his party. The legislatures are the arenas where patriotism is subordinated to personal and party interests. The cities are cursed with misrule and even the ermine of the bench has become spotted and soiled.

Nothing could be more alien to the idea of Washington and his associates than that the government should be used as a huge machine for rewarding partisan service. The first appointment of that peerless patriot was the elevation to the highest position in his cabinet of his chief political opponent. But there came a time when a man of different stamp was elevated to the chair of state. He revolutionized the character of the government, filled the offices with personal and political friends, and expounded the doctrine enunciated by one of his lieutenants

—"to the victors belong the spoils." Succeeding presidents adopted the new dogma and, not being of the iron will that characterized their teacher, fell into the hands of political leaders who dictated appointments. Out of this grew the party boss and machine politics, whose loathsome coils have wrapped themselves around the very vitals of our freedom and threaten this grand experiment of self-government itself. The civic evils which menace our very existence are inevitable consequences of this system—purely American in growth but un-American in principle. The dragon's teeth thus sown in the fertile soil of American politics have brought forth a thousand fold.

Why have the American people allowed this festering mass of corruption to fasten itself upon them? Has public virtue suffered decay? Do the people no longer love honesty and morals in public life? No, rather this degradation of our politics is made possible only by the negligence of the people. Public virtue is not waning. Public opinion is sound at the core. The great body of citizens is honest and desirous of reform. But the old, old fallacy of a government established on true and good principles being able to conduct itself has prevailed in the minds of too many of the good citizens of the republic. This misconception of the very idea of government itself has resulted in the control of the nation falling into evil and corrupt hands. It has allowed the party boss to gain his ascendancy and has thrown the country into his power.

Under these influences the mass of intelligent voters has fallen away into two classes. The first of these—composed alas! of many of our best educated and cultured citizens—refuses to mix in politics at all. They are either so blind as not to see the turpitude of the political pool; or, if they do, hold themselves aloof with ostentatious Phariseeism, afraid of soiling their skirts even in the endeavor to reform the evils. Those who are drawn into the second and very much the larger class become slaves to party and are driven to the polls as their masters dictate. Perhaps they inherit their party as they do the family estate; perhaps they unite with it because of some great principle it advocates; perhaps they affiliate with it because of its past

record; whatever the reason, they cling blindly to their fetich. They can see naught but good in their own party, naught but evil in the opposing. Perhaps shocked at first, they rapidly become familiar with all the worst phases of politics, neither hate nor shun, but rather, "first pity, then endure, then embrace." This apathy on the one hand and blind partisanship on the other are the secrets of our political degradation. Politics must be placed on a moral basis, must be placed on the same standard as private life. Over against a United States senator's, "Morals have no place in politics" we contrast the lives and utterances of great statesmen past and present. We want men in public life who will think and act with Gladstone, who sacrifice a life-long object on the eve of attainment as a matter of principle and morals.

The public duty of every American citizen is that active participation in political affairs, without which the country falls into the control of corrupt and dishonest men; that attention to party caucuses and party conventions, which, if properly performed, makes party leaders of good men and insures the success of popular government. The task may be a disagreeable one; it may consume valuable time, but every citizen owes it to the state. Public duty is not executed, as so erroneously supposed, by merely casting the ballot. He is but selfishly and meanly exercising the priceless right of suffrage who does this. Every citizen is an integral part of the government. The officers are but his representatives. If the government is bad he alone is responsible.

In this crisis the future of the republic is with the independence of the voter—not so much independence *of* the party as independence *in* the party. But when efforts within the party fail, the voter owes it to his country, to his God, to himself, yea, even to his party, to adopt the one heroic, supreme remedy—independence *of* it. If we are to have good men at the head of affairs, we must refuse to vote for bad ones. The striking down of an unfit candidate by the independent voter is a lesson not soon forgotten. Thank God! the numbers of true American citizens are swelling day by day who vote according to their

convictions and not as political machines dictate. Every year brings us fresh tidings of new victories achieved by the independent voter, which are like the shots of single pickets along the advance, and now and then come reports of heavy skirmishes as a grand old state like Pennsylvania swings into line. The outposts of the enemy are being driven in. Speed the time when a general engagement shall be begun which will herald the death of the political machine and corrupt politics!

Education is the panacea of the reformer. Do social problems menace society? Education will solve them. Does intemperance gnaw at the very vitals of our manhood? Education is the only practical prohibition. Are there great civic evils which threaten our national life? Education will remove them. Ah! but these truths must first become incorporate with education. The first duty of an educational institution should be to instruct its students in the laws of the country and the duties of its citizens, but in too many cases the curriculum seems to have been made up rather to evade these subjects. Thus the new-born voter is left to the teachings of the worst school of all—the school of practical politics. To make perfect citizens the education of the youth in their debt to their country must begin at the mother's knee; it must continue through life; but especially in our higher institutions of learning must attention be paid. The educated man must be looked up to as one upon whom rests the weight of authority and recognized superiority. Genius is mighty, but education is mightier, and the two combined give the highest form of the noblest work of God.

To active participation in political affairs, the educated man must unite the sacred duties of teacher. The obligation of scholars to educate the masses is imperative in the republic which intrusts its welfare to the people. Despotism looks at the babe in the cradle and knows it can crush its strength, but democracy sees the ballot in its hand and understands the power it wields. "Wisdom can set for itself no nobler task, patriotism no holier duty, than to plant in the American youth seeds whose fruition shall be the best product of civilization—a man worthy to wear the crown of citizenship."

The Constitution makes the people supreme. But if the people do not in fact make themselves so, the truth will prove a mere fiction. If they do not exert their power it will be wrested from them. Their inactivity and lassitude alone make machine politics and great civic evils possible, and it can only be through the awakening of their dormant spirits and energies that remedy can be found. If wrong prevails each individual is responsible. If right does not succeed, though you do not vote, though you do not care, *you* are still responsible. Every citizen is a factor for good or ill in the general welfare, and every citizen is bound to give the best efforts of his heart and mind to his country.

It is for us, then, each and every one, to assert the independence and individuality of the citizen. If we want good laws, we must vote for good men. If we want honest administration, we must choose honest officers. We must prove that man was not made for party but the party for man; that he must use the party, not let it use him. We must follow not what the party has been, but what it is. We must remember that a vote cast for the right is not thrown away, but that it may have an all-controlling potency over the future. We must allow no party to be the keeper of our conscience or swallow up our individuality, and above all, must keep fresh in our minds that "in the theater of men's life it is reserved only for God and his angels to be lookers-on."

WILLIAM B. BALDWIN.

THE IRON LAW OF WAGES.

BY CHARLES DRAKE.

THE iron law of wages is the natural result of combining Malthus's law of population and Ricardo's theory of rent. The law of population is that "population tends to increase in a geometrical ratio, while food supplies can increase only in an arithmetical one. The former is, therefore, constantly outstripping the latter and hence it is that there is everywhere seen the disease of over-population with its accompaniments, poverty, wretchedness, and death."

Ricardo's theory of rent is this: On the first settlement of a country the most fertile and favorably situated land will be settled first. Afterward, when population increases, land of the second quality will be taken up, whereupon the first land will command rent for its use. As the increase of population compels, land of the third quality will be settled, and so on, until all land that will support life is cultivated.

Uniting these two theories, the logical conclusion is the iron law of wages, namely, the earth can barely support the population existing upon it. Any increase of inhabitants will cause starvation, misery, and death until population is brought within the limit of support. Whenever the population is less than the earth can support, the natural tendency to increase will come into operation until a balance is struck once more. Population always tends to remain at the limit which the earth can barely support.

Before looking about to see if this logical conclusion accords with the facts, it is well to examine the theories upon which it rests. An investigation into the rates of increase among the various forms of animal and vegetable life disproves Malthus's law absolutely. The real law, which has been firmly established by careful, patient investigation, is this: The higher the form of life the slower its rate of increase. The progeny of micro-

scopic beings at the end of a single week are counted by millions; those of a pair of carp at the end of the third year amount to thousands of billions; of a pair of rabbits in twenty years to millions; of a pair of elephants not to dozens.

The law holds strictly true in the vegetable world also; the lower the form of life the more rapid its rate of increase. Even with the same form of life it is true. To make a plant propagate freely you must starve it; when you have brought it to a high degree of cultivation it is barren. Yet when we come to man, the highest in the scale of being, this law, which has no other exception, works backward and he multiplies in a geometrical ratio, while these lower forms of life can increase in an arithmetical one only. Malthus asserts that "population when unchecked doubles itself every twenty-five years." Were this true, starting with Adam and Eve the world would now have a population of 1769 with 69 ciphers attached. Statisticians estimate the total population of the globe to be less than one and one half billions, and there has been less than one per cent increase per year since the population was first estimated. Even in the countries used by Malthus to prove his law population has not increased at any such rate. In England the population has, on the average, doubled but once in eighty years. In Ireland it has doubled once in about seventy-five years; in France about once a century. Strange, is n't it, that although the increase of mankind is so slow and that of the animals and vegetables upon which it feeds is counted by the thousands and millions, yet population increases in a geometrical ratio, while food supplies can increase in an arithmetical one only? Yet this law has been called by British political economists "axiomatic," "an irrefragible truth," "no more to be upset than a law of arithmetic."

With regard to Ricardo's theory of rent it is evident to any one who has studied history that it is the invention of one who looked upon the existing state of affairs and tried to explain it upon an historical basis without once looking into history to see if his theory corresponded with the facts. "The best lands are settled first, the poorer ones last," he says. Whence did he obtain that law? Certainly not from history. The history of

every country whose settlement is recorded tells exactly the opposite. The first lands are not the best, but the most accessible. These are often the poorest, some hillside too poor for a heavy growth. The first settlers cannot cultivate the best lands because they are always too heavily wooded or else covered with swamp. It is as their number increases and their powers increase that they settle the better lands. The history of the United States, of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, of every country whose early history is known, proves this fact and denies Ricardo's theory. The poorer lands are the ones settled first, afterwards the better, thus yielding a constantly increasing return to the laborer. Not only so, but in every country where population has decreased the best lands are the ones first abandoned. In India the richest lands are again becoming jungles, while the decreasing population is striving to get a living upon the barren hills. In Asia the land about the Tigris and Euphrates, once so populous and famed for its fertility, is now a wilderness. The lower Danube, the Nile delta tell the same story. In France, after the population had become exhausted by war, the best land became utterly desolate and only after population had sufficiently increased was it again cultivated. Ricardo's theory is false. The richest lands are the last to be settled and the first to be abandoned.

Does the iron law of wages exist independent of its theoretical foundation? Is the earth so densely populated that man has barely an existence? Does any increase in population mean a corresponding increase of individual poverty and distress? The world says, no. Those lands that are the most densely populated are the very ones whose prosperity is the greatest. The countries which are sparsely settled are poor, the people are poverty-stricken and miserable. Belgium, with its 440 people to the square mile, has greater general prosperity than England, with her 350 people, and infinitely greater than Ireland, with her little 180 people to the square mile. But it was to account for the misery and poverty existing in England and Ireland that Malthus invented his law of population. They were the very countries chiefly used to prove his law. The present population

of England is six times that in 1370, but the produce consumed is sixty times as great. The population of the United States increased 57 per cent in twenty years, but the wealth increased over 200 per cent in the same period. In France the wealth grew 300 per cent, while the population grew 80 per cent. Does that look as though an increase in population oppressed the power of the earth to support it? In Turkey and Spain the population has steadily decreased. According to the iron law we ought to find there a state of increasing individual prosperity. What do we find? The poverty of the people of those countries is their distinguishing characteristic. As the population has decreased the wealth has also decreased and at a much more rapid rate. According to John Stuart Mill, "the sole, invariable antecedent of a phenomenon is probably its cause." An increase in population of a country has always been the antecedent of increased prosperity, while a decrease in population is always followed by a decrease in prosperity. Does that not indicate that the iron law of wages is a statement exactly contrary to the truth of the case?

It is always a good test of a theory to carry it to its logical conclusion. Doing this with the iron law of wages we arrive at the following conclusions, which are sufficient to demonstrate its falsity: The inevitable destiny of man is an existence upon an earth furnishing barely food enough to keep soul and body together. Every fellow-being is an enemy who keeps so much food from his neighbor's mouth. War, pestilence, disease, everything which lessens the number of hungry mouths, are the greatest blessings mankind can receive. The assassins, the murderers, the Mafias, instead of being a menace to society, are its real benefactors. Verily, our curses are but blessings in disguise. The philanthropist, physician, all who endeavor to ease hardship and prolong life, are our worst enemies. The man who, with the greatest self-sacrifice, strives to help others, is a fiend incarnate, while he who takes his own life, thereby lessening the number dependent upon the already overstrained production of Mother Earth, confers a favor upon mankind. Christ himself, when he devoted his divine powers to healing the sick

and raising the dead, inflicted an injury upon humanity from which it can never recover. His whole life and teachings were but fiendish inspirations to his followers by which they became the greatest possible curses to their fellowmen, and when the Bible we love tells us that he went about doing good it falsifies.

No, Malthus is wrong. Ricardo is wrong. The iron law of wages is false. It is contrary to every fact of history; it is contrary to every true theory of life; it is contrary to every idea of right and goodness. It is a good example of how untrustworthy the human mind is when it sets out on a course of reasoning, taking for granted things that are not sufficiently proven.

CHARLES DRAKE.

BANKING AND THE CURRENCY.

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, M.A., PH.D.

BY a law of February 25, 1863, a national banking system was created at the suggestion of Mr. Chase, secretary of the treasury. On June 4, 1864, a new act was substituted for the legislation of the previous year. Mr. Chase urged the adoption of the measure, both as a means of currency reform and also of replenishing the public treasury, by creating a market for the bonds of the government. This law proved the foundation of an admirable financial system. It created a new treasury bureau, under a comptroller of the currency, whom it authorized to permit the establishment, for a term not exceeding twenty years, of banking associations, consisting of not less than five persons, with a minimum capital, except in small places, of one hundred thousand dollars. Such associations were required to deposit with the treasury department United States bonds to the extent of at least one third of their capital, for which there should be issued to them circulating notes in amount equal to ninety per cent of the market value of their bonds, but not beyond ninety per cent of the par value of such bonds. The issue of currency made in this manner was not to exceed three hundred millions, that amount to be apportioned among the states according to population and banking capital. It was expected that state banks would take advantage of these acts to obtain national issues, but very few of them did so until after the act of March 3, 1865, which put a tax of ten per cent on their circulation. After that, hundreds of state banks were at once converted into national banks, and national bank notes superseded all others.

A system regulated by the national government can alone guarantee the utmost safety and uniformity. The history of state banking confirms this view, as the days are recalled when the currency of the state banks varied inversely in value as the

square of the distance. The currency of the national banks is also rendered more secure by a paid-up capital which forms the basis of credit, and the safety of the notes is provided for by a deposit placed beyond the control of the bank. The community is further satisfied with the security of these notes by means of the frequent investigations of public officials, and by the publication of detailed statements. It is the lack of elasticity in the present currency system that has been the cause of numerous proposals for the revision of the same. The extinguishment of the national debt and the high premium on the bonds have brought about a condition in which the taking of circulation by the banks has, in many cases, failed to be profitable.

Public opinion has not yet sufficiently crystallized as to the best method of amending the present currency system. It is the object of this paper to discuss some of the plans proposed, but before doing so a brief review will be made of some of the attempts in the past to establish a currency system. In early colonial days, the provincial governments were carried on with too much simplicity and economy to require the aid of banking capital. Merchants could generally furnish each other with the loans and discounts necessary to carry on their affairs. A convenient circulating medium was afforded by bills of credit issued from loan offices conducted by the government. South Carolina is said to have established a public bank in the year 1712, from which £4,800 in bills of credit were issued, called bank bills; but this institution seems, however, to have been only the ordinary colonial loan office under another name. The breaking out of the American Revolution presented an entirely new set of financial problems to the American mind. Commerce had perished and the storehouses were empty, but a national system of finance had become a necessity. A national government was to be supported and an army raised and provided for. The separate provinces were driven to the issue of paper money as the exigencies of war were felt one after another. Massachusetts was one of the first to take this step. She had been on a specie basis since 1749; but on May 1, 1775, the Committee of Safety resolved that since Connecticut and Rhode Island were

helping them, and had brought some paper currency of their own, such currency should be paid and received in Massachusetts in the same proportion to silver as in the colonies where issued. On May 20, 1775, Massachusetts issued bills of credit to the amount of £26,000, and on June 28, 1775, the Massachusetts Legislature passed a resolution that the bills of all the colonies except Nova Scotia and Canada should be a good and sufficient tender in the payment of all debts and damages, and receivable into the public treasury, and if any one should refuse these notes, he should be deemed an enemy of the country, and the local committees were directed to report the names of such. In May, 1775, Rhode Island made paper money a legal tender, and any one who refused to take it was to be boycotted by the good people of the colony. In 1776, Rhode Island also made the notes of the Continental Congress a legal tender, and a penalty of fifty pounds was laid on any one who should discriminate between specie and paper in prices. The principal hard money consisted of Spanish coin, and its use became so general that all the government accounts were kept in this money. The coin continually flowed toward Europe during the revolutionary period, and, left without a circulating medium, issue after issue of paper money followed. On its depreciation, local societies issued paper tickets. Then, in 1786, under pressure, the states again began to issue paper money. In Pennsylvania it was issued on land, and in Virginia on tobacco. A certain amount of tobacco was burned each year to raise the price of money. It was hoped that this would bring more specie into the colony. In the mean time, what was the policy of the Continental Congress in regard to the currency question? On May 10, 1775, Congress resolved to issue bills to an amount not exceeding two million Spanish dollars, and the colonies were pledged for their redemption. The plan of the continental paper was to put it in the power of the Continental Congress to make such expenditures as it saw fit, without asking the previous consent of the states, and to bind the states to meet these expenditures by taxation, which would retire and destroy the notes. This assumed that taxation was going on, which was

not the case. The Continental Congress did not enter upon the issue of paper money with the idea that debts could be paid by mere scraps of paper, which might be made as numerous as the leaves on the trees. In financial character those notes were anticipations. They anticipated taxes yet to be raised. If these taxes were promptly paid in, the way would be clear; if not, they would accumulate, and destroy public credit.

As early as 1780 the effects of paper currency were realized. The inflation of the currency clogged the channels of circulation, and all good money retired. In many parts there was a return to barter, and the raccoon skin was given the value of the Spanish dollar at Natchez. In the back country the law gave a pound of sugar the value of the shilling, a gallon of rye whisky two shillings, while larger values were expressed in the beaver and otter skins at six shillings each. The state money issued on land held its own, but where there was no basis it depreciated. It was made a legal tender by law, and force acts compelled people to take it. In Massachusetts, where there was but little paper money, the condition was worse. People compelled the debtor's courts to adjourn, and the judges were prevented from issuing judgments. By the fall of 1786, all the courts in Massachusetts were stopped and the state militia was called out to enforce the law. Then the debtors organized with Daniel Shays at their head, and the mob was only dispersed by the cold weather and want of supplies.

The Articles of Confederation gave Congress the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. We have already seen that the need of this regulation was great, for there was no national coinage and no legal tender. In the interior barter was the medium of exchange, and no money had a common value the country over. To cure such an evil required the work of half a century. As early as 1782, Robert Morris laid before Congress a plan which he believed would remedy the evil. His plan included a national system of coinage; but Congress did nothing more than to adopt the names and denominations of some of our present coins and establish a mint; no coins except a few copper cents were struck off. Morris also drew up

the plan of the first national bank, which was chartered by Congress December 31, 1783, for a period of ten years, under the name of the Bank of North America, but owing to the doubt of the power of Congress to create a corporation, it was chartered as a state bank by Pennsylvania. Thus ends one period in the development of an American currency system. The Congress of the Confederation and the states had injured commerce and industry by unlimited issues of paper money, and the new Constitution was meant to secure the country against like folly in the future. It vested in Congress alone the power to coin money and regulate the value of coin; it forbade the states to emit bills of credit; and it nowhere granted the power to emit such bills to Congress. A proposition to confer that power upon Congress had been defeated in the Constitutional Convention by a heavy majority. There remained a device, however, for issuing paper money. In order to meet emergencies, the government began to issue bills of credit under the name of treasury notes. They bore interest, and were drawn up like a check with the individual's name on the face, and were negotiable. The original intention of the issues was to avoid laying extra taxes, and the same fiction prevails at present. It was supposed that the interest would keep them at a premium, but this expectation was not realized. Although the states cannot issue bills of credit under the Constitution, it was decided by the courts that they could exercise this power indirectly through banks. State legislatures could incorporate banks and authorize them to issue paper in any amount they chose, without restriction or safeguard. The only way in which the United States government could check the operations of state banks was to go into the field of competition, and dominate these banks by means of a national bank. That it did act as a check upon state banks is proven from the fact that there was great opposition to the renewal of its charter in 1811. The weakness of the banking system during the entire period of the United States Bank was due to the lack of security for the note-holder, and the total want of prudence in maintaining specie reserves for the redemption of circulating notes.

Hamilton's theory for the establishment of a United States

bank was that it would not only furnish the country with a sound and stable currency, but also serve as the fiscal agent of the government in handling its revenues and floating its loans. There was no gold and silver, and the states were forbidden to issue bills of credit, so the bank was to establish a circulating medium. The adoption of the Constitution had also destroyed all the old paper money of the states, and there would have been no circulating medium at all if the states had called in all the paper at once. The subject of a national coinage was also taken up in the first administration, and a bimetallic currency was provided for, the ratio between the two metals being 15 to 1. But the treasury had no authority to purchase bullion, and very little money was coined. In 1802, the House passed a bill closing the mint, but the Senate would not concur. The mint was not firmly established, however, until 1828.

In the mean time, the United States bank furnished the principal circulating medium. It was chartered for twenty-one years, with a capital of $10,000,000, of which the government took two millions, and it could issue paper money to the extent of its capital. Five million dollars in paper money was thus put into circulation, and this money performed the functions of national bank notes everywhere. Confidence was restored and the hidden specie was brought out. There was a movement for internal improvements, and the war in Europe opened up for us a profitable trade with the West Indies. But in the midst of this brief period of prosperity, the charter of the bank expired in 1811, and the renewal of the charter was strongly opposed by the Republican party. The new charter was not granted until 1816, and in the mean time the mania to charter state banks had spread over all the states. There were large amounts of capital to be invested, and the enormous profits of commerce increased this mania. The history of banking during this period reads with all the interest of a romance. The mania at this time first broke out in Pennsylvania. The legislature passed an act making every congressional district a banking district, but the governor vetoed the bill. In 1813, forty banks were chartered over the governor's veto, and the state was flooded with paper money.

In the Southern States, the bank was the real state treasury, and the state shared in the profits. But the career of the state banks was destined to be brief. During the War of 1812 the British blockaded all the southern ports and the trade was cut off. Goods from the North were carried South in wagons, and the value of these goods was greater than the cotton brought back. This left a balance to be settled in specie, and the specie was drawn northward. The banks could not redeem their paper money, and they were waiting for an opportunity to suspend. The banks in Baltimore suspended when the British captured Washington. The Philadelphia banks followed because they could not draw on those of Baltimore, and this was followed by a general suspension of the New York banks. The New England banks did not suspend, as nearly all the specie had been drawn there. Finally, however, the Boston banks refused to honor the United States drafts, and the federal government became embarrassed. Millions of its revenues were at the time deposited with southern banks, and the suspension prevented the movement of the money to the frontier, where the army was to be paid, and in some cases the soldiers went begging for food. All the banks over-issued their notes, and the country was flooded with counterfeits. The rate of exchange became enormous, the discount between Charleston and Boston being equal to the face value. The states passed laws requiring the banks to resume specie payments, but in each case the law failed to accomplish its purpose. At last, economic interests of a domestic character stopped the export of specie, and on February 20, 1817, every reputable bank between New York and Richmond began to pay out specie.

Wearied by these experiences in state banking, the Bank of the United States was rechartered in 1816 for another period of twenty-one years. It was privileged to issue circulating notes, and these notes were made receivable for all dues to the United States. But Jackson looked upon the bank as a corporation of oppression, and at his order the deposits were removed, and the old bank came to an end with the expiration of its charter in 1837. With the end of the bank near at hand, millions of

dollars, which for years had been the circulating medium of the country, were to be called in. The place of this money must be filled by another circulating medium, and over this question a great discussion arose. The paper money men were on one side and the hard money men under the leadership of Benton, "Old Bullion," on the other. Benton desired to make gold and silver the common currency of the country. The gold coin act of 1834 fixed the ratio between gold and silver at 1 to 16.002. *The Washington Globe* anticipated the result of this legislation as follows:

> A great stream of gold will flow up the Mississippi River from New Orleans and diffuse itself all over the great West, and in eight or nine months from this time, every substantial citizen will have a long silken purse with fine open network, through the interstices of which yellow gold will shine and glisten. Every substantial man and every substantial man's wife and daughter will travel on gold.

But the value of silver had been underrated, and its export exceeded its import. At last it was practically demonetized by the discovery of gold in California.

The distribution of the surplus and the disastrous events which followed it hastened the movement for currency reform in our country. In 1837 there was a surplus of forty-two millions in the treasury, and the question arose as to how it should be used. It was decided that five millions should be reserved, and the balance sent out to the states according to population. In the East drafts could be used, but in the distribution to the Western States the money had to be actually sent across the country, guarded by military force. As the banks in the East knew they would be deprived of money, they had to stop making loans, and there was a general suspension in business. When the second deposit came due, the banks were at a standstill. Prices fell and there was distress. Nineteen of the pet banks had twenty-four millions of the surplus, while the balance was deposited in sixty-six banks. The banks had loaned all the money out, and when the call came for its removal, there was a crash. The distribution had already been made. As the government could not pay the installments of the distribution when due, Congress tried to adopt measures of relief, and at the sug-

gestion of President Van Buren, the Sub-Treasury System was established to keep the money in places not connected with banks.

In 1838, a new idea in currency legislation appeared in our country. A branch of the Democratic party in New York, known as the "Loco Focos," thought that they had discovered the chief danger in corruption following upon the charter of state banks, and in the folly of unlimited powers of note issue conferred upon these banks. They opposed bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, and their influence was felt even in the state elections. The "Loco Foco" principles were the beginning of a general movement of opinion. The wrecks of unregulated banks were beginning to concern the minds of legislators, and New York led in the reform. As early as 1829, Governor Van Buren in his message to the legislature urged that a "safety-fund" law should be passed which would require all the banks chartered by the state to pay into the state treasury one half of one per cent on the capital stock until three per cent was deposited, to serve as a fund out of which the liabilities of any of them that might fail should be made good. In 1835 the number of safety-fund banks was seventy-six, with a circulation of $14,000,000, and a safety fund of $400,000. The deposit required proved too small, but the safety-fund principle was the beginning of reform. As our present currency system is not an entirely new creation, but made up of a number of elements that existed in the state systems, a brief description of those systems will be given. In 1838, New York took another step in the direction of reform by establishing the free banking system, which, with a number of amendments, served as the model for the federal banking law of 1863. By this system, the practice of granting special charters was abandoned; it was to be free to any persons to form a banking company who should conform to the requirements of the act, the leading requirement being that each company should deposit securities with the state to the full amount of its circulating notes. Other states soon followed upon the same line of policy. In 1845 the Ohio bank law was passed, and the leading feature of the act was security to the note-holder. Each bank was

required to deposit with the board of control ten per cent of the amount of its circulating notes, either in specie or in bonds of the state or of the United States, as a safety fund for the protection of the holders of notes. The Louisiana bank law of 1842 provided that there should be a specie reserve of at least one third of all its liabilities to the public, and that the other two thirds should be represented by commercial paper having not more than ninety days to run. The Massachusetts banking law provided that neither the debts nor the credits of a bank could exceed twice the capital stock paid in, except for deposits and for debts to or from other banks. Each bank was required to keep fifteen per cent of specie as a reserve against both circulation and deposits. A number of so-called free banks were also organized in Illinois, Wisconsin, and other states, but the idea of good security for the redemption of the notes did not enter into the scheme at all, and many of them went down in the financial crash of 1857.

As referred to before, our present national banking system was organized as a means of currency reform and for the purpose of replenishing the treasury in the midst of civil war; but the system did not go into full operation until 1865, when the ten per cent tax on state bank circulation forced all banks of issue into the national system. The system contains but very little that is new, or what is not known to every one familiar with the state systems of New York, Ohio, and Indiana. It consists of the issue of notes by the banks, all of which bear the guarantee of the United States government, bonds being lodged with the United States as collateral security. The decreasing supply of United States bonds, their high price, and low rate of interest are rapidly tending toward the extinction of bank note circulation, and thus one of the very objects in view in the founding of the system is being defeated. Forces beyond the control of our government have been at work in leading to the present demand for a change in our currency system. Abroad, Germany, aided by the payment of the French indemnity, changed her currency from silver to gold. Other foreign nations also ceased to coin silver, but at home the production of our

mines increased, reducing the value of silver from $1.30 to $1.12 per ounce. Then the silver states clamored for relief, and Congress enacted a law authorizing the secretary of the treasury to buy each month not less than two nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver, and have it coined into standard silver dollars, to be a legal tender for any amount. Every year about 38,000,000 silver dollars were coined until 350,000,000 had been issued. For convenience it was provided that the dollars should be deposited in the vaults at Washington, and in place of them there should be issued silver certificates, which were to be received for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received might be reissued. But the mines still increased in their yield, and in 1890 the Sherman Bill was passed, compelling the secretary of the treasury to buy each month 4,500,000 ounces of silver, and pay for it in treasury notes to be redeemed on demand in gold or silver, as the secretary should judge fit.

The results of this legislation we all recall, and it became one of the battle-cries of the presidential campaign. According to Secretary Carlisle's last annual report, the total amount of circulation of national banks was $207,472,603. Besides this, there was outstanding in paper money and coin issued by the United States nearly $1,000,000,000, while the gold reserve to sustain this issue was less than $100,000,000, and in January last it sank to $56,000,000. In reviewing our present currency system, Secretary Carlisle claims that its chief defect is the lack of elasticity. He states that the amount of the United States circulation is fixed at a certain sum, and no matter how great the emergency may be, it can neither be enlarged nor diminished. The only part of our currency possessing the quality of elasticity is that issued by the national banks, and Mr. Carlisle claims that this has failed its purpose on account of the large volume of United States currency outstanding, making the contraction and expansion of the small national bank circulation less effective than it would otherwise be. As a measure of relief, Mr. Carlisle suggests the repeal of all laws requiring the deposit of United States bonds as security for circulation; also that the banks should be allowed to issue notes to an amount not

exceeding seventy-five per cent of their paid-up capital, but requiring each bank before receiving notes to deposit a guarantee fund, consisting of legal tender notes, to the amount of thirty per cent upon the circulating notes applied for. Mr. Carlisle's plan also suggests the safety-fund principle of New York banking in the '30's. This fund, Mr. Carlisle says, should accumulate until it reaches five per cent of the total circulation outstanding, for the immediate redemption of the circulating notes of failed banks. The Baltimore plan adopted by a convention of the national bankers of the United States, held in Baltimore in October last, provides as security of the circulating notes of the national banks a safety fund of only five per cent upon all outstanding circulation. Mr. W. C. Cornwell, president of the New York State Banks Association, urges the issue of five hundred millions of low rate bonds, payable in gold, and that legal tenders should be canceled with the proceeds of these bonds. He would have the national banks continue as at present, except that the banks be allowed to take out circulation to the extent of 150 per cent on bonds instead of ninety per cent, as at present.

It cannot be predicted at present what measures Congress may adopt in order to adjust the currency question; but it is safe to say that any system which receives the indorsement of the national banking associations throughout the country will finally become the law. Among the myriad plans that have been proposed for reforming the currency, care should be exercised lest in reaching for better the well-tested national banking system may be sacrificed. We know our present money, but no one can foretell what possibilities for financial disturbance lie hidden within the elastic currency panaceas that have been suggested. Bankers agree that the present system of national banks, with their maximum of safety, needs only a fair degree of elasticity to make it fully respond to the demand for an adequate currency. History proves that the national bank circulation is capable of great expansion and shrinkage. The circulation shrank from 340 millions in 1873 to 123 millions in 1890, whence it arose to 183 millions in 1893, and to 207 millions in 1894.

May it not be possible that the system is not so much to blame for the non-issue of national bank notes as the monetary condition of the community? In Chicago the circulation of the national banks is but slightly in excess of four per cent of the capital, while in Vermont and New Hampshire it exceeds fifty per cent. This seems to prove that the circulation of national banks is restricted in localities where it does not pay to invest capital in government bonds, for the profit arising from circulating notes, and it swells in those communities where it does pay to so invest. Congress might amend the present national bank law so as to induce the banks, not only in Vermont and New Hampshire, but everywhere, to issue notes up to or beyond fifty per cent of their capital. On October 31, 1894, there were 3,756 national banks in operation with a capital stock of $672,671,395, with only $172,331,978 circulating notes outstanding, or slightly over twenty-five per cent.

Thus the review of the century shows first the primitive attempts to establish a currency in the paper issues of the states and the currency of the Continental Congress, based on the faith of the colonies; then the failure to establish a system under the Articles of Confederation. Then came the struggle for a national coinage, which was ended in the opening of the mint. This was followed by the constitutional controversy over the right of Congress to grant charters to banks, and another experience in state banking, which impressed more than ever upon Congress the need of a uniform currency, regulated by the general government. The discovery of gold and silver, in their turn, has exerted a powerful influence in currency legislation, and the exigencies of war were the immediate cause for adopting our present system. The adoption of the gold standard by European countries has added to the difficulty of the problem, and the economic changes that have been taking place since the war have caused a severe strain upon our financial system. In the face of many varied interests that are seeking for recognition, Congress is now called upon to adjust the currency system so as to conform to our changed economic conditions.

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

UNIFORMITY OF STATE LAWS.

BY JOHN L. SCOTT.

IF the efforts of those who are endeavoring to induce Congress to pass a well-considered act establishing a bureau or commission charged with the duty of persuading the various states to enact something like a uniform system of laws governing such general subjects as are liable to affect alike the common interests of all the people in all the states of the Union, they will be justly entitled to be regarded not only as patriots, but as public benefactors.

No one acquainted with our Constitution and the limited powers of the federal government will contend for a moment that Congress has any constitutional authority to legislate for any particular state, or to dictate to any state what kind or character of laws shall be enacted for the government of its own domestic affairs, for the Federal Constitution expressly declares that all power not directly given to Congress is reserved to the states and the people.

But while this is true, it is further true that the same Federal Constitution that erects all the states into so many separate sovereignties expressly declares that Congress not only has the power, but is charged with the special duty of "providing for the general welfare" of all the states and all the people.

This is perhaps one of the grandest powers conferred upon the general government, and is coupled with a duty as noble and conservative as grand. When the thirteen colonies agreed to become thirteen sovereign states, operating under one general government, which was to be supreme so far as the few limited powers conferred upon that parent government was concerned, leaving the states and the people to be supreme as to the exercise of all other powers, it was but just and natural that in consideration of the surrender of the powers by the states and the people the federal government should agree and bind itself for

all time to come to promote "the general welfare" of all the states and all the people.

This solemn duty has rested upon the general government for more than one hundred years, during which time it has often had occasion to step forward in various ways to discharge, in some degree at least, this obligation which it owed to the states and the people—not to any particular state or individual, but alike to all the states and all the people. Instances need not be mentioned. It was a grand compromise when the states, by surrendering a few, to them, immaterial powers, procured in consideration thereof the solemn promise of the general government diligently to promote, for all time to come and in every emergency that future centuries might engender, the general welfare of all the states and all the people.

And this brings us face to face with the striking feature of the age of which we wish to speak: an emergency in which the entire population of nearly fifty states and territories are alike interested; and a complicated condition of business affairs in which the entire people have the right not only to invoke, but to expect the much-needed action of Congress to promote the general welfare, without in the least encroaching upon any of the rights or privileges so carefully and jealously reserved to the states and the people.

It is a significant fact that while the framers of the Federal Constitution, in a spirit of true patriotism and compromise, were willing to cede to the general government such powers as would enable it to exist for the common good and benefit of all, reserving all other powers to the states and the people, they were careful to enumerate specifically in detail each and every power thus delegated to Congress, and it is equally significant that the power, coupled with the duty of Congress, to provide for the general welfare, is expressed in the very first of the eighteen sub-sections of Section 8 of the first article of the Federal Constitution, in these words: "*The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises: to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.*"

How natural that thoughts for the "common defense and general welfare" of the new government should fill the minds of the good and great men who were then about to create it. The defeated British armies had just left our shores and might return. The merciless Indian savages still hovered around the outposts of our little armies of patriots. No wonder the first thoughts of the framers of the general government under such surroundings were for the "common defense and general welfare." And these are the first thoughts of all true friends of the republic now. They wrote as they thought; the blood shed in recent battles and the still impending danger from the savages caused them to think of their common danger, and hence the grant of power was written "common defense and general welfare," showing that the general government was to provide first for the common defense, and after that for the general welfare. To the credit of the republic be it said that up to this good hour the federal government has at all times most successfully discharged its entire duty in providing for the common defense. No hostile fleet now threatens our shores; we are at peace with all the world; and even the states and people lately in rebellion have returned to their faithful allegiance, and are honestly vying with those who never rebelled in laudable efforts to advance the growing prosperity and secure the perpetuity of the Union.

But in the closing years of the nineteenth century we find our government no longer consisting of thirteen feeble states, with a sparse population scattered along the seashores, with here and there small towns in the more fertile spots where our forefathers delivered their simple crops from ox-carts and carried home in exchange, and in the same conveyances, the rude supplies for their families. We have nearly fifty states and territories, with nearly 70,000,000 of the most enterprising people known to civilization. Railroads connect Portland in Maine with Portland in Oregon, and the telegraph and telephone girdle all this territory. The merchant in Boston ships his goods and draws his bills on San Francisco, and the cotton planter in the South sends his crops and keeps his bank account in New York. In a

word, our internal commercial transactions have multiplied and enlarged and become so interwoven that we can hardly realize that we are in fact but one people, while residing and doing business in nearly half a hundred separate states.

But our business relations are hampered and retarded by the fact that we are the inhabitants of states and territories, each having local statutes which are and must continue to be supreme within the local jurisdiction of each, as different and distinct from the local laws of other states, and even of adjoining states, as the enlightened laws of England and the edicts of the czar. Now these states have the right to enact local laws to suit the pleasure of their citizens, and no one claims that there is any power in Congress to nullify or repeal a single one of them. Here the states are supreme and so long as each preserves a republican form of government Congress has no constitutional right to interfere. But when it is ascertained beyond a reasonable doubt that the "general welfare of all the states" would be promoted by harmonizing some of these conflicting statutes relating to such general subjects as affect the interests and commercial pursuits of the people of all the states alike, can there be anything wrong in reminding Congress that it not only has the express power, but that the solemn duty rests upon it to adopt some friendly and persuasive means of "promoting the general welfare" by establishing a bureau or commission, whose duty it shall be, for the next five or ten years, to correspond in a friendly and respectful manner with the authorities in each state, and in this way ascertain what general laws in the states are in conflict with each other to the extent that any general rights of citizenship or commerce are impeded or denied, with a view to bringing about a harmonious system of general laws in all the states; and all this by the free and independent action of the states themselves? To particularize:

No one will deny that it would promote "the general welfare" of all the states if the general laws governing marriage and divorce, and regulating the duties and obligations of husband and wife and parent and child, and the general laws of descent were substantially the same throughout the United States.

Then there would be no flocking in droves to one particular state on account of the loose laws on the subject of divorce in that jurisdiction. There would be no divorce lawyers advertising to guarantee a divorce in ninety days. If the law on this entire subject was fixed, certain, and substantially the same everywhere, the general result would be better husbands, better wives, and better citizens. A similar line of remark is applicable to the laws governing the limitation of actions, the legal rate of interest, bills of exchange, and promissory notes; and the homestead and other laws exempting the property of the debtor from the payment of his debts. When strange merchants from a dozen states in the West go to New York to open accounts for supplies of goods on credit from year to year, that wholesale merchant ought not to be required to search through the statutes of as many states as he has customers to find out what the law is in each state before he will open an account with the proposed buyer. How much better it would be, both for the wholesale and the retail merchants desiring credit, if there was but one statute to consult, the statutes in every state in the Union being similar.

And what may be said of the law of common carriers? A man in Rhode Island takes passage on some railroad train from Providence to Puget's Sound; or he ships goods from and to the same places. He purchases his ticket or ships his freight, as the case may be, at Providence for a trip across the continent. His train passes through many states to reach the Pacific coast. Each one of these states has a separate local law governing the liabilities of common carriers for negligence. If he loses his life or goods in the state of New York as he passes through that state, on account of some supposed negligence or imperfection of the railroad company, he may be able to find some New York statute allowing him to recover for that particular kind of negligence; but if the same injury is sustained, and by the same class of negligence, while passing through the state of Indiana, he may not be able to find any statute to enable him to recover, and his case may not fall within the general law governing the liabilities of common carriers. A case might arise even worse than the

one above supposed. It is known to all lawyers that the federal courts have jurisdiction of such cases where the parties are citizens of different states. It is also known that the federal courts often go by the laws of the state in which the suit is brought or the injury sustained, and that it sometimes happens that the same federal judge holds court in two or more adjoining states. Now suppose an injury has been done and suit is brought for damages in the federal court of such a judge, in a state where the state law allowed a recovery for the particular kind of negligence of which Smith, the plaintiff in that case, complains. Smith gets his judgment for $10,000 damages, and goes home satisfied and praising the law and the just judge who administered it. Then suppose that on the very next train from the East comes his neighbor, Jones, and he meets with exactly the same injury by the same sort of negligence of the same railroad company, but his injury was received a few feet across the line of another state. He brings suit before the same federal judge in the adjoining state, where there may be no statute authorizing him to recover; and the same judge who gave Smith a $10,000 judgment turns Jones out of court because the statutes of the two states on the subject are not alike.

The same line of remark will apply, in a degree at least, to a large number of other business transactions in which the people all have similar interests in common with each other, especially in the general laws governing the making and recording of wills, deeds, and mortgages, and assignments for the benefit of creditors, and the creation of trusts. What a grand consummation it would be for the business world if there could be brought about by the free action of all the states such a uniform system of statutes on these subjects, in all the states, that a deed or will or mortgage or other recordable instrument that was valid in Dakota would be equally valid and enforcible in Connecticut and Florida; and what an achievement for enlightened justice and progress would be attained, now that the whole human family have, in a degree, become bankers and brokers, and dealers in railroad, bank, and municipal bonds and corporate stocks, if the same uniformity of laws could be obtained govern-

ing all these transactions, so that all bonds, stocks, and securities that were genuine and valid as to all the forms of law in one state would be equally valid and enforcible wherever found in all the states. What I here desire to suggest is that there may, in certain cases, under the diversified and contradictory laws of different states, be doubts as to the validity, while if the laws of all the states were harmonious on all these subjects, and this was known from one end of the Union to the other, the poor widow who is only able to purchase one bond or one share of stock as an investment of her pittance, would rest as easy and sleep as well as the millionaire who has had time and opportunity to examine the entire statutes of all the states before purchasing his blocks of bonds and stocks to lay away in his strong vaults for after years.

How can such a herculean task as harmonizing the general laws in the states be accomplished? The answer is, go at it in a business-like way. Acknowledge the absolute sovereignty of the states. Convince them that Congress does not claim authority to interfere in any way with their right to pass and enforce such laws as the states think proper. But show them, at the same time, the great good to all the people that would result from a uniform system of laws on these leading subjects. Appoint good and enlightened men to conduct so important an enterprise; men who believe that such a result is desirable, and that it ought to be and can be accomplished; not in one year, and perhaps not in ten; but that it may be reached at least by the time this government has sixty states and 300,000,000 people. Then let the commissioners go to work as though they were engaged in getting donated to them the right of way to build a trunk-line railroad from Boston to San Francisco, or a telegraph and telephone line from Duluth to St. Augustine, and the people will not be slow in seeing that the whole thing is but a praiseworthy effort on the part of the general government to comply with and discharge that high duty so long resting on Congress, to provide, in a practical way, for "the general welfare" of all the people of all the states of the Union. Commissions expire, and men die, but their good work, properly be-

gun and set in motion for the common good, lives after them; and while it may be true that the closing years of the present century will not witness the entire accomplishment of all the high purposes in view, is it not within the bounds of reasonable expectation to hope that in coming years not only our own people but the inhabitants of all civilized nations will have reason to rise up and bless the Congress of this great republic for making it possible for fifty or sixty sovereign states to dwell together and prosper under such a uniform system of general state laws?

JOHN L. SCOTT.

THE PROBLEMS OF CHARITY.*

BY HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

WISDOM, guided from on high, seeks the noblest ambitions of life, while the energies of devoted workers in all the paths of charity feel the need of wisdom. Only an alliance of these two forces can aid each to fulfill its amplest functions. Both must be united to grapple with the stupendous tasks of modern social life, especially in great cities.

Let charity know its divine birth and certain heritage, that its influence is supreme not so much when it issues commands as when it whispers in the still, small voice. Slowly, beautifully, it grows conscious of its great heritage to be one of the ruling forces of the world.

The foolish and fatal division of the affairs of life between business and charity is breaking down. Charity summons business to its aid, fully aware of its own limitations. Business in its Protean shapes may thus far have almost monopolized the action of the world, but in its visions it sees that, when self-limited and seeking only its own ends, it is blighted.

Here is a single illustration of this thought. What formula states the claim of pure business better than this, "to charge all that the traffic will bear"? Devised by railroads, will not this formula of unlimited avarice apply elsewhere as well? What else governs the price of wheat, cotton, or hides, silks, laces, or bonnets?

Let me answer what else, if only in a small way as yet, may influence the price of money in loans to workingmen.

Ten years ago a carpenter came to me in sharp distress. He had borrowed one hundred dollars on chattel mortgage of all his furniture, even beds, chairs, table, carpets, and all he had—he a married man with wife and four little children. He had been

* From an address before the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

forced to pay and had paid eight per cent a month in advance, and this had gone on for two years and more. So he had really paid off the loan twice over in justice. Then he fell sick, could not work, and the shark was threatening to seize and carry away his furniture, and leave him and his family naked on the world. I said to myself: This is murder. If I live, I will do what I can to stop this thing in Boston.

Not long afterward, after an experiment of seven months, a charter was obtained for the Workingmen's Loan Association in February, 1888, to lend money on chattel mortgage or pawn; and capital was raised. The work rapidly grew and prospered, and proved its usefulness. $123,000 is now loaned out to working people on 1,774 loans. 1,305 loans were made last year. Repayments come in rapidly, $113,000 being repaid, and $119,000 reloaned in twelve months. The evils of this sad system of usury are already sensibly lessened in Boston. Secret enemies sought to create false and foolish fears that losses would be dangerously large. Happily, it turns out that the mass of men are honest. A few losses occur each year, less than one per cent of the sum loaned.

Another marvelous item is that losses by fire are insignificant, a small "risk fund" to protect the company against fire loss, on loans of $100 or less, being found to result almost wholly in net profit.

What now is the rate of interest on all these loans? A uniform rate of one per cent a month. Some friends feared it would not pay. Others condemned it as too high. Both fears proved unfounded. The result is a net dividend on capital of six per cent after all expenses of salaries of treasurer and staff, rent, taxes, losses, and all other sundries have been paid—surely, a full and just return for capital, especially as a small surplus steadily grows as a reserve against possible risk and future loss.

Now comes the supreme question which I ask myself and you and business men. Is this rate of interest, one per cent a month, showing such results, fixed too high or too low, or fixed right? Why not yield to greed, and ask twice the rate, netting twenty per cent dividend instead of six per cent, as other expenses might

not increase? Or, again, why not do the whole business as a charity? Between avarice on the one hand and charity on the other, is there not the true principle of Christian business?

My judgment is that this is the solid rock on which the best growth of future business must stand. Here only can the world find and deserve enduring prosperity; peace instead of war between capital and labor; peace instead of war between the thousands of millions of railroad capital and the millions of farmers, beguiled into bitter hostility as grangers by what they believed to be the greed of the common carriers; peace instead of war between labor unions and great corporations.

Workingmen's loan associations ought to be extended widely. May I define man as the only created being which obtains credit? Men of business are relatively few; but they get credit in vast sums. Plain folk are the bulk of mankind; and, though the credits they need are each small, the number of credits is infinite. Hence the tremendous influence on human welfare of a good or a bad system of credit. Cruel usury is the curse of India, grinding down millions of her people. It was and is a terrible evil in our southern country, making it almost seem as if the end of labor was only to swell the coffers of money-lenders. Every city and, if not every town, at least every county, needs an adequate, humane system of money-lending in small sums on safe security to plain people at just rates of interest, not as a charity, but as a Christian business.

In response to an inquiry addressed to some sixty persons, asking what results had sprung from their applying for files of the reports of the Workingmen's Loan Association of Boston,* I learn of three or four similar corporations.

1. The excellent movement in New York, organized by Rev. David H. Greer, D.D., the Loan Bureau with a capital recently raised from $30,000 to $45,000 for lending on chattel mortgages.

2. The Provident Loan Society of New York, with a capital of $100,000 for lending on pledge, of which Robert W. De Forest is president.

*The Boston system is fully described in a pamphlet entitled "Origin and System of the Workingmen's Loan Association," presented to the International Congress of Charities at Chicago in 1893.

3. Providence has just started a corporation with a small capital of $10,000, to be raised to $50,000.

Civilization seems to me to deserve severe indictment when it devotes its brains to building up banks of England, France, and Germany, our own banking system, and all the admirable facilities for business men to obtain instantly and easily credit almost *carte blanche*, and rests in supreme apathy while the millions of plain people suffer under a system of cruel neglect and outrage, which either provides no credit for their casual necessities, or where the results of credit are distress, wrong, torture, ruin, impoverishment, discouragement, and pauperism.

Is not charity exerting a yet wider range of sweeter and more pervasive influence by the creation of a certain atmosphere? Even where divisions of profits are not open to change, she has a counsel gentle yet potent to whisper in the ear of angry disputants. If bitter words create bad blood, who can foresee how things would mend if charity could teach both sides in a business struggle to deal with mutual respect, and eschew that angry scorn which often creates and always imbitters the dispute?

This is no childish dream. Charity and solid sense unite to condemn the unutterable folly of present American methods of bitter, wordy war. England is a score of years ahead of America. Self-restraint of speech obviates half the evils of labor conflicts, and enables an early settlement to restore, not merely peace, but sincere good-will. Distinguish between the assumed necessities of business and the manner in which they are urged. Terrible examples are fresh in all our memories. The bloody Chicago strike burst into flame, not so much because bad times did not allow the Pullman Company to pay a better wage as because a curt reply of "nothing to arbitrate" inflamed anger. A few hours of considerate discussion would have spared that city and the land the shame and loss and woe of all that tragedy of business and of life.

Is not the same true of the electric railway strike at Brooklyn, deranging the business of that great city a whole month at a vast loss to all concerned? True also of the Haverhill shoe strike of last winter?

Do not let me seem to exaggerate. Of course, I do not mean that labor disputes would not occur if sweet counsels of charity were heard. What I do mean is—and who will be so hardy as to deny—that an increasing share of labor wars can be escaped if the kindly, persuasive influence of considerate charity tempers controversies from long before they begin till long after they end.

The sweetest and most potent word spoken in 1895 was that word "pleasure" in the voluntary notice of the Carnegie Company that they had the *pleasure* of raising the wages of their help.

Take another illustration from the reformatories of Concord, Sherborn, or Elmira. Does not a large part of their influence for good come from a prevailing atmosphere of healthy hope and expected reformation, just as the malignant effect of bad prisons grows out of the opposite atmosphere of brutal defiance?

The struggle between altruism and pure self-seeking is so far settled that the best thought of to-day admits and knows that personal service is the corner-stone of the world's progress and a necessary part of inevitable evolution. Personal service underlies God's universe. Personal service brought our Savior to his mission and sacrifice for men. Kidd's "Social Evolution" has stimulated this most exalted movement of our times, shaping thought into conscious definite shape of noblest altruism. We know now better than ever before that the cause we serve summons, not in feeble tones of dubious supplication, but as with a voice from Sinai, our noblest sons and most consecrated daughters to the most glorious tasks and cares of life, personal service for every suffering need.

The responsibilities of wealth, what are they? What question just now burns more keenly in the minds and hearts of the rich and of all thoughtful persons? What bright vista, sparkling with sunshine, opens on the eyes of to-day and the imagination of the future? Attacks of envy, ignorance, or anarchy, or even of unjust law, only hinder the world's advance. Slowly, but surely, the thought of the world learns that wealth of gold, or faculties, or character, is not a selfish possession, but is charged with splendid trusts. Coöperation was born at Bethlehem, if not before, and was clinched on Calvary.

Let me indulge in a paradox, and proclaim the impotence of mere philanthropy. Is not Miss Dudley, the head of the Denison House College Settlement in Boston, right when she asserts, as a result of her experience, that the working classes "cannot be helped fundamentally or primarily by charity or philanthropy, but by coöperation with them in directions which they themselves think will aid them"?

I am a socialist; but I insist on my right to define this word wisely, not in an exaggerated or extreme sense, surely not with any gross materialistic meaning. Is not its noblest meaning that the strength of the strong and the wisdom of the wise must by the laws of nature and of nature's God be used to help the weak and the foolish? Social progress and the glories of great cities are superb. But the struggle up leaves a submerged tenth.

Socialism to me means that the mighty powers of the state, the city, and of social organization shall be judiciously and nobly used to help the submerged tenth up into fuller life, and also to give justice in full measure and equal opportunities to rise to the solid ranks of worthy working men and women, who are the great proportion of our population, and are the strength and hope and glory of the new civilization. Socialism means that the forces of society shall unite and delight to remove hard and unjust conditions, and give just opportunities of life to all men.

Who also will not say with me, I am an individualist, conscious of an inexorable law of his being? Only in just union of these two not inconsistent forces, one making for social union, the other for individual life, can the units of the social organism attain their full glory.

Think of a few of the unsolved problems in charity. Unemployment, first and chiefest source of many other woes, rises in our country, a vast, unwelcome specter. Who knows how to treat it best in years of especial depression? By labor or gratuitous relief?

New York, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Boston, Lynn, invented work at low wages. Dr. Stanton Coit says no more food, clothing, and coal should have been distributed in New York than in

ordinary years, preferring relief by work. Yet C. S. Loch, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of London, condemns relief by special work, and strongly favors reliance on the usual methods of poor-law relief or charity.

Whence this difference of judgment? Is it because in London unemployment has grown chronic, and chronic relief-works would only aggravate the evils, while in the United States it is not and ought not to be chronic, and can be far more judiciously treated as a temporary problem?

Who that has thought and observed is not profoundly perplexed when he finds results just the opposite of what were hoped; that relief, given in love, begets a degenerate craving for more; that "shelters" in cities gather crowds of vagrants, where cheap rates tempt them to live in prolonged and increasing degradation, begging easily from a half-educated public the meager means for this wretched life?

Single-taxers and radical socialists each are sure their own remedy will work and that of their opponents fail. The intelligent community sees no possibility that either remedy can come or would prove efficacious. Does not the magnitude of this problem of the unemployed in its varied phases deserve anxious study of ablest statesmen? Surely, then, of charity at its best.

Tramps also offer a problem as yet unsolved. Present evils are flagrant and admitted. I can think of no remedy but a reasonable stent of well-devised work ready for their hand in every city and town across the land, so that they may not be forced to steal or beg, and the charm of their free and easy life may be somewhat abated.

The wage question of poorly paid male labor in large cities, and especially of working girls, is also unsolved. Can we wonder at their war-cry, "Justice, not charity," when we know as well as they do that four or five dollars a week will not give a shop-girl fit food, raiment, and bed, and we, as well as they, observe health fading and virtue yielding? Can we wonder that labor leaders refuse in their wrath to be satisfied when, out of the big gains men make in business by hiring girls at low wages, their wives devote trifles for convalescent hospitals or midnight

missions for the victims of such a system? Salves for sin and suffering will no longer suffice. The complex problem of wages and population in great cities challenges supreme wisdom, energy, and devotion. Must not charity accept the challenge?

Two other things I rank among unsolved problems, the liquor nuisance and foul homes. We know well enough what ought to be done: these nuisances should be abated. But we do not yet know how to secure these results. Our large cities are almost apathetic about the evils of groggeries, perhaps in despair.

The unsolved problems of charity, numerous, momentous, prolific, challenge the soul of every country and age. Here are tasks and careers worthy of our best men and women in utter devotion.

Ought not somewhere in the United States a central bureau to be established to gather, digest, edit, and, if need be, translate, valuable publications, and on some simple, judicious scheme disseminate selected portions widely through the cities which are eager for sound data, but lack facilities as yet where workers in charity can learn the results of the action, experiment, or thought of other cities or writers?

The red heat of labor leaders; their wrath at ineffectual charity; the recognized relation of the wage problem to social progress and virtue; the rising tide of indignation at the failure of prison discipline; alarm at the gathering masses of degraded criminal pauper life; the stupendous problem of unemployment, aggravated by the commingling of genuine searchers for work with idle loafers at cheap shelters; trained tramps and feeble-minded offspring of wretched parentage; the rising wrath of the people at the foul and cruel conditions of slum life, increased by the belief that the degraded population living and growing up in such unfit homes not merely adds to the cost of all our institutions, but depresses the whole rate of wages by the competition of wretched and poorly paid labor—these are tremendous problems. Mark well the intense interest in them more widely felt each year. Will not future history, looking back over the ages, declare that in these last decades of the nineteenth

century occurred a revolution not wholly unlike, and even surpassing in its benignant influence on the welfare of man, the great revolutions of the seventeenth century in England or the American and French revolutions of a century ago? England shook herself free from the rule of royal despots. America asserted to the world the inherent right of popular independence. France broke in blood the shackles of popular servitude.

The revolution of which our century is not yet conscious means not so much that labor shall be free and workmen honored as that *noblesse oblige*—that the rich, the happy, the cultured, are put under a moral servitude to every form of distress, only to be likened reverently to that which obliged the Creator of the world to send his Son to minister to man.

The glory of life—whence comes it, if not out of what is intensely loved, sought for, fought for, if need be, died for?

Our Revolution gave us immortal patriots. Slavery fired the lips of Whittier with impassioned verse, goaded John Brown to die with words not unlike those of Socrates, and inspired Lincoln to speak the divinest words ever uttered on this continent. Is the age of poetry dead? Have pulpits lost their power? Is there nothing that men care for supremely? Has our age lost that Promethean fire of intensity, source of exalted thought, inspired speech, heroic life? Who dares to enter a university city, and talk such folly? Not I, for one. Yet I will not deceive myself, nor you, nor ingenuous youth. The danger is terrible, not so much to the world as to the upper classes, to educated men.

Nil admirari is death, moral, spiritual, potential death. For college men it is abdication. If they halt or stammer or play, other men in dead earnest will take the lead, and win the game, and wear the laurel. The most powerful speech in recent years in old Faneuil Hall in Boston came from the lips of John Burns, the great labor leader of London, a few months ago. The uplift of workingmen in England, their deep interest in honest municipal government and in labor reforms—these subjects made Burns an apostle of power as he spoke, red-hot with fervid devotion to a great cause.

Not in jealousy, but in noble emulation, Yale and Harvard and Columbia, and all the rest, must send their men into the contest for the leadership of the world, not merely with broad and solid foundation of knowledge, not merely with thorough special training in sociologic problems, but, more than all else, with a fiery enthusiasm of human sympathy. Never more than to-day did the world cry out for great leaders—whence shall they come? From the ranks of the people, or from schools and colleges? From the bench of hard toil or the desk of study?

God grant that both may unite in cordial co-work, in hearty mutual respect, in noble rivalry, that union may bring strength equal to the tremendous tasks, which are almost infinite, when men are conscious of the duties growing out of the brotherhood of man.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

INDIANA: *Greencastle.*—A Good Citizens' League was organized January 22. Officers: Dr. Jenkins, president; A. H. Morris, vice-president; M. L. Daggy, secretary; Dr. Poucher, treasurer.

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INDIANA: *Shelbyville.*—Attempts to enforce the liquor laws have resulted in violence on the part of saloon keepers, and the incensed citizens are proposing the organization of a league. This city of 7,000 inhabitants has only one police officer for the enforcement of its laws, and its council is reported by the *Indianapolis Journal* as refusing to provide him with needed assistance. Meanwhile the rule of rum is complete.

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INDIANA: *Indianapolis.*—The State League of Good Citizenship organizations met in this city January 15, with a large attendance, more than five hundred coming from other cities and towns. The purpose of the meeting was to give increased momentum to the work of civic reform. Addresses were made by members of the Institute of Civics as follows: Rev. R. V. Hunter, Terre Haute, President Stott of Franklin College, President J. J. Mills of Earlham College, President Morton and Prof. Vayhinger of Morris Hill College, and James A. Woodburn of Indiana University. Among the speakers were President Nicholson, Hon. E. B. Reynolds of Hagerstown, Dr. T. S. Burroughs of Wabash College, and Homer Burr of Newcastle.

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INDIANA: *Jeffersonville.*—The Good Citizen's League has filed charges against one of the police commissioners for violation of the excise laws.

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PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—The reform section of the Society for Ethical Culture has issued, at the hands of Ella Reeve Ware, secretary (Colwyn, Pa.), a program of action in which it expresses the belief that the working people should be free in fact, as they are in law, to associate for the improvement of their economic condition, and pledges the best efforts of its members to encourage and assist them in efforts to promote the members of such organizations in the interests of social progress and advancing civilization. One of the statements of the excellent program is as follows:

"We believe that municipal politics is the art of securing the welfare of local communities, and that national politics is the art of securing the welfare of the country as a whole, and we protest against the confusion of municipal and national issues in local elections. We pledge ourselves to assist by every means in our power the effort to separate municipal from national politics, and to secure attention to municipal issues in local contests."

The chairman of the society is Jacob Lychenheim.

The Civic Club is forcibly urging the election of women as members of the school board, and cites the excellent results which have followed such action in New York and other cities.

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NEW YORK: *Syracuse.*—A large number of the progressive men in the ranks of labor have organized a "Workingmen's Economic Club," corresponding to those already organized under the direction of Henry D. Lloyd in Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo. The *Syracuse Herald* remarks:

"In our opinion this phenomenon—the intellectual advance of the organized workingmen—is one of the most remarkable and encouraging facts of the end of the century. For one thing it means a continuation of the democratic principle in government and its application to a degree never yet realized in this country, and scarcely dreamed of by the complacent host who are constitutionally unable to believe that radical changes in society are possible, despite the very palpable fact that the history of the world is a history of social changes."

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NEW YORK: *Rochester.*—*The Herald*, referring to the reform mayor, Judge Warner, as having introduced a new era in municipal government, says: "For this blessing the inhabitants are deeply grateful, and if the mayor continues to the end of his term to pursue the course that has characterized his official life during the past few days, he will have established a reputation that no other mayor ever secured."

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NEW YORK: *Buffalo.*—At a citizens' mass meeting at the German Y. M. C. A. Hall, January 23, Mr. Adam and Mr. Ferguson of the city council delivered addresses on the duties of citizens in the matter of municipal good government. . . . The Municipal Ownership League is putting forth strenuous efforts to prevent the granting of any further franchises to private corporations. J. N. Adam is its president, and among its most active members are M. S. Burns, Lewis Stockton, and Frank C. Ferguson. It has invited Mayor Pingree of Detroit to address a mass meeting of Buffalo citizens on the subject of street car systems in large cities.

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TEXAS: *Galveston.*—The Good Government League, believing that the interests of the city imperatively demand non-partisan control in municipal affairs, has decided to present candidates for city offices of its own selection. Norman G. Kittrell is president, and W. B. Jones, E.

J. Peitzker, T. W. House, E. P. Hamilton, W. D. Cleveland, Geo. H. Breaker, Rev. B. A. Rogers, E. S. Hiesig, B. P. Bailey, E. W. Taylor, H. T. Roberts, James Freeman, H. C. Gleiss, E. B. Rood, A. T. Goodrich, and Rev. J. C. Mason, are among the prominent members of the league.

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MASSACHUSETTS: *Boston.*—The annual dinner of the Municipal League was a notable occasion. Hon. S. B. Capen (A. I. C.), president of the league, in his opening remarks referred to the organization as non-partisan and non-sectarian, and as not intended to give preference to any existing municipal party nor to create a new municipal party, but it is to promote through all channels of wholesome influence better methods, the election of better men, and the pursuit of loftier aims in municipal action and ambition.

Mr. C. R. Woodruff (A. I. C.), of Philadelphia, secretary of the National Municipal League, and Hon. W. D. Foulke (A. I. C.), of Richmond, Ind., were the chief speakers at the banquet.

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WASHINGTON.—A law was passed by the legislature last year instructing the state board of education to prescribe a uniform course of instruction in the state public schools. Preparatory to compliance with the new law, representatives of the State University, normal colleges, and Agricultural College, recently met with the board of education for consultation, in Seattle. It is encouraging to note the fact that civics was specifically included among the important branches entitled to attention in all schools.

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CALIFORNIA: *Los Angeles.*—*The Investor* of that city calls for the organization of a Good Government Club which shall devote itself to the correction of civic evils in that city.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS. WAS born of the thought, and intended to realize the aims, of Washington. Its founders, trustees, and supporters have included such men as Chief Justice Waite, and Justices S. F. Miller, L. Q. C. Lamar, and William Strong of the U. S. Supreme Court; Theodore Woolsey, Noah Porter, F. A. P. Barnard, Mark Hopkins, and Julius H. Seelye among educators; and such other distinguished Americans as U. S. Grant, William Fitzhugh Lee, Robert C. Winthrop, Hugh McCulloch, Theodore W. Dwight, John Jay Knox, Orlando B. Potter, A. H. Colquitt, George Bancroft, Hannibal Hamlin, John Jay, Right Rev. William I. Kip, David Swing, and Phillips Brooks. Its living directors and supporters include citizens of the same high character, representing all sections of the country, and all parties, creeds, and callings.

Inaugurated and conducted under such auspices, it has for ten years, with increasing usefulness, fulfilled its mission as a means for the safeguarding of American institutions.

PERILOUS CONDITIONS.—The dangers resulting from failures in the discharge of citizenship duties which were foreseen by Washington are present realities. His words of prophetic warning fitly describe existing conditions:

"A small but artful and enterprising minority of the community," and "combinations or associations . . . become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men . . . subvert the power of the people, and . . . usurp for themselves the reigns of government."* The fact has been demonstrated that in the absence or failure of the energies especially intended to inspire, direct, and give power to the forces of civic virtue, sordid and mean ambitions will more or less supplant the spirit of true patriotism; interests of the greatest concern to citizens everywhere will cease to command the sufficient attention of citizens anywhere; and opportunity will be afforded for the success of corrupt political cabals, and the prostitution of free government "under the impostures of pretended patriotism."†

Political conditions, past and present, clearly justify the views of Washington‡ as to the need of a central source of salutary influences, in the form of a national institution wholly devoted to a propaganda of the principles and ideas comprehensively described by the first president of the republic, as "the fundamental maxims of true liberty."‖ To meet this need—which was the chief purpose of Washington's labors and bequests for the establishment of a national university—is the sole object of the American Institute of Civics.

WHAT THE INSTITUTE IS.—It is a national, popular, and permanent institution, chartered under the laws of Congress, with provisions intended to make its activities self-perpetuating. Its only object is to voice the ideas, inspire the spirit, and give force to the principles which must have ascendancy in affairs of citizenship and government in order to the safety and success of American institutions.

While national military establishments at West Point and Annapolis train a few citizens for leadership in times of war, it is the aim of this national civil institution, with patriotic insistency, to promote everywhere that special training of all citizens which shall qualify them for the highest service of country at all times.

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* Farewell Address.

† Farewell Address.

‡ While Washington's proposal for the establishment of a national university contemplated an institution devoted to learning in all its branches, his chief object was the provision of means which should contribute "to the security of a free constitution . . . by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasion of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; . . . to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness; . . . uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments with an inviolable respect for laws." (Address to Congress, Jan. 8, 1790.) Again he says: "A primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the guardians of the future liberties of the country!" (Eighth annual message, Dec. 7, 1796.) To this the Senate unanimously replied in an address to Washington, Dec. 10, 1796, approving the idea of such an institution on the express ground of its advantage to "the science of legislation."

‖ Farewell Address.

Believing that the ends sought are to be accomplished not so much by the creation of new agencies as by giving inspiration and energy to those already existing, the Institute has been a most useful factor in establishing the solidarity and increasing the power of the influences which represent civic virtue and true patriotism. Among the agencies which it has brought into helpful coöperation are public schools, colleges, and other institutions of learning; the public press, secular and religious; the pulpit, the platform, and popular local organizations.

THE INSTITUTE'S EFFICIENCIES.—The affairs of the Institute are directed by a governing Board of Trustees and an Advisory Faculty, in whose membership are distinguished American statesmen, jurists, publicists, and educators, representing all sections, parties, and creeds. It has

FACULTY ASSOCIATES, who seek to realize its aims as members of faculties in more than two hundred and fifty universities, colleges, and professional schools.

A NATIONAL CORPS OF LECTURERS, with two hundred and thirty-five members, who possess the highest qualifications for useful service.

A CORPS OF LOCAL SUPERVISORS (National Committee of Councilors), coöperating in its plans of work in nearly four hundred important cities and towns.

AUXILIARY OR AFFILIATED CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS; local organizations of Institute councilors; and clubs connected with its Extension Department, in communities in the different states.

A NATIONAL BODY OF COUNCILORS, composed of about two thousand five hundred influential citizens, upon whose willing and sufficient coöperation the Institute depends for the extension of its activities in localities throughout the country; and for the maintenance and success of its work generally.

THE INSTITUTE'S DEPARTMENTS.—To give method to the Institute's activities, it has departments, each under the supervision of a secretary, as follows:

I. Department for the Extension of Information and Activities Promotive of Good Citizenship, through lectures, discussions, studies, etc., in coöperation with schools, lyceums, civic associations, labor organizations, and Institute clubs, as the result of special efforts, and under the supervision of councilors, in the communities where they reside. An ably conducted non-partisan periodical of national circulation, devoted to the weekly presentation of the leading opinions of the press on all important current topics—*Public Opinion*, whose offices are in New York—under the head of "Civics" devotes several columns of every issue to original articles of high merit, calculated to promote the Institute's objects and the success of its local organizations.

II. Department of Educational Institutions, in which highly successful efforts have been made to realize the Institute's objects in cooperation with officers of public instruction, teachers in public schools, and instructors in higher institutions of learning.

III. Publication Department. The Institute here seeks the cooperation of the press generally, and its official organ, THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, presents monthly one hundred and twenty-five pages devoted to the able, popular, and impartial discussion of important questions relating to government, citizenship, and social order. Through this department there has thus far been distributed the equivalent of more than eighteen millions pages of octavo matter promotive of the Institute's aims.

IV. Department of Legislation, in which the Institute's councilors and citizens generally in the different states coöperate for the promotion of legislation calculated to secure the proper administration of public affairs, to protect and elevate the suffrage, and to conserve the best interests of the citizen and the state in other respects.

V. Christian Citizenship Department, through which efforts are made to properly and efficiently enlist the great body of citizens who profess to be governed by the highest concepts of duty, in practical labors for the establishment of wise, just, and salutary civic and social conditions.

THE INSTITUTE'S SUPPORT.—Will not come from citizens of merely negative virtue or from the political schemers who make traffic of the gifts of liberty. Its sole dependence is upon the free-will services, and voluntary offerings of citizens animated by the spirit of Washington; citizens who believe that formation, in matters relating to civic virtue and civic fidelity, is better than re-formation; that the maintenance of pure and healthful conditions in the body politic is more to be desired than uncertain struggles with the elements of corruption; that to keep the inheritance of freedom secure is better than to battle for its rescue from the hands of despoilers.

MEMBERSHIP AND ITS OBLIGATIONS.—With the commencement of its second decade, the Institute desires to enlarge its power for usefulness by enlisting the coöperation of a larger number of citizens as members of its National Body of Councilors.

The members of this body are expected, as they have opportunity, to contribute in some degree to the accomplishment of the ends sought by the Institute. From them it receives its vitality. They are asked to share in an undertaking which tests the character of citizenship by offering no rewards for services. The Institute has no paid officers and for the conduct of its work depends solely upon the free-will services and free-will gifts of its members. Their united activities enable it, as an object lesson in patriotism, to present, in itself, the strongest possible appeal to the spirit of true Americanism which it seeks to kindle.

The most important and useful period of the Institute's work is just before it. Results of past labors are ready for reaping, and opportunities for larger usefulness must be met. For the financial support of the Institute the trustees invite voluntary annual payments. Any member paying three dollars or more is entitled to receive all of the Institute's

official publications, including THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, without further cost.

The trustees invite councilors and other citizens in sympathy with the Institute's objects to contribute to its maintenance by gifts of from five to fifty dollars to its Special Decennial Fund; or where this is not possible, two dollars to its General Expense Fund, or one dollar to its Extension Fund.

The degree of responsibility assumed by councilors in the matter of coöperation, financially and otherwise, is left to the decision of the individual, and will be determined by abilities and opportunities, and in accordance with the disposition of each to recognize the truth that *the unselfish labors for our benefit of the patriots who have gone before us lay upon us a great debt which we can hope to discharge only by similar labors for the benefit of those who live in our day, and those who shall live after us.*

Citizens who desire to coöperate in the work of the Institute, or who desire further information as to its activities, are invited to address, American Institute of Civics, Henry Randall Waite, President, 38 Park Row, New York City.

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A. I. C. MEMBERS. LECTURERS: *The Citizen*, organ of the University Extension Society, announces as lecturers in the department of civics the following councilors of the Institute: Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., Princeton College, "Democracy" and "Constitutional Government of the United States"; Jeremiah W. Jenks, Ph. D., Cornell University, "Politics in the Modern Democracy"; Henry Carter Adams, Ph. D., Michigan University, "Relation of the State to Industrial Society"; Edmund J. James, Ph. D., University of Chicago, "The American Citizen: His Privileges and Immunities"; E. R. L. Gould, University of Chicago, "Social Problems of Cities"; Edward Everett Hale, D.D., Boston, "Social Reform" and "Personal Reminiscences."

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HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, A.I.C., of Richmond, Ind., at the Municipal League banquet in Boston, January 21, delivered an address on "Proportional Representation," which the *Boston Daily Advertiser* speaks of as an "intellectual and moral treat." Mr. Foulke is president of the American Proportional Representation League, to which he devotes the same energy, ability, and single-mindedness that for many years have made his labors for civil service reform a power in the land, a power for wisdom and for righteousness.

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ALBERT A. BIRD, Ph. D., A. I. C. staff lecturer in civics of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching, has prepared a most interesting and suggestive syllabus of his course of six lectures on "Municipal Government in Philadelphia." A copy can be obtained by sending ten cents to the offices of the society, 111 South Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia.

GEORGE A. RITTER, A. I. C., Nauvoo, Ill., notes the fact that the last published reports of the New York Police Department for a full year show that 22,000 men and 8,000 women were arrested for drunkenness, and that its saloons are sufficient in number to make a solid row thirty-five miles in length. He asks, "Cannot New York control and regulate the infamous traffic?"

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PROF. RICHARD T. ELY, A.I.C., of the University of Wisconsin, has just completed the manuscript of a new book to be entitled, "The Social Law of Service."

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DR. E. R. L. GOULD, A. I. C., in a lecture before the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia on the "Problems of the Unemployed," remarked that:

"The majority are tramps, but there is a very large contingent of homeless people in search of work. These two classes have been cruelly confounded and all treated indiscriminately to the police station lodging and the beggar's dole.

"No wonder that the army of tramps keeps growing when honest but penniless and homeless young men are condemned to such vile nocturnal association, and in the daytime to a necessary sacrifice of self-respect. The proper method is to open friendly inns and wayfarers' lodges, where a good bath, a clean bed, and a wholesome supper and breakfast may be had in exchange for work. The city government should aid private philanthropy in the support of such institutions. Citizens can greatly help, also, by purchasing the wood sawed. Police stations should be closed to tramp lodgers.

"The work test differentiates the worthy man from the fraud, nothing being so unpalatable to the professionally homeless class as work. If such a policy were universally adopted we should not long be bothered with a tramp question."

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DR. LEWIS G. JANES, A. I. C., lectured before the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Institute, February 1, on "Social Evolution," giving special attention to the individual. "First of all," he said, "as a final object of all social effort, we have to do with the individual; with his physical nature and its needs, his physical constitution, his moral sensibilities, and his social or anti-social impulses. It is the character of the individual man or woman which, in the main, affects and is to be affected by all social changes. For the individual man society exists. If he could develop greater fullness of life and assure to himself greater subjective satisfaction in a life of isolation, society would have no *raison d'être*. The individual is the cell, the social unit, out of which all societies grow. His are the rights, his the responsibilities, his the enjoyment or suffering consequent upon the performance of all social functions."

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MRS. LUCIA EAMES BLOUNT, A. I. C., of Washington, expresses her great pleasure in learning of the election of Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood as a

member of the Institute's Board of Trustees, and of the intention to give other women a place on the board. "I am certain," she says, "that you will find the move a good one and that you will never regret taking this advance step. While the majority of women do not care to take responsible positions (in *any work* perhaps) and certainly never think of the incongruity of being asked to do much of the work managed by men, while their voice is never heard in the councils, yet there *are* women, and the number is increasing rapidly, who feel that the world's *best* work will never be done until the plans are thought out and put in practice by men and women working together with equal voice and authority. 'Then will come the statelier Eden back to men.'"

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HON. JONATHAN A. LOVE, A. I. C., Boston, recently addressed the Commercial Club of that city on "Reforms in Methods of Taxation," taking the ground that each city and town should be permitted to attend to its personal property taxes. Hon. Richard H. Dana, A. I. C., followed in remarks indorsing this view. The addresses are reported in full in the *Boston Journal* of January 19.

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CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, of the Board of Trustees of the A. I. C., and secretary of the National Municipal League, was one of the speakers before the two hundred members of the Patria Club of New York (organized by members of the Institute) at its last meeting, and at the Municipal League dinner in Boston, January 21.

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THE INSTITUTE'S GOOD WORK.

"I HAVE a very high appreciation of your institution and am very glad to be associated with you in the good work. I make it the subject of lectures to my classes."—*Rev. R. B. Fairbairn, President St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y.*

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"I SINCERELY coöperate with you in the noble and patriotic work of the Institute and hope that the New Year will bring us great returns."—*Roland Woodward, Jacksonville, Fla.*

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"THE Institute has been and is doing a grand work. Its leaven will work on and on, bearing good results."—*Col. William I. Martin, New York.*

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A. I. C. COUNCIL TABLE.

BAD LAWS AND BAD CITIZENSHIP.—"The surest way to do away with a bad law is to enforce it, and the surest way to get a good law is to let it be seen by the people that it is needed. The way to have law respected is to stand by it, and when people have a wholesome respect for law, they are apt to be of such a character that they can and will secure good laws."

THE mayor of Chattanooga, Tenn., says that "the misfortune in our cities is the bad citizenship of good citizens." The sentence has been criticised, and is open to criticism, but no one need be in doubt as to its meaning or truth.

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OUR best citizens fail in their duty by not attending the primaries or "caucus meetings," and thus when "boodle" aldermen and corrupt members are elected to our legislatures by "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," the good citizen has double labor to perform in undoing the work of bad officials or bad laws.—*Geo. Alex. Ritter, A. I. C.*

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LAW VS. LAWLESSNESS IN COMPETITION.—"Competition," says Prof. George D. Herron of the A. I. C. Lecture Corps, "is not law, but lawlessness. Carried to its logical outcome, it is anarchy, or the absence of law. Man is a moral, spiritual, and social being, not dominated by animal law. There can be no such thing as a harmonized society with any competitive elements in it, and Christianity is impossible. Every man owes the world his life, and must live to have a life to give. In competitive condition, not character, but cunning survives. The gospel of success is the great insanity of modern materialism, absorbing the best brain, thought, and life of the race; we have been feeding our children to this great Moloch of success, but resulting in warping the intellect and making moral idiots. We are coming to a higher evolution, in which the law of mutual service shall be the law of our life. Any attempt to build society on a competitive foundation is fundamentally anarchical.

"The idea of brotherhood has come to stay, and will not back down at the bidding of politicians, monopolists, or theologians. The years behind us are but a getting together of human materials in a divine effort of perfected humanity. Democracy must be applied to reorganizing the machinery of the world. It is no use to try to fit ideas into institutions; we must cast institutions into the mold of ideas. We don't need capital or protection from each other as much as we think, but we need to understand that we are wasting and crushing out each other's lives as long as we think that interests are conflicting, and not identical—that men are created for strife and not for service."

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CIVIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

THE ALIEN LABOR LAW.—Henry J. Warren of the Barber Asphalt Company was convicted last fall of employing an Italian laborer on a city contract in Buffalo. The conviction was secured under the laws of 1870 as amended in 1894, making it illegal for a contractor with a municipal corporation for the construction of public works to employ an alien laborer upon such works. An appeal was taken from the conviction to the general term of the Superior Court of this city. The contentions made by the appellant were that the facts stated in the

indictment did not constitute a crime; that the statute under which it was so adjudged is repugnant to the state and national constitutions and to the treaty between the United States and the king of Italy; that the state constitution provides that no member of the state shall be deprived of his liberty or property without due process of law, and that the federal constitution provides that no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, and that no state shall deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law. The appellant also submitted a quotation from the treaty with Italy which provides in substance that resident Italians in the United States shall enjoy the same rights and privileges in respect to their person and property as are secured to citizens. It was also contended that the relation of the paving company to the city was that of an independent contractor, and while engaged in the transaction of its business with the city it was entitled to the same protection as individual members of the state. Judge White's decision concludes as follows:

"The exercise of the right or power of dominion over property possessed by the state then can have no application to the personal liberty of its members. In matters of independent contract, its rights, powers, and functions in a case like the one at bar are the same as those of an individual, and therefore it cannot dictate the terms and conditions of a contract between an individual and one of its municipal corporations, which would be illegal if the contract were made directly by itself.

"If the views here expressed are sound, the statute in question seeks unlawfully to interfere with the personal liberty of the individual. I think it does, and that it is in conflict with our federal and state constitutions and the treaty of Italy as well, and until compelled by judicial authority to yield assent to such legislation as that in question here, I shall esteem it a privilege and solemn duty to stamp it with my disapproval."

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CIVICS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—Francis A. Morse (A. I. C.), principal Sherwin School of Boston, presents one of the best of recent papers on this topic in the *Boston Journal of Education*, date of January 23. Having made his own school, which is one of the best of its class in the country, a model school in the matter of wise preparation for citizenship duties, he presents the results of experience and speaks with authority. "The whole subject," he says, "is one of deep interest to all ardent supporters of our republican form of government. Too much cannot be said or written about it. To train our youth to be intelligent and patriotic citizens may well be an essential and well-defined part of the curriculum of the public schools."

With hundreds of educators of the high abilities possessed by Professor Morse coöperating in the Institute's body of councilors for the purpose of realizing similar aims, there is encouragement for the belief that the

time is not distant when public school instruction in civics will everywhere receive the adequate attention so long denied it.

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PATRIOTIC DAYS.—In the *Young Men's Era* Prof. Taylor also says of patriotic days: "Our country has too few of them to aid her in arousing, informing, and developing the patriotism of her heterogeneous citizenship. The Y. M. C. A. and all the organizations of the churches should make the most of those we have, for our American institutions and our Christian institutions have good reasons to make 'common cause.' They are as interdependent for their perpetuity and progress as they have been for their origin and form. Christian institutions in this country can no more be understood or appreciated without a sympathetic knowledge of American institutions than our political and social institutions can be without an intelligent appreciation of the history and genius of American Christianity. Our greatest difficulty both in Americanizing and Christianizing the second generation of many of our foreign populations is in the fact that they cannot understand the American churches and their type of Christianity, because they do not understand the national history and spirit, and *vice versâ*.

"May not our associations put to the very best Christian and patriotic use these great American days? Washington's birthday in February, Lincoln's also in February, Memorial Day and Labor Day in May, Flag Day in June, Independence Day in July, Thanksgiving Day in November, and Forefathers' Day in December? What religious lessons each of them has for the citizen, and with what civic interest the observance of them all invests our Christian faith—many of our widest awake associations have long demonstrated.

"A flag for every association should be our echo to the loyal demand for 'a flag for every schoolhouse.' The most matter-of-fact citizen cannot deny the inspirational effect and educational value of having an American flag flying over every schoolhouse or play ground during each daily session. The association building might become more distinctive in every town and city, as the place over which the stars and stripes are always to be seen floating. Let the brightest and biggest flag in town belong to the Young Men's Christian Association. Who will be its donor? Let it be as sure to mark the common rallying point for all the young men of the place, as the school is common ground to all the children. Let 'flag raising' be, if not the first, the greatest patriotic occasion the association has celebrated. By the best speakers and their brightest speeches, by the best songs of the best and most singers, by the best of all times let us everywhere begin to rally *the crowd* of young men. Let us make them realize as never before that true patriotism and true piety are, like the states of our Union, 'one and inseparable.' This can be done only in three ways. As the schools can be the sources of no more patriotism than their principals and teachers possess in themselves, so the secretary and leaders of the association must themselves really be patriotic in order to inspire Christian patriotism in the young men of the town. All the books or

public exercises without the personal embodiment of the subtle sentiment are of little avail. In our training schools and secretarial summer institutes, as well as in our training classes for committeemen, this essential element of preparation and power for service should receive its due educational emphasis.

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CITIZENS OF FOREIGN BIRTH.—"For the first generation of foreign-speaking young men," Prof. Taylor says, "it may be necessary to organize departments within national lines. But they should only be considered as temporary, and tributary to the one English-speaking association which should aim to comprehend all the young men of the place of every race and class. While this of course has long been the avowed national policy of the Young Men's Christian Association, yet there are not a few signs that the vital importance of the practice is not recognized as it should be in the practical work on many a local field. No more important spiritual or patriotic function and opportunity has the Young Men's Christian Association than the gathering, unifying, and assimilating of the young men of our foreign populations into the one body of our country's citizenship and that of the Kingdom of God. It ought to be one of the nation's greatest smelting-furnaces, in which all the elements of its dangerously diverse peoples should be amalgamated by the glow of piety and patriotism into one Christian body politic.

"So far only 38.4 per cent of the voters of our country are connected with any church, and but 27.7 per cent with our Protestant communions, leaving 62.3 per cent of the men of voting age without any church connection whatever.

"The mistake we are making in view of the future interests of the association as well as our country is further manifest by the fact that already in 218 of our 375 cities containing 8,000 or more people, the 'foreign element' exceeds the native. At this rate which will soon be the 'upper classes' it is not difficult to foresee. How long already have our native Americans acknowledged them in many places to be virtually the 'ruling classes' politically! However valuable the foreign elements of our population are freely admitted to be, their value to the country and the value of being here to themselves is in proportion to the readiness and completeness with which they become Americanized in the best sense. The common tendency of our immigrant peoples to colonize by themselves and remain 'alien' to our political, social, and religious commonwealth is marked. Prof. Jernberg, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, in his exceptionally fresh and interesting inaugural address entitled 'A Nation in the Loom,' strikingly states the fact which emphasizes the value of the 'Scandinavian fiber in our social fabric' by reason of the greater facility with which these sturdy Northmen are woven into the warp and woof of the American people. The object lesson they afford should stimulate every American Christian to greater effort to 'smelt' even the most 'intractible ores' that now congest even so big and hot a furnace as that of our nation."

VARIOUS MATTERS. TAKING THE SALOON OUT OF POLITICS.—*The City and County*, Chicago, noticing the fact that New York has more saloons in proportion to population than any other city in the United States, says New York has 7,800 saloons, or one to every 234 persons; Chicago has 7,000 saloons, or one to every 242 persons; Boston has 1,080 saloons, or one to every 500 persons, while Philadelphia has 1,355 saloons, or one to every 841 persons. Philadelphia has solved the dram-shop problem in a manner that conserves the largest personal liberty that is compatible with a wise and conservative regulation of the traffic. The saloon licenses, which cost $1,000, are issued under the control and exclusive direction of the judges of the courts. Under the non-partisan judiciary, which obtains in Philadelphia, the saloon question is thus taken out of politics and ceases to be an issue in the municipal elections.

Nearly all the Illinois cities of the better class have solved the saloon question successfully by the adoption of the high license system, the uniform fee, in nearly every instance, being fixed at $1,000. It required in each city a bitter struggle to settle the question, but once settled it has worked so satisfactorily that no party or faction has ever had the temerity to revive the issue. There is no reason why the license fee in Chicago should not be $1,000 instead of $500. The Philadelphia plan would cut down the number of saloons, increase the revenues, and take the saloon out of politics.

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PLAIN WORDS FOR JOURNALISTS.—Honest free speech is worthy of all reverence, and the right of open discussion is a blessing to be treasured for all time, priceless in value, paid for with the blood of our forefathers. In past years honorable was the eminence gained by a truthful daily press, fearless but honest in its comprehensive criticism of current events; criticism that more often molded than reflected public sentiment. But who so poor in these latter days as to honor with second thought the editorial comments of the average daily paper? Who so shallow as to be misled by the palpably false and libelous conclusions paraded as public opinion? For the public have learned that naught is sacred from the pollution of this evil that besmirches public and private life, leaving its foul trail in home, in office, in workshop. A pollution of loose denunciation based on unsubstantiated or false and slanderous statements, yet sent out to do its evil work as though each statement was honestly presented, was gospel truth. Where is this damnable practice to end? Is the rising generation to understand that truthful, thoughtful criticism belongs to a past age? That reverence for lawful authority and a wholesome regard for the personal rights of the individual are unknown quantities in the make-up of a daily paper?—*Fred De Land, A. I. C., in Electrical Engineering.*

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NATURALIZATION LAWS.—Justice Pryor, in New York, on questioning nine men of foreign birth who applied to him recently for papers of naturalization, ascertained by a few searching inquiries that not one of

them was qualified for citizenship under the law, except in the matter of the prescribed term of residence. After rejecting peremptorily their applications he made this true American declaration, which should be affirmed and amplified by every naturalization court in this country:

"I shall refuse to naturalize any more persons, or to admit them to citizenship, unless they have read the Constitution of the United States and can speak the English language, which is the language of this country. Persons who cannot fill these requirements need not come before this court; they will only waste time by so doing." *The Boston Standard* says: "There is the ring of sterling Americanism and conscientious fidelity in that proclamation. Our naturalization laws are good enough to insure good American citizens when good American judges administer them."

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NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND WOMEN.—The inquiry of Mrs. E. P. C. is answered by the statement that this society was recently organized, and had its first annual meeting in New York in December, 1895. Among the promoters are Phœbe A. Hannaford, Ella Dietz Clymer, Miriam Mason Greeley, and E. M. Kidder.

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BOYS' BRIGADE.—The information as to the objects and methods of this organization asked for by R. L. Fairman can be obtained by addressing "Headquarters United Boys' Brigades of America," 704 Association Building, Chicago.

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A WELCOME PUBLICATION.—The editor of the *Pittsburg Catholic* speaks of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS as follows: "This journal of practical patriotism is most highly appreciated, and there is none more welcome to the editor. It is meaty with excellent suggestions, pregnant of thoughts that create and re-create, and stable in the importance of its subject matter, namely, good government and the means adapted to that end. Rarely do we meet with an objectionable, narrow-minded, or bitter partisan paper in the covers of the magazine. It is admirably edited, free from sectarian taint, rancorous bigotry, and rotting prejudice."

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INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.—It is the duty of the two greatest republics in the family of nations to do what they can to replace war by peaceful arbitration, as this may be the entering wedge to do away with great armies. . . . Not only has our government thus declared in favor of arbitration, but it has resorted to it with entire success for the amicable settlement of the most momentous international differences, as in the case of the Alabama claims and the Bering Sea dispute, when all menace of war was dispelled by a friendly adjustment creditable and satisfactory to both sides.

It is not to be expected that international arbitration will commend

itself to that rabid jingoism which is ever ready to bully a weak and never scruples to foment entanglements with a strong foreign nation, which fanned the flames of war in the Chilian controversy, was rampant in the Hawaiian annexation craze, and ran wild over the *Allianca* incident. But the very existence of this tendency and the danger of its breaking out with mischievous effect whenever any international issue may afford an opening, is all the more reason why the sober statesmanship and sense of the nation should encourage international arbitration and move to bring it about as a substitute for war.

The tendency of enlightened thought everywhere is in this direction, and the sentiment of Sheridan that international arbitration is destined to rule the world is more than a dream. It is eminently fitting that the first step should be taken by the two greatest of existing republics. The initiative of France should meet with a cordial response from the United States.—*The Herald, New York.*

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES, No. 2.

WILLIAM McKINLEY OF OHIO.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

APRIL, 1896.

A LEGISLATIVE REMEDY FOR LABOR DISPUTES.

BY HERBERT ARMITAGE DRAKE, ESQ.

IN writing a paper suggesting a legislative remedy for settling labor disputes, I do not propose to discuss the labor problem, but simply to describe it, and to describe it only to the extent of stating the claims and positions of the parties to it, and of discovering the issue over which, in the main, these disputes are waged; and then to indicate that the issue discovered involves a moral right which society ought to transform into a legal one and the legislature to give effect to, by providing a judicial remedy, to take the place of the present wasteful, disastrous, and ineffectual methods.

The analysis which attributes all elements entering into the production and distribution of commodities to labor, in the sense in which "labor" is used as antithetical to capital, and states that labor is, under present conditions, the sole producer of wealth, may answer purposes of "socialistic" agitation; but it is an insufficient generalization for the stricter and more scientific requirements of psychological and sociological investigation.

The members of society engaged in production and distribution have become divided into two camps, on the lines of labor and skill on the one hand, and of capital and ability* on the other. The laborer is he who works with his muscles, while the

* Mr. W. H. Mallock has made a substantial contribution to economic science by defining and distinguishing "ability" as an element entering along with capital and labor into production. See his papers on "Fabian Economics" published in *The Fortnightly Review* for March and April, 1894. In this article, however, I have not observed the distinction which Mr. Mallock makes, preferring rather to treat ability as the retainer and cohort of capital.

capitalist employs his nerves. The responsibility of the laborer ceases when his labor ceases, with the day of work and the piece of work upon which he is engaged ; the responsibility of the capitalist is continuous, and lasts until the enterprise which he has undertaken is finished or the establishment he has founded is closed. The laborer aside from motives of livelihood works for the sake of the work, for the sake of the exercise of function, for the sake of doing well the work in hand. The capitalist contemplates not the beauty of the enterprise in hand, not the perfection of his business or industrial establishment, but the effect of it in promoting his advancement.*

What capital does, in short, is, as Mr. W. D. Howells has aptly pointed out, to hire labor at a profit.† It is out of this circumstance that the contest has arisen which has segregated laborers and capitalists into two hostile camps, and given rise to the social conditions creating the labor problem.

The prospect of profit, and the desire for it, are the inducements which lead the capitalist to found industrial establishments, furnish them with power machinery, equip them with labor-saving appliances, adapt them to labor saving processes, supply them with crude material, and employ labor in them in the production of commodities. In the pursuit of that profit the capitalist makes use of every combination and agency which corporate franchises, and the joint effort of partnership, allow ; he has government regulation of the tolls for carrying his raw materials and manufactured commodities ; and in the peaceful conduct of his business, the enforcement of his contracts, the collection of his debts, and the enjoyment of his profits when crystallized into property, he has the judgments and decrees of the courts, supported by the force and arms of society. Thus protected, capital, that stored-up aggregation of the efforts of the past, owning and controlling all the means and avenues of production and distribution, until the laborer does not even own a tool to work with nor a house to live in, essays,

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*See "The Psychology of Labor and Capital," by Mr. Robt. Wallace, M. P., in *The Fortnightly Review* for December, 1893.

†See his paper entitled "Are We a Plutocracy?" in the *North American Review* for January, 1894.

in combination with its retainer, ability, to hire labor at a profit.

The capitalist claims the right to obtain laborers at the lowest price at which he can procure them, and he resists any accountability to labor, or to society, for the amount of his profits, no matter if profits are sure, and large or even excessive. The capitalist in effect says: "I, the employer, am a freeman, dealing with you the employee, also a freeman; I am free to hire, you are free to take hire; I am an individual, dealing singly and directly with you, and you must deal singly and directly with me, and if you are dissatisfied with the wage I am offering you, you are free to refuse it and seek employment elsewhere." The capitalist stands on his rights, under the laws of contract, as construed at common law between master and servant, and he insists that under those conditions the freedom of the will of the laborer *to refuse hire* at the lower price offered is equal to the freedom of the will of the capitalist *to refuse to hire* at the higher price asked. The case of capital and ability, then, is the claim of the right to make the laborer apply to them directly, single-handed, and alone, the better to effectuate their purpose of hiring him at a profit. Mr. Frick, it will be remembered, refused to deal with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and insisted that each laborer at Homestead in Pennsylvania should apply to him, without the benefit of agency, assistance, or support; this is the usual claim and the usual practice: and while the employer is free to give or to withhold the higher wage asked by the employee, the employee is not always free to refuse, bnt is sometimes forced to take the lower wage offered by the employer. The situation therefore is an aggregation against a unit, a combination of independent individuals against a single dependent individual. And it is proper here, before passing to the claims of labor, to remark, that while capital and ability continue thus free to have their way, and to hold labor at a disadvantage, trouble is sure to occur; and that it ought to be a part of any scheme, suggesting the proposed remedy, to deprive capital and ability of this advantage: or rather to put labor on an equality with them in this respect, to give it some assurance of freedom in making its

contracts, and to permit it to have its aggregations and agencies and to hire to capital through them.

The case of labor may be next stated. Labor claims that there is a normal wage. As there is a normal value, regulated by cost of production, toward which the price of every commodity tends when the supply of that commodity is equal to the demand for it, so there is a normal wage, which attaches to the work and skill of labor when the supply of them is equal to the demand for them. But while the supply of commodities generally is acted upon by the demand for them (the demand limiting the supply), the demand for labor does not affect the supply of it, laborers being supplied by powerful human instincts and from motives quite irrespective of the demand for them in the labor market. Cost of production, if it mean anything in this connection, means cost of bare subsistence for the laborer and his family; and if the price of labor be regulated by a supply of it which has no reference to the demand and is, indeed, in excess of the demand, employed labor is brought constantly into competition with the unemployed residuum; and hence the result must be that while no more laborers, or very few more, are employed in the one case than the other, the rate of wages must constantly tend toward the cost of bare subsistence, and labor, instead of being able to insist on a free contract for normal wages, must be satisfied with a forced contract for starvation wages. Again, if supply and demand are to regulate the price of labor under such circumstances, and human flesh and muscle are to be sold in the markets at the lowest price they can subsist upon, instead of at what is a fair wage between man and man for the services rendered and the profit obtained, the laborer with a family, under duress of discharge (as effectual a duress as any now recognized by the law), must come near to the condition of the wage slave, as, labor claims, he largely has. Labor further insists that such a condition is against public policy; that as statutory enactment protects the debtor with a family from being so completely depleted of his property as to be in danger of pauperism, so statutory enactment ought to protect the laborer with a family from such nearness to starvation

wages as to subject him, on temporary non-employment, to the same danger; that the object of labor in combining to resist lower wages is not to affect abnormally the labor market but to keep wages to a normal scale; that the object of labor in forming trades unions and other labor organizations, and in seeking to deal with capital through them, is, by aggregation and agency, to raise labor to a degree of independence so that it can resist the oppression, and will earn the respect, of capital; that labor has the right to have wages regulated not by the supply and demand of the wage-market, but with regard to the profit that is being made by the business enterprise or establishment to which labor furnishes an indispensable element, and that while labor does not object to being hired at a profit, it does object to being hired at a huge profit, to being exploited by ability for the gain of capital.*

The labor question may then be fairly stated to be, whether human labor is to be sold as a commodity and as property is sold, on a basis of cost of bare subsistence, controlled by supply and demand, and in every nearer and nearer proximity to pauperism, or whether a wage is to be paid that is fair between employer and employee in consideration of the character, condition, and profits of the business of the employer, and of the service rendered to it by the employee. Or, more briefly stated, labor contends that the amount of the profits of a business enterprise should affect wages, and on this averment capital joins issue. Let us see if labor can maintain the affirmative of the issue thus joined.

Trades unions were established, as stated, not to raise wages abnormally, but to prevent wages from sinking below the normal level; and while the legal recognition of them was almost wholly confined to their mutual benefit and insurance functions, they have obtained partial and tacit recognition of the object of

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*Prof. Henry C. Adams, of Ann Arbor, has pointedly shown the radical change which has taken place in the relation of the employer to the employee, since the advent of coal and steam power machinery, from the time when the proprietor, a former journeyman, worked by the side of a journeyman who owned his house and tools and was himself a prospective proprietor, and has suggested that the labor problem will not be solved until the laborer acquires financial responsibility. Professor Adams's suggestions have guided and assisted me in the preparation of this paper.

their establishment as wage agencies. They are no longer regarded as illegal conspiracies, but are allowed to be of use in requiring the aggregation of capital, dealing through agency, to permit labor to deal with it not single-handed and direct, but *en masse* and through the unions as its agents. In thus preventing capital from taking advantage of labor, and even in striving to do so without success, there is the tacit assumption that profits should affect wages. Says Cairnes in his "Political Economy": "The history of the New Castle Engineers' strike is instructive. It was in that case admitted, on the side of the masters, that the conditions of trade from the beginning permitted an advance of wages; yet no advance was proposed until pressure of trades-unionism was brought to bear."* Again, the unions in their manner of dealing as agents of labor with the agents of capital, infer that the increased profits should cause increased wages; for instance, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in settling the wage scale of the laboring men at Homestead, at times prior to the great strike there, took the price of steel billets in the open market as the guide by which the wage scale would be regulated: going on the ground that an increase of price, generally speaking, meant increased profits, in which labor should share.

The arrangement of the Board of the North of England Iron Manufacturers was a fairer one and better calculated to cause an increase of wages to follow on an increase of profits. That arrangement was "on the basis of 2s above shillings for pounds," which meant that if the market price be £10 per ton wages would be 10s and 2s, or 12s per ton.† True, profits do not always follow prices, and it is possible by the introduction of new or improved appliances to increase profits in the face of lower prices; and of course bad debts or bad management may lower profits even with higher prices. Nevertheless, here were instances where the rights of labor to share in profits were fully recognized.

In the recent strike at Pullman, the Pullman Company made

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*See Harper's edition of 1874, page 225, note.
†See "Rights of Labor," *Westminster Review* for July, 1890, Vol. 134, page 98.

an equivalent admission. When the employees of that company threatened to strike for higher wages, the reply was that the company was not making any profits, that it was then actually conducting its business at a loss, and that the employees could examine the books of the company to satisfy themselves of that fact, thus admitting that under contrary conditions an opposite and favorable result would have obtained. It was on this ground that Mr. Pullman stood in refusing arbitration and in persisting there was nothing to arbitrate and, by indirection, supporting the contention that if there had been profits, and profits in view of which the wages his company was paying were inadequate and unfair, there would have been something about which to arbitrate.

Protectionists also favor higher prices and large profits, in order that protected employers may pay high wages; and they go so far as to claim that the additional profits which protection enables protected employers to make, are a trust fund for their respective employees, thus logically constituting such employers trustees, from whom their beneficiaries ought to be entitled to an account for and payment of such increased profits. The strike is a protest against the greed and excess of the capitalist in the matter of profits. And the strike is a legal institution. Legislatures have said that strikes are no longer unlawful conspiracies; and workmen are permitted to combine to affect the rate of wages, to insist that an increase in wages shall follow on an increase in profits, and that the amount of the profits of an enterprise shall affect the wages paid by it. Coöperation and profit-sharing are to the same effect.

If the logical import of the claim of the protectionists could be adopted it would be legitimate to conclude that the enlarged and additional profits of each industrial enterprise, whether protected or unprotected, constitute a trust fund for the laboring men employed in such enterprise; that labor has the right to have that trust fund ascertained, accounted for, and paid over, and that the issue joined must be found in the affirmative! But, says Judge Cooley in his address to the National Bar Association,*

* See *The Forum* for September, 1894, pages 14, 18.

the right of labor and the duty of capital here contended for are moral only and not legal. We must, however, consider, in this connection, that the strike is now the recognized remedy for forcing capital to pay to labor its due and equitable share of the profits, and that when strikes are confined to this object (and are conducted without violence or intimidation), they are not enjoined, or otherwise legally interfered with. That this right of labor and this duty of capital have never been determined to be a legal right and duty by any judicial tribunal, is undoubtedly true. What is now contended for is that they ought to be so determined; that society owes it to itself to transform the acknowledged moral duty into a legal one, and to direct, by legislative fiat, the evolution of the acknowledged moral right into its corresponding legal right, with all the concomitants of a remedy necessary to make the legal right effectual. Under appropriate legislation, fair rents are established judicially; why not fair wages?

For what after all is the strike? It is the right of labor to take the law into its own hands in obtaining the relief to which the legislature has thus recognized it to be entitled. The significance of the strike is that labor uses a remedy for its wrongs which society through the legislature has recognized its right to use. Labor, however, is vouchsafed no aid from society or its courts in the pursuit of this remedy, and must pursue it solely by its own efforts, while the laborer is left to pinch and struggle as best he may and perhaps to starve. Moreover, the right given is coupled with an injunction that the relief must be sought peaceably and without force. That is to say, the permission granted to labor by the legislature to take the law into its own hands restricts the means of the strikers to moral suasion and threats of ostracism against those who refuse to aid in, or attempt to circumvent, the strike. Thus restricted, the strike is ineffectual against the unemployed residuum, and against that permanent conspiracy of employers, to keep wages down, which has survived to us from Adam Smith's time and of which he speaks.* The result is that strikers, in their attempt to make

*See Cairns' "Political Economy," page 233.

strikes effectual, take the law into their own hands violently, and not peaceably, and that strikes lead to breaches of the peace, to destruction of property, to great public inconvenience and loss, and to great privations and sufferings among the strikers and their families. As the legislature recognizes that strikers have a right, which is without an appropriate remedy, except by taking the law into their own hands, and as experience proves the result of settling private disputes by the parties to them to be alike bad in this and other cases, why shall not strikers have, through appropriate legislation, their remedy by due process of law?

The settlement of private disputes, and not ideal justice, is the material part of our judicial system. So Mr. Herbert Spencer has pointed out, that the purpose of our poor laws is not the relief of suffering and the public administration of charity, but the prevention of crime; leaving to the needy man no excuse of fancied right or stress of necessity even, for invading the rights of others. What then is the excuse of society for permitting strikers to take the law into their own hands, and for giving them no other remedy to enforce fair wages? The excuse always has been the impossibility of supplying a legal remedy. The press generally (I might say *The Nation* especially) has asserted, with an iteration that is tireless and sometimes tiresome, that there is no legislation that can be enacted for the benefit of labor; and there is now no scheme before any legislative body that looks either to effectuating the strike or giving a substitute for it. Arbitration, as Judge Cooley points out, is necessarily confined to voluntary cases, and the Royal Commission on Labor which has been sitting in England for three years has recently reported that no system of compulsory arbitration is practicable.

Still I believe that it is yet to be determined whether the legislature cannot establish, as a legal right and duty, the obtaining and giving of fair wages, that is, "just and reasonable wages,"* and whether the strike cannot be so marshalled in conjunction with a labor commission and the equity powers of

* See "Steps Toward Government Control of Railroads," by Col. Carroll D. Wright, *The Forum* for February, 1895.

courts of justice, as to give labor access to those courts, and if not to solve the labor problem, at least to furnish a substitute for the present violent, wasteful, and painful means of settling labor controversies. We have seen that the main issue is a fair wage. If then there is a controversy about the fairness of the wages paid by an establishment, let a court of chancery, through the instrumentality of a labor commission, ascertain whether the current or proposed wage scale of the employer is a fair one, and the wages proposed to be paid by him "just and reasonable," or whether the character, condition, and profits of the business of the employer warrant wages on the scale asked for by the employees, or on a higher scale than that of the employer. If the scale of the employer be approved, the employees are restrained from striking, and their labor organization, through which they must act and appear in court, is likewise restrained. On the other hand, if the scale of the employees be approved, the employees are authorized to strike, and the employer is restrained from hiring employees except through the agency of the complaining labor organization. The labor organization in question must of course be authorized by and incorporated under the proposed legislation, appertain only to the industrial establishment complained of, and acquire a certain financial responsibility, by depositing with a state officer a certain sum of money for each member, thus creating a fund to answer in damages for illegal strikes or at least costs of unsuccessful suits. The effects of a strike would then be confined to the establishment against which it could be legally inaugurated. It would become, like any suit at law against person, firm, or corporation, a private controversy. And the authorized labor organization, backed by its legal rights and its deposit of trust funds, would (more nearly at least) be on an equal footing with the capitalist, and could drive better bargains for its members, with their employer, than its members could drive single-handed. Likewise an illegal or arbitrary discharge could be resisted.* Then, in hiring and in settling terms of hire, the aggregation of labor, and not a single

*See "Compulsory Arbitration," by Mr. D. M. Frederiksen in *The American Journal of Politics* for November, 1894.

laborer, would cope with the aggregation of capital, the advantage of agency, which capital now exclusively claims, would then also be accorded to labor, the opportunity for an escape from the forced contract to which reference has been made, and from the duress of threatened discharge would be afforded, and approximately, at least, an opportunity given to labor for the really free contract, which our present industrial *régime* is supposed to guarantee.

But it may be said that there is here no compulsion upon capital, to force it to continue the employment of labor at the scale of wages fixed by the chancellor! There is no principle of law that can be suggested, or enacted, requiring an employer to carry on business enterprises and hire employees against his will, or against his ideas of business methods. Insolvency would be the usual result of such compulsion. Now all that the suggested remedy proposes is to effectuate a right which labor now has (namely, to strike against inequitable wages), and to put a legal restraint upon hiring flesh and blood at a large or unconscionable profit; and in place of permitting capital to circumvent labor by resorting to that unemployed residuum (which is the cause of the trouble and against which progress might be said to be in perpetual conspiracy) requiring capital to hire the strikers through the agency of the proposed labor organization, with a deposit at its back, and then in court with a decree in its favor; this or else to forego the profits of its business, and submit to the idleness, rust, and deterioration of its plant. This is all the compulsion the complaining labor organization can bring to bear. But, says Cairnes,* "A capitalist for example, who has committed himself to an industrial enterprise, by making large purchases of building and plant, wherewith to carry it on, must find laborers to work for him or suffer heavy loss; for either, his capital lying idle, he loses the interest it might bring him, or, if he attempts by sale or otherwise to convert it into other forms, it is pretty sure to be largely depreciated in the process." Strikers then can have no other compulsion than that compulsion upon the capitalist which deprives him of his desired profit and

* "Political Economy," Part II., Chap. III., page 221.

all opportunity for making it, and inflicts upon him actual loss. And it is submitted, no other compulsion is necessary.

Take, for instance, a trust or combination against which the labor organization, composed of the workmen of the trust, have made a complaint that the wages of its workmen do not bear the proper relation to its enormous profits. What stronger compulsion could there be on the trust to do justice to its laborers? I might add that if it be desired, as is often now professed, to destroy trusts themselves, what stronger arm therefor could be provided than a law which should declare that all their profits may be divided among their workingmen on complaint of their labor organization.

Another result of settling labor disputes on the plan proposed would be that such a general uprising as we have recently had at Chicago and more lately in Philadelphia, and all the attendant waste and suffering, would not be likely to occur as they have occurred because sympathetic labor associations were helping or trying to help their friends to rights to which they thought these friends were entitled, *and for which society had provided no remedy, other than the one which was being pursued.* If the dispute between the Pullman Company and its employees could have been summarily settled by a judicial inquiry, which those employees through their special labor organization were empowered to institute, and settled adversely, to the employees (as it must have been if the statements and contentions of the Pullman people were correct), society would have been saved the mistaken offices of President Debs and the disastrous results of his intervention. General labor associations would on the advent of this remedy have higher and more important functions than interfering in private disputes between employers and their employees. A general strike would then become unnecessary, and it ought to become illegal and subject to restraint and suppression.

There remains the objection of the capitalist, that the inspection of his books in the judicial investigation proposed would be an unwarrantable interference with his private affairs, and lead to the exposure of his methods of business. But amount of profits does not show the methods of making them, and an examination

of the books of a business, guarded by all the necessary privacy which a labor commission acting under the chancellor would impose upon those acting with it, could not result in making known business methods or sources of profits. The exercise of like powers, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the act of Congress in the United States, has not met with public disapproval—indeed, the powers of that commission are proposed to be extended—and in all matters of account they are and long have been a well-settled part of equity jurisdiction. With such safeguards as would be imposed, it would be a sociological duty of the employer of large bodies of workers to exhibit, first of all to those workers, the amount of his profits. Corporations, especially those with quasi-public functions, and in the exercise of the rights of eminent domain, make public reports of their profits and publicly declare their dividends, and it is stated that in Belgium every firm and corporation must publicly file a yearly balance sheet.* It would be an immense advantage to society to have an era of friendliness and confidence established between labor and capital, and what could better promote close and confidential relations between employer and employee than a disclosure by the employer to his employees of the amount of the profits he was making? However, the success of the proposed legislation would not necessarily depend upon an inspection of books, many other means being available to determine what profits are or what they ought to be, so that oftentimes the employer might be driven to show his books in his own defense.

There is, therefore, no reason why the legislature should not permit labor to pursue its recognized remedy under the sanction of the law, and under the supervision and with the assistance of labor commissions and courts of equity. Indeed, an act has been drawn by me, which establishes a labor commission under the control of the separate equity jurisdiction of the New Jersey judicial system. It is therein provided that, in order to take advantage of its provisions, the employees of each establishment shall organize themselves into a labor organization, separate and distinct

* See "The Profit Sharing Labor Unions of Antwerp," by Prof. J. H. Gore, in *The Forum* for September, 1894.

from all other organizations, and that this organization on the one hand, and the employer on the other, shall be the parties to all disputes respecting the illegal discharge of its members and the wages paid in that establishment; that the right of the labor organization to sue and be sued be limited to the employer of its members, and that there shall be deposited with the state treasurer by the labor organization a certain sum per capita for its members, which shall be a trust fund liable only for damages, costs, and expenses of the employer in suits settled adversely to the organization. This would reduce all labor disputes to an issue of fact in a private suit between financially responsible parties.

HERBERT ARMITAGE DRAKE.

MARTYRS OF INDUSTRY.

BY REV. E. D. M'CREARY, PH.D.

IN the annals of history the title of "martyr" is bestowed on those who have sacrificed their lives for some noble and worthy cause, or because of their devotion to principle and duty. The term was first applied exclusively to such of the early Christians as, in times of persecution, because of their faith in, and fealty and devotion to, the Christian religion fell a prey to the rancor of heathen rulers, or to the savage fury of a pagan populace. Thus, for centuries, the term martyr had an exclusively religious and ecclesiastical signification, and was applied only to those who became the victims of persecution because of their adherence and devotion to some form of religious faith.

In later times, however, the term has greatly broadened in its signification and use, so that it has become the custom to speak of those who have lost their lives because of their devotion to, or service in, any worthy cause as martyrs to that cause. Thus those heroic souls who have fallen in the numerous and bloody struggles for human liberty and freedom are properly styled martyrs of freedom. Such as have sacrificed their lives in their endeavors to promote scientific discovery and to enlarge the boundaries of scientific knowledge are spoken of as martyrs of science. Those who, during the ages, have with unselfish devotion laid down their lives for any of these or other great causes constitute a noble band of heroic souls, whose names the world will never willingly let die, and each succeeding age adds to their number, by making new demands for sacrifice of human life in advancing the progress of the race.

The age in which we live may most justly be styled the industrial age, since in it old industries have been greatly quickened and improved, and also a vast and varied host of new industries have sprung into being, requiring the efforts and service of

multitudinous millions of busy, tireless toilers, in order successfully to carry on their operations. Most of these new industries have been called into being in order to meet the needs and satisfy the demands of modern civilization, and are essential to its success and to the continued progress of the race. Some of the greatest and most important of these industries which so greatly promote and subserve the interests of civilization and society are fraught with great danger to their employees, and result annually in the maiming and killing of multitudes of their operatives.

It is the purpose of this article to call attention to the great sacrifices of human life entailed in carrying on the great industrial system of modern civilization, so that the general public, which too often views with indifference or even with disregard the multitudes of humble toilers by whom it is so faithfully and patiently served, may obtain at least some conception of the great cost of life and limb at which such service is being constantly rendered, and may realize what a great host of industrial toilers must annually be sacrified in order that the many industrial enterprises, on which the prosperity and well-being of society depend, may live and flourish.

The foremost industry of the times in sacrificing human life in carrying on its operations is the world-wide system of railways, which has its largest and completest development in the United States. The latest and most reliable report on this subject states that there are in this country 178,708 miles of railroad, which comprises almost, if not quite, one half the total railway mileage of the world. It must be conceded that the railway is the most important industrial factor of modern civilization. It has been the means of greatly enlarging the scope of all other industries, and has developed them to an extent unknown, and, in fact, impossible before its advent, and in so doing has enormously enlarged the volume of the business of the world, which, in turn, is continually causing an increase and extension of the railway itself. In addition to this, the facilities and conveniences of travel have been greatly increased, so that journeys which were once performed slowly, tediously, and with

great difficulty, or which were even impossible of accomplishment, have now become safe, easy, and expeditious, and can be performed at the marvelously cheap average rate of about two cents per mile per passenger. Perishable commodities are carried swiftly from one end of the continent to the other, thus insuring for them a wider and more stable market and thereby making their production more profitable. At the same time, bulky and heavy articles of trade and commerce are furnished transportation at an average rate of about one cent per mile per ton, thus making it possible to carry such objects vast distances and yet sell them at a fair profit. All this service rendered to society, commerce, and civilization results annually, however, in the maiming and killing of great numbers of those who are employed in carrying on this great, important, and necessary industry.

It is not the purpose of this article to charge the administration of our railway systems with being reckless of human life in carrying on their business, but only to show what great sacrifice of human life is required in conducting this great industry which is so essential to the welfare and progress of society, business, and civilization. For it must be evident to all that, from its very nature, railroading must be a very dangerous occupation. The rapid movement of trains, made necessary by the demands of trade and travel, make numerous accidents inevitable and unavoidable. The passing of employees from car to car in discharge of their duties while trains are in rapid motion, especially the running over the tops of moving freight cars at all hours of the day and night, and in all kinds of weather, when, as often occurs, the roofs are wet and slippery with rain, snow, or sleet, cannot but result in numerous accidents and deaths, so that it has been said, under such circumstances, brakemen, in discharge of their duties, often "drop from the cars like flies," and each drop means a human being smashed into a bloody pulp or at least maimed or crippled for life. In addition to this, the daily colliding and ditching of trains, the accidents befalling employees in freight-yards—the average freight-yard being more dangerous to the lives and

limbs of its operatives than is the average powder mill—add continually to the number of the victims of this great industry, so that those killed are annually numbered by thousands, and those crippled and maimed by tens of thousands, thus making the railroad business take rank as the most dangerous and destructive of all the industries, a statement that the following statistics fully corroborate. These statistics are taken from the reports sent out by the United States Interstate Commerce Commission, and must be accepted as reliable and trustworthy. We have not been able to obtain a full set of these reports, but those at hand at this writing fully confirm the statements made above, and also show a steady and startling increase annually in the number of the victims of this industry. According to the report for the year ending June 1, 1889, the number of railway employees killed amounted to 1,972, and the injured to 20,028; in 1890 the killed aggregated 2,450, injured, 22,396; in 1892, killed, 2,554, injured, 28,267; in 1893, killed, 2,727, injured, 31,729. If the rate of annual increase in the number of the victims of this industry has continued at the same ratio up to June 1 of the current year, the number of killed would, in round numbers, amount to at least 3,000, while those injured would not fall short of 35,000. As the United States has about one half the railway mileage of the world it is but fair to conclude that the casualties caused by the combined railway systems of the world would result in doubling the above statistics, so that the number of railway employees killed throughout the world during the last year would aggregate 6,000, and those injured 70,000. Viewed from this standpoint—the standpoint of bloody facts—the great railway systems of the world loom up like a relentless, pitiless Juggernaut, which annually crushes under its merciless wheels increasing thousands of its faithful servants, and cruelly mangles, maims, or injures tens of thousands more. These constantly increasing hosts of seemingly necessary victims of this greatest of modern industries may most justly be styled "martyrs of industry," since the death or injuries befalling them in discharge of their duties is a necessary result of their devotion to, and their labors for, the promotion of the industrial

interests of modern civilization and for the welfare of society.

Next to the railway in destructiveness to those who are employed in serving and promoting its interests stands the commercial system of the world as carried on on the high seas. The work of the railway employee is prosaic to a degree, while that of the sailor has always been surrounded with a sort of poetic glamor. Many are the references in poetry to the "stately ships," "the white-winged birds of commerce," "the warlike fleets," and the "jolly tars," who sail o'er the "dark and deep blue ocean"; but the hard realities of the sailor's life and lot are equalled by few found in any other industry and surpassed by none, and the dangers to which they are exposed are neither few nor small. No statistics are to had showing the annual loss of life or the injuries incurred by those engaged in the various forms of seafaring occupations, but the annual aggregate in these respects must be very great, but will never be fully known until "the sea gives up its dead." Every year there come numerous reports of vessels wrecked by storms, crushed by icebergs and ice-floes, burned by fire, dashed on rocks and reefs, their crews swallowed up by the pitiless waves of the treacherous main, with only here and there a survivor to tell the awful tale of the havoc wrought by wind and wave. Then, too, the hardships and exposures to which the seafaring class of toilers are necessarily exposed tend to greatly shorten the lives of those who escape a watery grave. Hence it happens that thousands of those "that go down to the sea in ships and do business in great waters" are annually sacrificed in the interest of the world's commerce, and these unnumbered hosts of sacrificed seafarers are justly entitled to be ranked as industrial martyrs, since they lost their lives because of their devoted service to one of the world's great and necessary industries.

Then, too, many products that mankind need and must have in order to satisfy their wants, promote their progress, and increase their stores of wealth, are buried deeply in the bowels of the earth. Men must have coal to warm their houses, cook their food, furnish power to run their manufactories, their engines, and locomotives; they must have iron to use in making

implements of labor, and with which they may construct the numberless kinds of labor-saving machines, build their railways, and for use in multitudes of ways. They must have gold and silver to coin into money, fashion into ornaments, use in the arts, and adorn their persons and their homes. They need also copper, nickel, tin, cinnabar, lead, and other minerals, for various and necessary uses. To obtain these useful and precious substances shafts must be sunk and tunnels must be driven hundreds and even thousands of feet into the depths of the earth, where men must work literally in the darkness and shadow of death, being exposed to imminent danger of being crushed by falling rocks, suffocated by the deadly fire-damp, buried alive by collapsing shafts or falling walls, mangled by frightful explosions, burned by subterranean fires, or dashed to death by the breakage of machinery while descending to, or ascending from, their grimy, gloomy places of toil. Because of these and various other destructive agencies in mining operations, these industries annually result in the slaughter of hecatombs of victims, so that every year multitudes of miners become martyrs to the dangerous occupation by which they support themselves and their families and serve society and civilization.

In recent years manufactories have greatly multiplied throughout the civilized world, giving employment in their various departments to millions of laborers. Their products have marvelously enriched the world, and have also greatly increased the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by the individual, while at the same time greatly promoting the well-being of society at large. Yet these great promoters and producers of wealth, and of innumerable products that minister to the welfare of mankind, are not infrequently fell destroyers of their operatives. In them at times the most careful laborers are caught unawares in whirling wheels, crushed in the jaws of ponderous, merciless machines, burned by molten metals, plunged in scalding vats, slowly poisoned by miasmatic fumes, and thus are hurried to an untimely death, or receive injuries in ways too numerous to mention, so that all these great manufactories are continually, from

dire necessity of circumstances and environment, sending to martyrdom some of their best and most faithful servants.

While these great industries referred to are continually making sad havoc among their employees, their victims amounting annually to many thousands in the aggregate, nearly all the other industries result in more or less sacrifice of life in carrying on their operations. How many public and private buildings have been baptized with the blood of some of the workmen who have gone to their death in the performance of duties made necessary in their construction. In the manufacture and use of powder and other explosives, how many operatives are hurled to a sudden and frightful death, by which they are mangled beyond all recognition, or even blown to atoms. Even the peaceful pursuit of agriculture, one of the safest of occupations, sends each year not a few of its sturdy toilers to join the goodly fellowship of those whose lives are sacrificed in carrying on the industrial systems of the world.

While by far the greater part of the casualties which befall those engaged in industrial operations seem to be the necessary result of causes and dangers inseparable from, and inherent in, such industries, still it must be admitted that many industrial toilers are brought to untimely graves, or prematurely broken in health, as a result of reckless carelessness, selfish greed, or outright inhumanity on the part of their employers. Not infrequently accounts appear in the daily press of manufactories being burned, many of whose operatives perished in the flames because the buildings were not provided with proper facilities of egress by means of fire escapes, the negligence or criminal carelessness of the employer in this respect resulting in making a holocaust of his employees. Investigations made during the past few years in reference to the condition of workers in what are called the "sweat-shops" in our great cities show, on the part of employers in these industrial dens, the most inhuman disregard of the health, comfort, and even life of their employees. In one of these dens where the roof was like a sieve, exposing the workmen to rain and storm, the employer, on being asked why he did not repair the roof, churlishly replied, "Because

men are cheaper than shingles." In another, where a large number of women and girls were engaged in sewing on machines, the employer, on being interrogated as to why he did not have the machines run by steam-power brutally replied, "Legs are cheaper than steam."

Such inhuman disregard of the well-being of employees on the part of employers cannot be too severely censured. The lot of the average workingman under the present industrial *régime* is hard enough at the best and all too dangerous, as the great annual sacrifice of life entailed in carrying on our industrial operations, as set forth in this article, fully shows. Human life is too precious and valuable a thing to be carelessly or recklessly exposed to unnecessary danger either in the industrial processes in which the worker is engaged or in the environments in which the work is being done. In all departments of industry the greatest possible care should be taken to protect the lives, conserve the strength, and promote the welfare of the great army of toilers—the invaluable servants of our civilization—who are busy day and night in performing humble or heroic deeds of service in the interests of a too often forgetful and thankless public, and of greedy and selfish masters. If the interest and humanity of their employers do not secure for them the necessary protection, then it should be obtained by legislative enactment and governmental inspection. While the utmost care that can be exercised will not wholly eliminate the danger of accident and death from many of these occupations, still by the exercise of greater care and caution on the part of both employers and employees, such dangers might be greatly lessened, and thus with decreasing danger there would doubtless come a corresponding decrease in the number of the "martyrs of industry"—a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

E. D. McCreary.

MORALS AND POLITICS.*

BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS.

THERE is a saying long familiar, "Everything in its place." And great Solomon records that "all things have their seasons and in their times all things pass under heaven." No fault can be found with such a general statement, and I am of the opinion that order, tranquillity, peace, and prosperity depend on the faithful observance of the rule. Let questions be discussed on their relative merits without the introduction of irrelevant matter. Much misunderstanding and evil result from disregard or infringement of the wise enactment.

But there is one question that must exert universal sway—one branch of human effort that necessarily enters into the consideration of every question and is connected with every avenue of human endeavor; and that is morality. Ralph Waldo Emerson declares that "The moral sentiment alone is omnipotent." The ethical code must prevail everywhere. The sense of morality must permeate all strata of society and be wedded to all phases of its activities. There can be no aspect of man's life that should be viewed independently of that standpoint. Whatever question man considers, whatever act he contemplates performing, in whatever direction he bends his energies, moral ideas find both place and occasion for the application of its essential principles. For, in the words of John Locke, "Morality influences men's lives and gives a bias to all their actions."

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN DUTY.

Morality or morals is the science of human *duty*, and embraces the entire series of human acts, public as well as private. Man has not been made the creature of his own caprices—not the machine of mere sentiment—nor the animal of pleasure and instinct. He has come into the world that he might secure the Creator's purpose and obey the laws of his existence. He does

* "Irving Press" Paper.

not come from himself; he has not made himself. He depends for what he is on the Will and Power which made him. No abstraction is possible of man as man from man as a moral being. He is endowed with free-will and intelligence and rational nature and he is under the permanent obligation of rendering his life conformable to the God-imposed laws of his being. Within his breast he bears implanted the instinct of right and wrong, the knowledge of good and evil. The law has been stamped upon him in indelible characters. The internal conscience is his approved guide and his thoughts within him "either accuse him or else defend him." From all this arises his fundamental motive of action—which is, not what he *may*, nor what he *can*, but what he *ought*. He is always under the rule of this law, this Will of the Most High. He cannot escape. As long as he acts with intelligence and free-will, as long as his faculties are in normal condition, he is bound to see that he violates not the eternal decrees, that his conduct is in accord with the principles of truth and justice. God, himself, his fellowmen form three heads of duties, and the perfection of human life consists in the exact performance of what they imply and command. No man is completely ignorant of these things, and even the untutored savage, though not so distinctly and clearly as the civilized and enlightened, yet truly possesses the knowledge of subjection and due submission to the Higher Power whose will and designs he feels bound to fulfil as best he knows and can. All our deliberate acts, then, must rest upon the basis of morality, which teaches that those in opposition to our rational nature must be avoided because they are evil, and those in agreement with our rational nature must be accomplished because they are good.

POLITICS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

But what, if any, connection have these truths with politics? Do not politics form a domain entirely independent? Is not the field wherein they play one from which morals had best be absent? It is precisely the absence or disregard of them that accounts for the corruption and evils of which honest minds and true statesmen and sincere politicians so loudly complain as

existing in the workings of practical politics. Politics should claim no exemption from morality's searching gaze and inexorable dictates. Politics or the science of civil government has relation to the social life of men, and its object is to secure for the aggregate of individuals and families banded together for mutual happiness, benefit, and protection their inalienable rights and privileges. The hands in which the power of governing is placed are to be raised in benediction and love, and the exercise of this power must tend directly and immediately to the welfare of the commonwealth. The union of human beings in municipalities and states and countries arises from a divine ordinance and from the needs and requirements of our nature, which is social. The individual, however, does not lose his autonomy when he becomes a factor in the social fabric, as was the case in the Roman Empire, and the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness is none the less his, though he be disposed to relinquish something that the whole of which he is an integral part might gain. Yet we cannot but regard the state as a unit, or every community as an individual, in which are inherent the ineradicable instincts of self-preservation and rights similar to or identical with those possessed by each and every man. Our conduct toward states and communities therefore must be characterized by all the elements, features, and qualities demanded when we treat with one another. As we are obliged to remember that our neighbor is a child of the Begetting Spirit with the same endowments as ourselves, as we must do to him as we would be done by, so politicians must remember the personified character of the state or community, and be careful to be guided toward it by strict principles of morality. We must apply the teachings of ethics to practical life, and politics form a branch of practical life.

THE POLITICIAN AND THE PEOPLE.

I speak of all politicians—whether they be so in the rigorous and noble acceptation of the term which implies statesmen of the Gladstonian type, or actual rulers of the people in official position, or in the less favorable sense of those who run what are called the political machines. They all more or less influ-

ence or take part in the management of public affairs of government. Their interference gives direction to our civil destinies. Their power works weal or woe to our social existence. And both because they are private individuals and public functionaries, and because we are their fellowmen and component parts of the body politic, they have strict and imperative moral duties toward us, which they cannot well afford to pass over or neglect. Just here I would quote as briefly summarizing and beautifully appropriate the wise words of the pagan Epictetus (Book III., Chap. VI., "On Statecraft"): "If thou wouldst have a household well established, then follow the example of the Spartan Lycurgus. For even as he did not fence the city with walls, but fortified the inhabitants with virtue, and so preserved the city free forever, thus do thou not surround thyself with a great court and set up lofty towers, but confirm the dwellers in the house with good-will, and faith and friendliness, and no harmful thing shall enter; no not if the whole army of evil were arrayed against it." And it was Montesquieu, I believe, who still more succinctly expressed the same ideas when he wrote that republics are preserved by virtue and monarchies by honor. Politics and politicians should be governed by a public conscience rich in maxims of morality, in rules of justice and equity, in sentiments of honor and dignity. Honesty, veracity, justice—behold the triple alliance, the primary dictates of morality, to which they must swear eternal loyalty. Let politicians then be honorable men, truthful men, just men.

HONESTY THE BEST POLITICS.

Honesty is the best policy and the best politics. It is identical with honor and means uprightness of conduct. It is a quality that is indispensable in every sort of transaction. No man who would win the respect and confidence of others, and who would wish to attain permanent and solid success in his undertakings, can neglect or despise it. It is the foundation of true business as well as of noble character. Let it become known (and it will sooner or later if dishonorable and dishonest means are resorted to) that certain firms, certain men, are tricky, mean, unprin-

cipled; that they are disposed to take undue advantage of clients and customers, that conviction sounds the first note in the downfall. Some temporary success may follow underhand methods. But such only makes the final, inevitable crash the more fearful. The best interests of trade, the solidity of mutual intercourse, demand that everything be done over and above board.

Political tricksters are an abomination. And it is because of political meanness, political dishonesty, that good and loyal, true and honorable men complain so loudly of political corruption. To the politician are intrusted sacred interests of the people. We follow, we cannot do otherwise than follow, the lead of our public men. They are commissioned to direct public affairs of government for our good. We give them confidence; we rely on their judgment and superior experience. We contribute funds for the carrying on of those projects that are to result, as we trust, in conditions favorable to our peace and tranquillity, happiness and prosperity as a people. Have we not a right then to expect our leaders to be men of probity and to be honest in their dealings with us? Deception, fraud, subterfuges, are a betrayal of the public trust. Cheating, chicanery, defeat the popular will. Baseness and all questionable measures or unseemly devices are subversive of public order. Every action that is not sanctioned by the principle of honor tends to make politics a mere machine which has come to work untold evil in our political institutions and to give to our public affairs a direction by no means apt to secure for us the blessings of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION A NECESSITY.

Political organization is a necessity. Every man recognizes that banding together is a legitimate factor in the prosecution of aims and purposes. "In union there is strength." But then the operations of that organization are not exempt from the spirit and qualities which which must govern men individually—the spirit of honor, honesty, fair play. How worthy of commendation and universal practice, "I had rather be right than be president."

Honorable men are also truthful men. They will not adopt what Talleyrand has been credited with saying, "Speech was invented to conceal thought." Words should be expressive of inward ideas. Intercourse with one another is founded on the assurance that a man's word says what he means. A man's word should be as good as his bond. If the bond is known to be worthless, financial transactions lose a support and enterprises fail. If a man's word cannot be relied upon, if a suspicion be true of some lying and deceit hid in that word, the man of whom such is noised abroad loses caste and loses companions and friends. How should the politician whose word because insincere and untruthful cannot pass muster hope either to be successful in his management of affairs of state or municipality, or to be instrumental in bettering the condition of his fellow-citizens? There should be no room to suspect him of hypocrisy or double-dealing. Let him speak the truth. Let him not give groundless assurances. Let him not delude his constituents or leave them under false impressions. When he speaks, let it be after mature deliberation. When he promises, let it be only after he has seen hopes of realization. Then some stability will be given to intercourse with our public men, some reliance will be placed on their utterances, to the manifest purification of our political methods, the prosperity of our institutions, and glory of our political parties. Otherwise politics will be worse than a game of chance, they will continue to be a mere "jingoism"—productive of disastrous confusion.

THE POLITICIAN MUST BE JUST.

I have not much to add in reference to justice, which is really closely consequent upon honor and truth. Justice renders to every man his due. Now the man who is honorable and true will do that. The politician must be just to all classes. He is among the leaders of the people and must look to the interests of all the people—neglecting none, favoring none above others. His standard should be not what might bring in more votes, or a larger popularity, not particularly what will benefit his own party, but what the rights of every section and of every class demand. He must be just to the state. In his distribution of

patronage the good of the commonwealth must be his guiding star. Public office is a public trust, finds here very pertinent application. Business principles—should they not be followed in affairs of state?—require that the most competent should be intrusted with the offices and duties given to those who will fulfil them to the gain of the employed. The state or city is the employer.

He must be just and exact in the use of public moneys—the people's money, which is given from patriotic motives, for the expenses of the government. Taxes should not be levied over and above what may be reasonably necessary for public purposes, for the just debts of the community, and for providing for the adornment and cleanliness, improvements and repairs of public works—all of which have for object that men may live and decently live together.

When collected the funds should be jealously guarded and economically expended. Extravagance should be avoided and above all no effort made to divert those moneys into private channels. The politician is only the trustee, the money is the people's. And account should be rendered to them of the same. This is nothing more than strict justice demands from individuals with one another, and it has not less strong application in reference to the body politic.

The essential principles of morality therefore come into play in the political arena and pure politics must be informed and permeated with them. The politician of every stamp and degree, as well as the merchant, the mechanic, the capitalist, the laborer, is a moral being and must abide by and practice the precepts of the moral code. To him as well as to them was given the Decalogue.

J. CARDINAL GIBBONS.

THE PERIODICITY OF COMMERCIAL CRISES AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY E. V. GRABILL.

CONFIDENCE has come to be the foundation of the commerce of the civilized world. As civilization has advanced, commerce has raised itself from a state of mutual distrust and barter trade to one of widespread credit. "In 1893, aside from the retail trade, more than ninety-five per cent, perhaps as high as ninety-eight per cent, of the actual business of the country involving the transfer of products, was done on credit."* Notice that this statement excludes the "small ticks" at the corner grocery—in fact, all retail trade; and that it would also shut out the wind sales of the stock and grain markets, for it includes only such trade as involves the transfer of commodities. So highly systematized have become the obtaining and registering of mercantile credits in the United States, where the plan has attained its fullest development, that only fifty years have elapsed since credits were extended on a most primitive basis.

One might indulge in much argument as to the advantages and disadvantages of such a system of credit, but only a glance at the commerce of fifty years ago in comparison with the commerce of to-day is needed to prove the utility of the system.

And yet such a system has its decided faults. The advanced stage it has reached has been attained by a road marked with the evidences of numerous disasters. For the basis of the whole system, upon which it rests with no further support, is confidence. Take away confidence and it is an historical fact that the whole superstructure of our commercial and industrial prosperity falls in ruins. It needs no demonstration to prove that there are many ways of assailing confidence. That statement is grounded upon psychological axioms. However, the ideal state

* Albert H. Stevens, in *The Forum*.

to be reached in such a system of credit will be that state when all possible methods of destroying confidence shall have been made impossible. Then the superstructure will be absolutely safe.

But such a state cannot be reached as long as the mass of people are uneducated and politics are in their hands. It will be reached when men attain to that degree of intelligence where they understand exactly what to do in the event of an approaching storm—nay, more: when they thoroughly understand what to do in their every-day business, and learn not to be deceived into thinking a particle of gold dust a whole mine, or an inch worm an anaconda. For our commercial crises can all be traced, first to the gullibility of unintelligent speculators, and, second, to the insane panic spirit that takes alarm at a shadow. But we can be hopeful. We may not, for years to come, be able to render ourselves free from the possibility of a panic, but we may keep approaching that condition by noting and ridding ourselves of the causes that shatter confidence.

There has been advanced by some noted economic writers of the present century a theory of an inevitable circle through which commerce must pass once in about twenty years—a circle, in the words of Lord Overstone, of "quiescence, improvement, growing confidence, prosperity, excitement, overtrading, convulsion, pressure, stagnation, distress—and then again quiescence." This sounds mathematical and unalterable enough, and appeals immediately to our love of system as true. It is based, evidently, upon an apparently invariable tendency of men to lose their heads in the event of prosperity. Lord Overstone wrote about 1850. Must we, in America, still look forward to this regular recurrence of commercial panics and industrial distress, or will a study of our former panics show that the Yankee has learned from the past, and that Lord Overstone's theory must find an exception in his case?

The United States is in such close commercial connection with other countries, particularly those of Europe, that commercial distress in them invariably affects us here. But her relations have greatly changed during the last fifty years. Formerly we

had to rely on foreign capital to develop our resources. We still do so, but in a much smaller degree. Hence a crash, say, in England, could not now affect this country as formerly. And one other thing: there are very few American investors who have money invested abroad, as English investors have. For this reason, too, a crash in foreign securities affects us but little. Our dependence upon the foreign commercial status arises from our foreign commercial exchanges. Those relations from which we would realize *extended* trouble in case of a panic abroad, are the relations of our currency to foreign currency.

But, all foreign relations aside, Overstone's theory should be applicable in a country which has no connection with other nations, but has merely independent industries. Are we, in America, then, liable to be victims of a panic all our own once in a period of years?

There have been nine panic periods in the United States within the present century and, with the exception of two, about nine or ten years apart. These periods have consisted of from three to five years of commercial activity, succeeded by several years of depression. Those classed as panics proper are assigned to the years '18, '37, '57, '64, '73, '84, and '93. I quote from an article by Albert C. Stevens, of Bradstreet's, a statement of the causes of the panics of these periods:

First Period:
1818—A result of the war; closing of the ports; speculation.
1818—Unsound banking; heavy failures; factories idle; heavy immigration to the West.

Second Period:
1826 and 1829—Unsound money; wild banking; expansion of credit.

Third Period:
1837—Unwise banking methods, excessive speculation.

Fourth Period:
1848—Inflated values; overtrading at home and abroad.

Fifth Period:
1857—Unsound financial methods; wild-cat business enterprises.

Sixth Period:
1864—An outcome of the Civil War.

Seventh Period:

1873—Excessive railroad building and overtrading following the war period.

Eighth Period:

1884—Inflated credits; vicious banking.

Ninth Period:

1890—Mild disturbance, an echo of the Baring crisis in England.

1893—Restriction of credits, liquidation in the stock market, bank failures, and the closing of industrial establishments, following heavy gold exports and loss of confidence in ability to maintain a standard of value, together with an outlook for another change of tariff.

Glancing over this list, we note three causes to which all these panics except the last can be wholly attributed—war, unsound finances, excessive speculation. The first of these we can safely leave out of consideration for the present. The second and third demand our attention. Just how far have the American people overcome their tendencies to unsound financial methods and speculation? Has their study of the past been of any advantage to them? Let us, in a brief review of the first three of the great crises, those of 1837, 1857, and 1873, seek what material experience had given the people by 1893, and what use they made of it.

The causes of the crises of 1837 were two: thoughtless, unscrupulous banking and speculation, and the action of President Jackson in regard to the United States bank at Philadelphia. It was the latter cause that made the former possible; and yet, President Jackson might have persecuted the bank of Philadelphia at will, and ruin would not have confronted the nation, had not the money-getting passion of man's nature led speculators into the wildest of all wild, the most dishonest of all dishonest schemes.

The action of President Jackson in regard to the bank may be briefly stated: The president accused the United States bank at Philadelphia of flagrant mismanagement and corrupt practices in politics. After a long and very hotly waged political war, the president was victorious, refused a recharter to the bank, and removed the government deposit to several state banks.

This action immediately flooded the country with paper currency, much of which was absolutely worthless, and much of worthless security or doubtful origin. Banks became as numerous as cross-roads stores, credit was easily obtained, loans enormous.

Those were the times when the West was being rapidly developed. The excess of credit hurried the improvements along at a breakneck speed; the government received the paper money of the wild-cat banks in exchange for government lands.

The state of affairs in Illinois will perhaps best illustrate the senseless frenzy which controlled even those who purported to be the counsellors of the people: The legislature passed measures for the construction, on foreign loans, of a system of railroads and canals which would cover the state like a spider-web—and the population of the entire state at that time was only about equal to that of the city of Cleveland to-day. Nor did they only pass the bold measures, but the construction of the roadbeds actually commenced, and shovels were actually plied in the prospective canals. "People and enterprise are all we need to develop our state," they said, "and enterprise will bring the people." And they called that stupendous folly which constructed railroads that there was no one to use, enterprise.

The passage of these measures—for which even Abraham Lincoln voted—caused a marvelous speculation in real estate. The whole state of Illinois was, by different sellers, staked off into city lots. The land-looker was as numerous as the gravel-digger. So intoxicated was the public mind with confidence, so feverish with speculation, that phantom lots, that looked as well as any on the map, but were in reality staked out in water or on some other impossible location, were actually purchased—but for paper. It was a standing joke that there was no land left in Illinois for farming.

The national commerce and the national industries could not long be maintained on such a basis. A large business firm in New Orleans failed. Suddenly, as by a dash of cold water, people were sobered. Banks attempted to call in their loans; but they had perceived their folly too late. Confidence became

deep distrust. Crash followed crash, one failure bringing on another.

The financial failures were communicated to the industrial world: grass grew in the streets of many western towns, thorn bushes hid the monument mounds of western railroad folly, and thistles clambered over the "City Lots" signs. Idleness was the rule, work the exception. National commerce was, for over a year, stagnant.

The crisis of 1857 was similar to that of 1837, but more serious in its effects, for the nation was then more developed. The immediate cause, that which led to wild speculation, was the discovery of gold in California. Again was credit overabundant and loans to be had for the asking. The senseless dealing in phantom real estate was repeated and stocks in unsurveyed and absolutely unnecessary railroads sold above par. The increased wealth had stimulated men to overdo all kinds of business. The panic was precipitated by the failure of the "tried-and-true" Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati. Failure followed failure. Soon nearly all the banks in the country failed. "It seemed," says a contemporary writer, "as though the rich had all become poor, and the poor beggars."

The ring of the hammer which drove the golden spike marking the completion of the first transcontinental line of railroad in 1869, seemed to communicate an eagerness to spend and invest to all Americans. Capital stumbled into all sorts of western swamps which were, however, staked off and called cities and sold at fabulous prices. But the railroad corner of the stock market was the scene of the greatest folly. Roads were constructed in enormous excess of any possible use that the population of the West, though growing rapidly, could make of them for years to come. In the two and a half years following 1871, over twenty thousand miles of railroad were built in the United States at a cost of over one thousand millions of dollars!

Blind speculation again groped into pitfalls; prices were once more fabulous, and again the crash came. This time a Philadelphia banking house was the domino to start the line. The panic was alarmingly sudden and appalling in its effects. Soon

again idleness populated the manufactories, and hunger the market places. Stagnation and ruin were everywhere. Fully six years were required for the nation's recovery of equilibrium.

These were severe lessons of experience. And how much use did Americans make of their knowledge so gained, when the ten years' period again approached? Were the causes of the panic of 1893 but repetitions of those of former crises? Let us examine.

The year 1890 was the most prosperous the United States has ever experienced, owing to the extension of the industries. Nor was there anything of the character of the soap-bubble about the prosperity. It was solid and stable, and would have continued but for a combination of circumstances.

Our great West had now become developed to a large extent, and English investments were seeking new fields. Many were withdrawn, and some placed in Argentine securities, and some into Australian, and elsewhere. Then, in 1890 the great house of Baring fell, owing to losses in Argentine securities, and a panic was precipitated in England. We felt the shock here. Our gold began to go abroad because foreign investors, alarmed in Argentine, commenced to sell out. Then came the preliminaries of the year of 1892. I quote from one writing at the time.*

Within twelve months Wall Street and its inner core, the stock market, have been agitated by a series of events. First, in the spring of 1892, came excessive floods and crop damage to wheat and cotton, greatly reducing their area and condition; then in July and August the Homestead and Buffalo strikes and riots; then the specter of cholera stalked across the scene; next came the campaign, which usually checks business; then the result of the election, which meant a reversal of the tariff policy of the government. Then came the figures of an adverse balance of trade, due chiefly to Europe's poverty and our own prosperity; then the scandalous collapse of the Whisky Trust; the confession of insolvency, through reckless management, of the Reading Railway, within two months after the issuance of a favorable balance sheet, and the almost criminal declaration of dividends on three classes of income bonds, payable only if earned; then the exhibition of irresolution in the treasury department, corrected a few days after only by the president himself; and finally the bursting of the

* C. D. Gibson, in *The Forum*.

disgraceful speculative Cordage Company bubble, and several failures, but only among brokers identified with audacious speculation.

Such were the preliminaries: the gold exportations, owing to the fright of English investors, kept increasing. And the people saw a panic coming, and, profiting, as they thought, by former experiences, they hoarded their money. The banks soon had nothing to pay depositors, for most of their money was invested. So they began to call in their loans. Then the failures began. In the summer of 1893, 585 banks and banking institutions closed their doors; about one fourth of these were perfectly solvent, and resumed when public confidence was restored.

Evidently the panic of 1893 is an exception to the theory of periodicity; it was not brought on by overtrading and too much credit, but the people's lack of confidence. There was speculation, but it was of a very different sort from that we met in 1837, 1857, 1873. It has not that character of wholesale foolishness. Where is this speculation we here meet? It is confined to a comparatively few—to a group of stock-brokers on 'Change. For the reckless and daring conspiracy of a group of speculators, who combined to work up to fictitious heights the shares in certain industrial corporations of whose real value the public knew nothing except from hearsay, by the aid of excessive dividends, declared either from mild imprudence or gross dishonesty, and by acts of "cross-orders" and manipulations in all its most glaring and obnoxious forms—for this the national confidence had to suffer. Such was the speculation.

And what of the other causes that we found elsewhere? How far is our financial status to blame for the crisis? It is difficult to state, in the face of radically conflicting authorities, just how far the silver purchase clause of the Sherman Act was to blame for the loss of confidence in 1893. It was somewhat, at least, and in this way: Foreign investors saw the instability of our gold reserve and the growing power of silver. Owing to this, *and to the other causes*, they feared for their securities, and "dumped" their stock, as the phrase is. This caused a heavy gold exportation which brought on the final scare.

To what conclusions, then, are we drawn? Is there any less likelihood of periodical panics in the future than in the past? Is America to be an exception to the law while such an old country, with such stable finances, as England, still seems to be subject to it? It is far from the province of the writer to answer absolutely, yes or no. He can but present these facts for your consideration.

Unless there be an unprecedented combination of natural causes, those which will be causes in the event of a future panic will be either war, some rampant speculation, or unsound finances, or all three, or any two. The first we could not help, if it came, as it is not likely to. The solution of our problem, then, depends upon the answer to this query: Are there any grounds for believing that, in the future, there will not be at some time, when business is brisk, and confidence plentiful, an amount of foolhardy speculation sufficient to break down confidence and precipitate a panic? And is there any ground for believing that there will not the same trouble arise with regard to our financial status, as has heretofore? If these two causes can be answered affirmatively, then we may look forward, without fearing another panic.

Here are some considerations that may determine the answers: Our domestic resources are fast being developed; even when they are developed, American capital will have all it can do at home. At home there is a constant decrease of possible foolish speculation, because there is a constant decrease of opportunity for speculation. Coupling this with the fact that American capital is not invested abroad, and is not likely to be, on account of the abundant use for it at home, we reach the conclusion that the possibility of panics arising from wild speculation is growing less—at least, as far as speculation in improvement schemes is concerned.

And here the question arises, Was not the panic of 1893 a consequence of the heightened prosperity of 1890, as per the theory? The general opinion is that it was not—the causes I have given show that. But an investigation might with profit be made to discover whether the prosperity of 1890 could have

been maintained, had there been none of those other causes and circumstances. Authorities differ widely in their answering of this question, and the principle involved is the bone of contention between the two great political parties of the day.

Turning to the second question, we enter the financial field, already trodden by many antagonists, between whom the battle is still raging.

In the opinion of President Cleveland and many prominent economists, the finances of this country will not be sound until the greenbacks and treasury notes go out of circulation.

Bimetallism can affect the financial status of this country in only one way: through fear abroad that a double standard will be adopted here. It is not at all likely that this country will ever adopt the double standard until an international agreement can be reached. But, with our ever-changing political status, it is altogether possible that a fear may arise abroad, or even at home (as it did in 1893), that bimetallism will be adopted, and a "flurry in Americans" would result.

The general intelligence of the people in matters of economics is continually increasing. This is partly evidenced by the queer form the panic of 1893 assumed—people hoarded their money. Solvent banks failed. There was not any general wild-cat speculation, but the other extreme, too great fear of investing, lack of confidence.

Nor will the fraudulent speculators of the stock market be forever allowed to pursue, untrammeled, their course of wreckage. The people will not always endure such work. Legislation at present is impossible, on account of the grip these adventurers have on politics, as, for instance, the Southern Pacific in California. But the time will come, and the sooner the better, when such forcing of stock up in price, by lying and intrigue, and then selling out under these false pretenses, will be made a high crime. And with such a thing accomplished, and our currency on the sound basis that we can confidently look forward to (for the nation has suffered long enough from this evil, and knows it), what can precipitate a panic?

E. V. GRABILL.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE—BY A BACHELOR.

BY C. W. WILEY, ESQ.

THE question of woman suffrage is one to be approached with circumspection and handled with considerable sagacity. It is a trite subject for a magazine article, and to write upon it infers some presumption and much recklessness of consequences on the part of the writer. Although much discussed and a subject that has involved much ink and paper, still it is a live question that must be disposed of. It is with reluctance that I venture to submit, in public print, my views on this topic. I know it involves hardihood upon my part and some audacity. I have perused various articles, pro and con, upon this problem, with considerable interest. I have listened to many addresses, both by advocates and denunciators of this suffrage question. But in all that I have heard and read there has been but little said or written that seems to me entirely satisfactory.

In the first place, nearly all such discussion (if it can be dignified by such term) seems to have been more or less intemperate and prejudiced. From the violent harangue of an exceedingly inflammable young lady to the sage ponderosity of the venerable bishop, prejudice and passion seem to have marred and warped the views of all. Why cannot a dispassionate discussion of this question be had on its merits, based on calm reasoning and thoughtfulness? Violent denunciation is uncalled for on either side. It is a question that merits a full, candid, and impartial discussion by intelligent men and women. There should be no haste, no harsh words, no passionate appeals, no attempt to storm intrenchments of prejudice and ill-will. No meritorious cause was ever lost by cool, dispassionate argument. Great interests are involved of momentous consequences. There is no need of hurry in the matter; no need of boiling over with indignation. The side that is in the right must in the end prevail.

There is no suffering at present by reason of existing conditions. Conditions are better now than they have ever been before. There is no crying injustice being perpetrated that calls for immediate alleviation.

I have no patience with the professional agitators on the question that are claiming that cruel injustice is being endured by non-voting women. Nor with their bigoted adversaries who are proudly boasting that the superior mental and physical qualities of men do and should domineer over the inferior qualities of women by the uncivilized maxim of "might makes right." I have still less use for the arguments of those who base the right of men to govern on the crude, barbaric customs, laws, and religion of the ancient Israelites, as set forth in the Bible and New Testament. The queerest thing, to an outsider, about the whole matter, is to see the church, of which woman is the life and chief support, arrayed most strongly against her enfranchisement. The doctrines of St. Paul, of course, are the chief weapons of the church in opposing woman suffrage. To me, they are utterly worthless, either as authority or agreement. They but picture forth the laws, customs, and usages of a half-civilized people, in a barbaric age; and are totally unworthy of notice in determining the question among us, in this day and generation. To me, they are mere prejudice and the sentiments of that time—one man's opinion in that day and civilization—and as binding upon us as any other custom, law, and usage of that day and nation, and no more.

But to one who believes that the writings of St. Paul were inspired by the Great Ruler of the universe, such sentiments as he has written would seem to preclude all doubt on the question; and to condemn woman to everlasting subjugation to man. He holds "that man is the head of woman as God is of man and Christ of the church."

The question is not what those old Jews did or believed nineteen centuries ago, but what is best for us to believe and do this A. D. 1896. Nor do I think the new woman's Bible translation will improve matters. I believe the present translations of the Bible express exactly Hebrew sentiment as originally written on

the woman question. Those old Jewish sages had but little respect for woman and woman's rights in their times, and did not hesitate to voice their sentiments.

Had the Bible been translated by some particular church or sect only, the translators might have been influenced in mistranslating it, for the purpose of making it harmonize with their special sectarian doctrines. But as such work was done by eminent scholars of different religious faiths or no religious faith, such mistranslations, as respect the status of woman, are improbable and almost past belief.

Besides, there is still a more convincing reason. The keenest critics, agnostics, and atheists—many of them profound and learned scholars—have, for centuries, scanned every book, chapter, line, and word of the Bible, to detect errors in the text and bring discredit upon the book and its inspiration. So eager and anxious have they been to discredit it and prove it false, that they never would have overlooked an error in it. So prejudiced were they against it, that they would have eagerly seized upon any error, however unimportant or infinitesimal, to its discredit. They would not have cared whether such error referred to the status of woman or to the doctrine of the Trinity. They would eagerly and gladly have published to the world any mistake or mistranslation. To my mind, the failure of these men to announce such mistranslation is conclusive of the subject.

The evolution of the woman of to-day from the servitude and chattelship of the past is simply marvelous. From being the servant, the menial, the chattel of the past, she has become the helpmeet, the adviser, and almost the governing power of the present. Among the most intelligent and enlightened, she is the most respected and exalted. She now enjoys equal rights and privileges with man before the law in this country, except in the one respect of voting and holding office. Woman suffrage advocates still claim that she is deprived of many substantial rights in law; that she is still very much oppressed, and lacks a number of privileges; but this I deny. In fact, the laws give her many privileges and exemptions that men cannot obtain; both as to personal and property rights. Any one familiar with

the laws of the several states knows that such are the facts. But when it comes to administering the law, she always receives the benefit of any doubt at the hands of courts and juries. The experience of lawyers has always been that where cases involve contested rights between man and woman, that, all other things being equal, the man invariably gets the worst of it. For instance, in cases of contested divorce suits, the wife will win ten times to the husband's once. I know that the suffragist advocates will gently hint that the wife is probably in the right in about that proportion of cases; but from my limited observation of matrimonial differences, I can hardly agree to such statement. It seems to me like a case of six on one side and half-dozen on the other. A judge will probably decide on an average three cases out of four in favor of the woman; but a jury will give her the best of it in about twenty-four cases out of twenty-five.

With the single exception of voting and holding office, at the present day, women enjoy all the rights men do before the law, and some more. Whatever oppression women endure at present is not at the hands of the law, but is due to custom, society, and conventionalism.

But should she have the ballot—that is the question. And if she is clothed with that privilege, must she also undergo the necessary, concomitant hardships? The right to vote carries with it also several burdens. It is not an unmixed blessing. There is annexed to that privilege for man several other features not so pleasant. He must pay poll tax, road tax, and poor tax. He must serve on juries. He must join a *posse comitatus* when called upon to quell a mob or to catch a felon, and perform other disagreeable duties. He is amenable to be drafted in the army and fight in war. All these are necessary appendages to his glorious privilege of voting and holding office. These are the penalties he pays for being a voter.

But one suffragist claims that the right to vote is an inherent right. The courts have decided that question against her. They declare it is a privilege, and as a privilege it is subject to the above penalties.

Another declares that refusing to woman the right of suffrage and compelling her to pay taxes is a similar case to one of the grievances of the American colonies against Great Britain, viz.: taxation without representation. She has to pay a property tax but no personal tax. But has she no representation? Does not her father, husband, brother, or son represent her and guard her rights? If not, he is taking long chances for his peace of mind. Has he not proven quite a faithful representative in the past? If not, how is it that her personal and property rights, during the present century, have been so marvelously looked after for her benefit? To my untutored mind, her representatives have looked after her rights much better than they have after their own. And is not a husband, father, brother, or son a representative that can be trusted and relied upon? They are much more careful and conscientious in guarding the rights, privileges, and honor of mother, wife, daughter, or sister than they are concerning their own, just as a mother is more anxious for the welfare of her children than of herself. So it will ever be where enlightenment, integrity, and manhood are rife.

Another principal argument that is used by suffrage advocates is the moral degeneracy of mankind and the need of female suffrage with woman's superior morals to make the crooked straight and to regenerate and reform humanity. With all due respect for those advancing this argument, I do not think there is any truth or force in it. Politics, customs, laws, and habits need and are capable of much improvement. But that the granting of woman suffrage will accomplish it or that such improvement will be impossible without such aid, I do not care to admit.

There are a great number of evilly disposed men in this country, but a much greater number of good men. There are also many evil women in this country, but a much greater number of good women. There are proportionately, probably, more good women than good men, and more evil men than evil women. But the disproportion is not so great as many imagine. Take the inhabitants as you meet them, men and women, and you will not find a great deal of difference between them either in an

intellectual or a moral sense. And what difference there may be in a moral sense in woman's favor is largely due to her social position and her life and habits under present usages and customs, rather than to her inherent moral superiority. With man's hard knocks and temptations to undergo in the world, I much doubt if woman would not come off second best in the outcome. So that it is my deliberate conclusion that should woman be granted full suffrage, no one need expect any great change or improvement in the betterment of laws, habits, and legislation. Evil and good would still exist in about the same proportion as at present, and no one be appreciably better or worse off than now.

Nor do I have any confidence or place any weight in the force of the anti-suffrage argument that man is woman's physical and intellectual superior, and hence should govern. His physical superiority will be acknowledged. His mental superiority will probably not be conceded—although I think there is no doubt of it in certain lines of thought. But whatever there is of man's intellectual superiority may be due largely to training and action. It is temperamental rather than intellectual. And whatever mental superiority there may be in man, it is like the boasted moral superiority of woman, there is but little of it; and, such as it is, should not interfere with the giving to woman the right of suffrage, if she is otherwise deemed qualified and fit to exercise such privilege.

I know it is a common suffragist argument that the negro has been given the right of suffrage, and that many ignorant foreigners have attained that privilege, while many intelligent American women, who are much more capable of exercising intelligently the right of franchise, are denied such right. With this I most emphatically agree. There is simply no comparison between the superior qualifications of the latter class to the former ones. Yet, in such statement only half a truth is stated. The wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters of those negroes and of such ignorant foreigners are equally as unfit, or more so, to exercise the right of franchise than are the men. If we could pass a law that would be constitutional and feasible, admitting only the

qualified intelligent women to vote, without admitting also the densely ignorant and vicious women to such privilege, I think there would not be much objection to such a measure. It would be beneficial to the country. But there is the trouble. We cannot make such discrimination. We have enough ignorant, vicious voters now. It would be a godsend to be rid of them. Our past policy of granting the right of franchise has been a mistaken one. It has been too freely given. But making another mistake will not correct past ones.

The granting of the elective franchise to colored men has always been questioned as an evil measure. They have never been allowed to exercise such right except in localities where they are not numerous. The majority of them are practically disfranchised to-day and have been for many years. But when the negro was manumitted something had to be done with him. Was he a citizen or not? It was thought by a majority of Congress that granting him the right of suffrage would be the best means for his advancement and self-protection. It was the best remedy the wisdom of Congress could then suggest. At that time, many of them were totally devoid of the necessary qualifications for the wise exercise of such rights. Many were qualified. That measure may have been a mistaken one, but it is now beyond remedy.

As to the admission of unqualified foreigners to such privileges, there is no excuse therefor. That has been due, largely, to vicious politics. The evil has been remedied to some extent, and will be still more restricted in the future. Could suffrage now be extended to intelligent, qualified women only, I should say, do so by all means. Could the ignorant, vicious, and unqualified male voters be deprived of the elective franchise, I should say, do so by all means. Both would be largely beneficial.

Would the granting of woman suffrage be beneficial to the country? Would it be beneficial to women themselves? I have already partially answered the first query to some extent, and concluded that it would result in but little or no benefit to the country at large. To the second question, my answer would be about the same.

It is claimed that woman suffrage would be in the interest of temperance. Women, with few exceptions, undoubtedly favor the cause of temperance. But so do the great majority of men. They have legislated in favor of temperance, time and again. Prohibition has been tried in many states, at different times, and has proven a conspicuous failure. Restrictive and regulated legislation has always proven better than prohibition and suppression. That woman suffrage could accomplish a change for the better is doubtful. A change for the better, in some measures, she might accomplish. But the same changes will be accomplished without woman suffrage, but with woman's aid. If the women of America desire any legislation now and are a unit for it, it will be passed. It has always been so in the past; it is so at present; it will be so in the future. Were the women of this country all in favor of woman suffrage, they would obtain it for the asking. I doubt if a majority of the women ever have been or are now in favor of it. A small minority have been making a great deal of noise about the matter for a number of years. But that is of no consequence. The great numbers of wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters, who are the ornaments and blessings of millions of homes, have never asked for suffrage. They are the ones to determine this question. And whenever they do determine that they want such privilege, it will be granted to them; and not until then.

Three states, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah, have already granted woman the right of franchise. Here is the chance to test the question by actual experience. Should it prove a success there, other states will adopt it. The experiment of a year or two will not suffice. Wait until the novelty of it wears off. Let us see what the result will be after ten years or a generation. Such test will prove conclusively its desirability or otherwise. Until such test has been made and verified by actual trial to be a success, there should be no haste in further suffrage legislation. Should it prove a failure in those states, or its success doubtful or partial, other states will not be eager to adopt the measure.

No one is suffering at present except a few seekers after notoriety who imagine a foul wrong is being done them; and the

other states can well afford to await the outcome of the trial. Such course is the part of prudence and wisdom. In the meanwhile, if there is a state in the Union where woman is deprived of her just rights and privileges before the law, remedial legislation should be pushed through in her behalf. The attention of legislatures in such states should be called to such unjust laws, and woman's societies and clubs should devote their surplus energies in securing legislation in woman's behalf in those states. Should woman suffrage prove an unqualified success in Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, after a thorough trial, the people in the other states will soon learn such fact; and the other states will readily and speedily adopt the same legislation—regardless of agitation and agitators. Then the agitators will be out of a job; unless they adopt office-seeking as a profession. I do not wish to be understood as finding fault with all agitation that has been carried on in woman's behalf for the last generation. Much of it has been useful in calling attention to defective laws—modeled on the pattern of past centuries—whereby woman has been harshly treated in her personal and property rights. But those evils have now been remedied or entirely removed, and there is but little cause for complaint on that score to-day. It is a good plan to prod man occasionally and call attention to his delinquencies. But when such faults have been once called to his attention, he has very promptly applied the remedy.

But it is the women of the million homes in this country who will settle this question, and not the notoriety seekers who make a business of denouncing and vilifying the "tyrant man." The "tyrant man" is a very feeble fellow when his wife and daughter agree upon some line of action. And if the wives and daughters were a unit on this question, he would soon succumb. So that I am forced to believe that, at present, only a small minority of the women desire to vote, and that when women want such privilege they will obtain it. It may be up-hill work for a noisy minority—but it will be an easy task for the quiet majority.

C. W. WILEY.

WILLIAM M'KINLEY AND THE PRESIDENCY.

BY NED ARDEN FLOOD.

IT is with the semblance of something akin to the serious appreciation of a dismal finality that many Democrats prominent in the nation have recently, and apparently without great reluctance, expressed their views on the prospects of their party in the coming general election. One who has been more or less widely discussed as a Democratic presidential candidate is reported to have said with marked irony, "Yes, it would be just my luck to get the nomination *this* year." And still others there are who with an assumption of candor have declared that the Chicago convention will be concerned with the distribution of empty honors. Whether or not such views fairly represent party temperament at the present time, it is a fact of striking significance that the discussion of possible Republican candidates has quite overshadowed the comment relating to available candidates in the Democratic party. Popular interest appears to center in the outcome of the St. Louis convention. Back of this widespread sentiment is the record of the general elections of 1894 and 1895, overwhelming in character, substantially indicating the trend of public thought and affording no uncertain basis for present Democratic philosophy.

The campaign of 1892, resulting in the election of the national Democratic ticket, turned very largely upon the question of the tariff. The pivotal point in the policy undertaken by the present administration relates to the tariff, whether it be directly to the provision of revenues sufficient to defray the necessary expenses of the government, or more generally to the involved financial question. The tariff has been the one fundamental subject in our national life upon which public attention has been focused since March 4, 1893. It is but natural, therefore, in view of these facts alone, that the name of the most distin-

guished advocate of the policy of protection in the United States should now be widely associated with the presidency.

In writing to a personal friend shortly after the Republican overthrow of 1892 and not long before his death, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes conveyed his interpretation of the result of that election. In that letter, which I was privileged to read, were these words: "The workingmen were deluded into thinking they had not received their share of protection and they voted for a change. Four years from now Governor William McKinley will ask them, 'What have you gained by it?' then the pendulum will swing to the other side and protection will gain its logical triumph."

In the light of the present these words, uttered from an exceptional view point, seem prophetic. Hardly has William McKinley to ask that question, for it has already been asked and answered in the actual experience of the people. Business disaster, industrial depression, and human distress, unprecedented in the history of the nation, have been contemporary conditions in our life as a people within the past few years. From these conditions men now turn, welcoming another opportunity to emphasize their desire for a change in the program of the government.

If there is one man more than any other whose name has been associated with the presidential nomination in this country to-day, that man is William McKinley of Ohio. If there is any way of gauging the thought and preference of the rank and file of the party to which he belongs, or of the people quite aside from party lines, it can result in no other conclusion than that the people are responsible for McKinley's candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination. Furthermore, real conditions and the trend of political events have made that candidacy genuinely expedient, logical to the extent of necessity, and so popular that its ultimate success is to be reckoned as a political surety. Here is a man whose life has been spent in the public service, whose career has been wrought in full view of his countrymen. Bred among the plain people, his school was that of the soldier and the patriot, his workshop the forum of the republic.

The record of his whole life, from boyhood to the present, is full of important incident. Fifty-three years ago, on the 29th of January, 1843, he was born in the town of Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio. He came of stock distinguished by its rugged vigor and sturdiness, characterized through generations by simple uprightness and natural probity. The elder McKinley was Scotch-Irish. He died in 1893 at the age of eighty-six years. "Mother" McKinley, as she is called by many outside the family circle who know her kind, goodly nature, is now eighty-seven, and still in vigorous health. Five sons and four daughters, each of whom received a fair education, comprised the family.

After attending a local academy and a short term spent at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., William McKinley became a teacher in a country school near his native home. Here he was when the war broke out. Although but seventeen years old, he enlisted as a private in the Twenty-third Ohio, one of the noted regiments of the war, which had for its leader at different times General Rosecrans and ex-President Hayes. June 11, 1861, was the date of young McKinley's enlistment as a private, but he was destined soon to receive promotion, for on April 15 he was made a commissary sergeant; in the following September he became a second lieutenant, and then in quick succession he was promoted to be first lieutenant and captain. Later he became acting assistant adjutant-general of the First Division, First Army Corps, on the staff of General Carroll, and finally was breveted major March 13, 1865, and was mustered out of service in the following July.

"Young as McKinley was," said ex-President Hayes in 1891, "we soon found that in business, in executive ability, he was a man of unusual and unsurpassed capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought or service was to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place. The night was never too dark; the weather was never too cold; there was no sleet or storm, or hail or snow, or rain that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty. When I became commander of the regiment, he soon came to me upon my staff and he remained upon my staff for one or two

years, so that I did literally and in fact know him like a book and loved him like a brother."

Not long ago I was present at an impressive meeting, that of General Russell Hastings and Major William McKinley. It was more than the meeting of two friends long separated, for they had been comrades in arms. General Hastings was a lieutenant in the Twenty-third Ohio when Major McKinley was a private. This was when they both enlisted in this the first Ohio regiment which volunteered for three years' service in the war. At the close of the war Hastings commanded the regiment and was breveted brigadier general, while McKinley was serving on the staff of General Sheridan, having received the brevet of major. In recounting his experience in the war General Hastings said to me, "Major McKinley was always keen, quick, and alert, and so was naturally fitted for staff service, a fact his superiors soon realized and took advantage of, so that during the greater part of the war he served on the staff of the general officers, one of the most dangerous positions in the army, one which required the utmost readiness of resource and bravery of the highest order."

If, as has been said, patriotism is a passion with McKinley, it is of a kind which few have it in their power to indulge. It is that sort of patriotism which when put to the test upholds the flag and carries it on to victory. The intelligence, the dignity and loftiness of patriotism are to be measured by action in the open, in peace as in war. What, I submit, could be more calculated to intensify the inborn, latent sentiments of the true patriot than a volunteered service of four long years in the defense of his country? Literally McKinley's patriotism was bred in the bone. Enlisting as a lad of seventeen, winning distinction almost immediately for his brave and efficient service, he suffered and endured with his comrades the hardships of an awful war, all for the sake of the flag he loved, and only quitted the field when peace was restored to the Union; but with a record brilliant in achievement far beyond his years.

Returning from the war McKinley refused, upon the advice of his father, a commission in the regular army, and soon under-

took the study of law. For his location he selected the growing town of Canton in Stark County, Ohio, where being subsequently admitted to the practice of law he was within two years elected prosecuting attorney of the county, overcoming a large Democratic majority. The facts connected with his nomination for this office by the Republican party of the district are not as sometimes stated, for it appears to be true that up to that time such a nomination was regarded as an empty honor. If he did not win his place on the ticket in the first instance by his prestige, it is certain that his courage, force, and ability did win for him the office in the end.

In 1871 occurred his marriage to Miss Ida Saxton, the daughter of one of the substantial citizens of Canton, a singularly happy union, and one not untouched by sorrow, for the two daughters of its issue have died. The constant ill health of Mrs. McKinley through the later years has been the source of the tenderest solicitation on the part of her husband. While the family life, even of public men, is not to be penetrated without reserve, much of the secret of Major McKinley's high appreciation of the American home and family as constituent elements in our life as a people is surely to be found in the plain, abiding affection with which his family ties have been maintained through all the years.

In 1876 the young lawyer, who had already made an impression upon the community as a successful practitioner at the bar, if judged alone by the lucrative business which he had built up, received the Republican nomination for Congress and was elected. At the time of his entrance upon a public career in the larger sense he was but thirty-three years old. Other men eminent in the nation's affairs have been equally fortunate in gaining an early start. Blaine was the same age when he first took his seat in Congress, and nearly or quite as old as McKinley were both Reed and Allison when their biographies first appeared in the Congressional Record. Possessed of the full vigor of young manhood, McKinley approached his new task with a seriousness of purpose that was characteristic of the man. No sudden distinction came to him, but his personal worth won increasing

recognition. His introduction into public life was auspicious both as to time and the new associations which it afforded. It was an eventful period in the legislative history of the country and one calculated to impress the thoughtful mind. The great questions growing out of the war had practically been disposed of and a new epoch was begun. The tariff and finance were two subjects which developed into great issues. These, and the widening field of civil government, gave increased scope to McKinley as to his more experienced colleagues, among them many of those great in the councils of the nation who have long since passed away. Such was the environment of the young congressman who essayed to gain the favor of his constituents by the sober development of capability and the exercise of constant usefulness rather than through the employment of political tricks.

McKinley's term of service, beginning with the Forty-fifth Congress, continued practically without interruption until the close of the Fifty-first Congress, spanning a period of fourteen years. Several attempts were made to unhorse him in his congressional district during this time, for it was not always the same district which he represented in Congress. He was singled out for slaughter by the Democratic majority in the state legislature no less than four times. His district was gerrymandered to compass his defeat, but strangely enough his opponents were successful but once and then only by small odds. First in 1878 he was compelled to face a gerrymandered district which returned a Democratic majority of 1,800. He was elected by a majority of 1,300 votes. Again in 1882 he won against a similar attempt, his margin being reduced to eight votes. In 1884 occurred another repetition of the efforts to defeat him but he weathered the storm and turned a Democratic majority of 1,500 in his own favor by 1,530 votes. Not until 1890 did he succumb to the inevitable. Then a new district was formed by the Democrats, consisting of the counties of Stark, Wayne, Medina, and Holmes. Only a year before, the new district had given the Democratic candidate for governor nearly 4,000 majority. Against these odds it was audacious for any Republican, even McKinley, to

enter the field. He stood his ground, however, and came within 363 votes of being elected, polling 2,500 votes more than had been received by Harrison for president in 1888. These are significant facts relating to his campaigns.

Although retired from Congress by the campaign of 1890, he was soon to stand as a candidate in a wider field. On June 7, 1891, he was unanimously accorded the Republican nomination for governor of Ohio, and his election followed with the remarkable plurality of 21,511. He was nominated to succeed himself, and his plurality in the following election reached the astounding proportions of 80,900, an achievement without precedent in the political annals of Ohio, his vote being the largest ever cast for a candidate in the state. At the close of his second gubernatorial term in January, 1896, he became a private citizen and installed himself in a modest home in Canton, now grown to be one of the thriving manufacturing cities of the country, and where, upon his return, old friends and neighbors of all parties vied with one another in welcoming home the man whose personal worth above all else had made him loved and esteemed by the townsfolk.

Whether as the boy soldier of the war, the prosecuting attorney of a small country community, a representative in Congress, or the governor of a great state, the career of William McKinley is impressive for its achievement. Industrious and unremitting in his labor for the advancement of public interests, conscious at all times of his plain duty to the people, never once faltering in his advocacy of what he believed to be right and just, he stands to-day as the trusted leader of his countrymen, the foremost exponent of the vital principle of protection, a consistent representative of that type of publicists, all too rare, who have been unstained by politics; the one who, more than any other, contains the embodiment of those qualities of broad statesmanship and high personal character which are desirable, if not essential, to the faithful and intelligent administration of the highest office within the gift of the American people.

In Congress McKinley won distinction through his extraordinary ability, his capacity for downright hard work, and his

power of ready application to the problems of national life. He grew to full stature as a statesman by actual, constant participation in the business of federal legislation. Naturally a student, he concerned himself with those questions which directly involve the material prosperity of the people. No man ever placed a higher estimate upon the majesty of public opinion. He has always kept in close touch with the people, and remained obedient to their will. If he led in public thought it was because the people approved and were with him. He swayed men not so much by the arts of eloquence and oratory but by the force of his ideas. He convinced men by the justice of his cause, the absolute honesty of his purpose.

At the beginning of McKinley's second term he took Garfield's place as a member of the Ways and Means Committee when the latter became president, a place which he held until the close of his congressional career, during the last term of which he became the chairman of this committee and the acknowledged leader of the House. Then, at the age of forty-six, he put his superior talents in evidence. There was no trimming, no truckling, in the manner of his leadership. The people of the nation in the preceding election had declared for protection, and McKinley, firmly grounded in his belief in that doctrine, profoundly convinced as to its economic importance and utility, and familiar with every detail of the history of its application, led the way for its adoption as the policy of the government.

It was William McKinley who formulated and constructed the Tariff Bill of 1890. In it were embodied his ideas of protection; it was passed, not by reason of any adroit manipulation of votes or schedules after it left the committee, but because it had been wisely conceived, ably defended, and because it deserved to pass. It is as the representative of Protection, and in connection with the Tariff Law of 1890 that McKinley is best known. Hear him in support of that measure as he spoke in the House of Representatives:

If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy as promulgated in the Republican platform, and heretofore inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party, should be

secured in any fiscal legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in the great contest and upon that mastering issue. I have interpreted that victory to mean, and the majority in this House and in the Senate to mean, that a revision of the tariff was not only demanded by the votes of the people, but that such revision should be on the line and in full recognition of the principle and purposes of protection. The people have spoken; they want their will registered and their decree embodied in public legislation. . . .

We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the federal government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent, we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit and national honor, we are at the very front, abreast with the best and behind none.

In 1891, one year after the McKinley Bill became a law, in an address before the Home-Market Club of Boston, Major McKinley said in reference to that measure:

The principle upon which that bill was made permitted everything to come into this country free which we could not make or did not propose to make, except luxuries, and we put the tariff upon the foreign products that compete with the American products, to the end that we might encourage American production and American labor. And there is not a line of that law that is not American, there is not a page of it that is not patriotic, there is not a paragraph that is not dedicated to the American home. Why, they said prices were going up last fall. The campaign prevaricator had a wide range, and he played his part well. The law had been in operation but about three weeks, when the elections of last year took place. But the campaign prevaricator is out of business on that law now. As I said, it has been in operation twelve months. We never had so much domestic trade in any twelve months of our history. We never had as much foreign trade in any twelve months since the beginning of the federal government as we have had since this bill has become a law. We never bought as much abroad in any twelve months in our history as we bought in the first twelve months of this law, largely because of the new free list, made under protection lines, in this law. We put everything on the free list that we could not produce ourselves. We have sold more abroad in these twelve months than in any twelve months since the administration of George Washington, and when Europe came to settle the balance of trade with us after the first twelve months of operation with us under

that law, Europe paid to the United States $99,000,000 in gold, representing the excess of what Europe bought of us over what we bought of Europe.

So much for the actual working of the McKinley Tariff Law which in the presidential campaign of 1892 was maligned after every fashion until in the election of that year the people voted for a "change." Then from the throes of defeat came the voice of the apostle of protection, sounding the tocsin of his party. Nothing could better illustrate the character of the man. Stirred by the conditions of the period and unflinching in his conviction that the cause of protection and Republicanism must ultimately triumph he gave utterance in that hour of defeat to these words in an address before the Lincoln Club of Columbus, O., delivered on the 14th of February, 1893.

The Republican party [he said] values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse, as before, because it believes in them; and believing in them is ready to battle for them. They are not espoused for mere policy, nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong in the hearts of the party, and are interwoven with its struggles, its life, and its history. Without discouragement, our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine, and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true nor made faith in their ultimate triumph less firm. The party accepts with true American spirit the popular verdict, and, challenging the interpretation put upon it by our political opponents, takes an appeal to the people, whose court is always open and whose right of review is never questioned.

Continuing upon this occasion, Major McKinley effectively described the conditions which prevailed less than one month before the inauguration of President Cleveland on March 4, 1893. These words are of deep significance to-day as the experiences of the past three years are forced into marked and appalling contrast with those preceding:

In a few days the country passes into the control of the Democratic party, in a condition of matchless prosperity in every department of industry. We do not leave them a legacy of hard times, idle industries unproductive enterprises, and unemployed labor. We turn over to them a country with unprecedented activity in every avenue of human employment, with labor in active demand and better paid than in all our history before; a government with unparalleled resources and

credit, and with no stain upon its honor. "The year 1892," says Dun's Review of Trade, "has been the most prosperous ever known in business." This is the non-partisan testimony of the triumph of the revenue and financial policies of the Republican party.

This is the business endorsement of thirty years of Republican rule. This was a year, too, of "unconstitutional tariffs" and "sham reciprocity." This was the year, according to our adversaries, that the Republican policy was robbing the people.

This was the faithful picture of the country three years ago, upon the conclusion of President Harrison's administration, which McKinley presented. Now, after three years of Democratic rule, he speaks again, and the proportions of the contrast widen almost to the infinite, but they are known full well to every citizen. At the banquet of the Marquette Club held February 12 of the present year in Chicago, in an address upon Abraham Lincoln he said :

Witnessing the government as we do to-day, with its debt-increasing, bond-issuing, gold-depleting, labor-destroying, low-tariff, British free-trade policy, with what mighty force the words of Lincoln, written more than half a century ago, come to us in this hour and emergency ! They read as if written for the living present, not for the forgotten past.

Why, do you know that as far back as March 1, 1843, at a Whig meeting in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln offered a series of resolutions relating to the tariff which could well be accepted here to-night? Let me read from this address his profound observations upon tariff and taxation and their relation to the condition of the country. He said :

"The first of our resolutions declares a tariff of duties upon foreign importations, producing sufficient revenue for the support of the general government, and so adjusted as to protect American industry, to be indispensably necessary to the American people ; and the second declares direct taxation for a national revenue to be improper.

"For several years past the revenues of the government have been unequal to its expenditures, and consequently loan after loan, sometimes direct and sometimes indirect, has been resorted to. By this means a new national debt has been created, and is still growing on us with a rapidity fearful to contemplate—a rapidity only reasonably to be expected in time of war.

"A tariff sufficient for revenue, or a tax, must soon be resorted to, and, indeed, we believe this alternative is now denied by no one.

"By the direct tax system none can escape. However strictly the citizen may exclude from his premises all foreign luxuries—fine cloths, fine silks, rich wines, golden chains, and diamond rings—still for the possession of his house, his barn, and his homespun, he is to be perpetually haunted and harassed by the tax-gatherer. With these views

we leave it to be determined whether we or our opponents are the more truly democratic on the subject."

Perhaps it was not entirely accidental that these views of Mr. Lincoln found almost literal expression in the Republican national platform of 1860. Nor is it strange that this year, as in 1860, no chart is needed to mark the Republican position upon this great economic question. The whole world knew a year in advance of its utterance what the Republican platform of 1860 would be, and the whole world knows now, and has known for a year past, what the Republican platform of 1896 will be.

Then the battle was to arrest the spread of slave labor in America; now it is to prevent the increase of illy-paid and degraded free labor in America. The platform of 1896, I say, is already written—written in the hearts and at the homes of the masses of our countrymen. It has been thought out around hundreds of thousands of American firesides —literally wrought out by the new conditions and harsh experiences of the past three years.

On the great questions still unsettled, or in dispute between the dominant parties, we stand now just as we did in 1860, for Republican principles are unalterable. On the subject of protection to American labor and American interests we can reaffirm the Lincoln platform of 1860. It needs neither amendment nor elaboration. Indeed, we could begin the platform of 1896 in the exact words with which the fathers of the Republican party began the platform of 1860. Its first plank, you will remember, reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

This was said near the close of the last Democratic administration, which for a time controlled all branches of the national government. With what truth it applies to the present Democratic administration, which for two years following March 4, 1893, again had control of all branches of the national government.

But William McKinley's close identification with the doctrine of protection is not his only title to distinction in a public sense. His complete mastery of this one fundamental subject, however, is all the more noteworthy when it is considered that upon other great subjects of public concern he is a man possessed of full information and sound views. His labors in Congress were not alone confined to the Committee on Ways and Means and the consideration of the tariff. He served faithfully and well on many other representative committees, among them, that on the Revision of Laws, the Committees on Expenditures, Post-Offices,

and Rules, and the Judiciary Committee. That he is at all times responsive to the sentiment of the people and in full and consistent accord with the most advanced thought of the times is clearly evidenced by his public addresses. Upon the important questions of finance, civil service, public education, and the many problems incident to our relations with foreign powers, his public utterances show him to be a man of moderation, sound sense, and genius, with pronounced views fashioned by experience and cast in the mold of the truest Americanism.

In the field of executive work alone, his career is rich in achievement. As the governor of the Buckeye State for four years his two administrations were characterized by dignity and efficiency. The same qualities of statesmanship which distinguished his service in Congress found employment in the direction which he gave to the affairs of a great state, and with a larger field for the exercise of his natural administrative talents he rounded out an important period in his public life to the acknowledged satisfaction of a large and important constituency.

Quick and powerful in his application of political logic to passing events, keenly perceptive of human needs amid changing conditions, it is always with candor and straightforward purpose that McKinley delivers himself of opinion, unconsciously challenging criticism and commanding respect. Some of the closing words of his recent address before the Marquette Club, previously referred to, are pertinent to the present situation in the country and convey an idea of the man's exceeding breadth of thought. It is not to be accounted strange that the recent Republican State Convention of Ohio should incorporate these words in its platform, a fact which adds to their pertinency at this time:

> It may be asked [said Major McKinley] what the next Republican tariff law will provide. I cannot tell you. I cannot tell you what the rates will be, but they will measure the difference between American and European conditions, and will be fully adequate to protect ourselves from the invasion of our markets by oriental products to the injury of American labor, and will in no case be too low to protect and exalt American labor and promote and increase American production.
>
> No one need be in any doubt about what the Republican party stands for. Its own history makes that too palpable and clear to admit of

doubt. It stand for a reunited and recreated nation, based upon free and honest elections in every township, county, city, district, and state in this great American Union. It stands for the American fireside and the flag of the nation. It stands for the American farm, the American factory, and the prosperity of all the American people. It stands for a reciprocity that reciprocates and which does not yield up to another country a single day's labor that belongs to the American workingman. It stands for international agreements, which get as much as they give, upon terms of mutual advantage. It stands for an exchange of our surplus home products for such foreign products as we consume but do not produce. It stands for the reciprocity of Blaine; for the reciprocity of Harrison; for the restoration and extension of the principle embodied in the reciprocity provision of the Republican tariff of 1890.

The Republican party stands for a foreign policy dictated by and imbued with a spirit that is genuinely American; for a policy that will revive the national traditions and restore the national spirit which carried us proudly through the earlier years of the century. It stands for such a policy with all foreign nations as will insure both to us and them justice, impartiality, fairness, good faith, dignity, and honor. It stands for the Monroe Doctrine as Monroe himself proclaimed it, about which there is no division whatever among the American people. It stands now, as ever, for honest money and a chance to earn it by honest toil. It stands for a currency of gold, silver, and paper with which to measure our exchanges that shall be as sound as the government and as untarnished as its honor.

My fellow-citizens, let us cherish the principles of our party and consecrate ourselves anew to their triumph. We have but to put our trust in the people; we have but to keep in close touch with the people; we have but to hearken to the voice of the people, as it comes to us from every quarter; we have but to paint on our banners the sentiment the people have everywhere expressed at every election during the last three years, "Patriotism, Protection, and Prosperity," to win another most glorious and decisive national victory.

In the national conventions of his party McKinley has been a commanding figure. He was a delegate at large from Ohio in the convention of 1884 and supported James G. Blaine for the presidency. In 1888, again as a delegate at large, he sought by all honorable means to secure the nomination of John Sherman. Mr. Blaine's memorable "Florentine letter" was one of the historic events of the convention which remained in session a whole week. Gradually the situation became complicated and there developed an intense feeling for McKinley as the one man who could harmonize the diverging elements. On Saturday, June 22, the surging undercurrent gained perceptible headway.

When Connecticut was reached in the roll call and cast a vote for McKinley, the man rose to his feet and before that convention made a plea for the honor of his position. As has been faithfully written, "He rose in the midst of the roll call and said Ohio had sent him there to support John Sherman, and his heart and his judgment accorded with his instructions. He could not remain silent with honor, nor, consistent with the credit of Ohio, honorable fidelity to John Sherman, or with his own views of personal integrity, consent or seem to consent to be a candidate. 'I would not respect myself,' he said with impassioned utterance, 'if I could find it in my heart to do, or to say, or permit to be done, that which would even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request, I demand that no delegate who would not cast a reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me!'"

McKinley's manly character, his profound sense of honor, his absolute faithfulness were evidenced by that speech. It was the sensation of the convention. Seldom has such a scene been witnessed at any public gathering. He would "rather be right than president." Here the hackneyed phrase is capable of genuine application. With the presidency almost within grasp, he cast it aside rather than betray a trust. Finally, Blaine's letter came, again avowing his determination not to be a candidate, and Benjamin Harrison was nominated. In the convention of 1892 McKinley was the permanent chairman and supported Harrison. Here, notwithstanding his disapproval of the course taken by many of his friends in voting for him, he received on the final ballot nearly as many votes as the lamented Blaine, in number 182½, while Harrison was nominated by 535 votes.

Now and for the first time in his life William McKinley is entered in the list of presidential candidates. His public record, open to all the world, familiar in all its aspects to his countrymen, his character bearing no stain, against which there can be no honest reproach, commend him to the confidence and favor of his party and the people. His genius, his

statesmanship, his integrity of purpose and nobility of character, typify him as the ideal American. What words could scarcely express with more of simple truth was uttered by United States Senator-Elect Foraker at the recent Republican State Convention in Ohio. Herein is contained the sentiment of the people who verily know and love William McKinley. Thus did Senator Foraker describe the man of the hour:

William McKinley is our own. He lives here in Ohio, and always has lived in our midst. He is our friend, our neighbor, our fellow-citizen, our fellow Republican. Shoulder to shoulder with him we have been fighting the battles of Republicanism in this state for a generation. We know him and he knows us. We know his life, his character, his public services, and his fitness for the place for which he has been named.

He has been our soldier comrade, our representative in Congress, our governor. By all these tokens we here to-day present him to the Republicans of the other sections of the Union as our choice, and ask them to make him theirs. In every community, in every municipality, in every mill and mine and furnace and forge and workshop, everywhere throughout all this broad land where capital is invested or labor is employed, William McKinley is the ideal American statesman, the typical American leader, and the veritable American idol.

No man ever in public life in this country enjoyed such universal popularity as his. No man in this country in public life ever commanded, as he now commands, the affections of the great mass of the voters of this country. Blameless in private life, as he has been useful and illustrious in public life, his name, in our judgment, will inspire more confidence, excite more enthusiasm, and give greater guarantee of success than any other name that can be inscribed on the Republican banner.

NED ARDEN FLOOD.

CITIZENSHIP, CIVIC AND ECCLESIASTIC.

BY REV. ADOLPH ROEDER.

OUR day is a day of educational advancement without parallel. And as such it brings with it new views of things old and of things unborn, and generates new responsibilities and new conceptions. Positive are many of these—but negative, too, many others. Doubt and hesitation arise on points of which men were quite sure heretofore, and no symptom of political life is so prominent to-day as a token of these two factors as the split ticket and its consequence, the landslide.

Not least among the points that arise as questions before the mind of the faithful citizen is that of his relation to church and state. The A. P. A., Mormonism, the method of Sunday observance, the contract of marriage, and many other familiar topics, are questions which border so closely upon accepted religious ground, that it is difficult to draw the distinct lines required for clear comprehension. The citizen who is struggling between his allegiance to the church and his loyalty to the state is in a sad predicament, and the question of the Vatican and the Quirinal, and the stupidly pathetic struggle between Pius IX. and Victor Emmanuel in the days of old, leap into sudden uncomfortable prominence. The citizen, debating the question of a boundary of duties between church and state, of both of which he is a member and a citizen, becomes keenly alive to the fact that he is going over some very old ground, that Bismarck and the Jesuits, Pius IX. and Victor Emmanuel, are only modern instances of a question that trails along backward through the days of Roger Williams and Oliver Cromwell, of Martin Luther and Henry VIII., of Canossa and Ravenna, of Arius and Constantine. He is facing a problem as old as the hills and worthy of his most earnest attention. It is the question, Where does duty to the church end and duty to the state begin? It may be

well in the consideration of this question to go back some distance into history.

Trace backward with me any one series of movements. Given any community, starting in the wilds. There is the usual clearing among the trees, a vague attempt at railroading, a dim vision of telegraph poles, a few stray houses, and that wonderful thing, a general store. John Smith runs this general store and on its shelves you find everything imaginable, from a paper of pins to a silk hat, from a cake of soap to an oilskin sou'wester. The shed and the front porch hold bags of grain and plows, seed potatoes and stoves, coal-oil and paris green. One window is full of zephyrs and corsets, the other contains the post-office and a sign that John Smith is agent for the best fire insurance company in the world, with a capital indicated by an endless string of ciphers, and that he is likewise a real-estate agent, a notary public, and a blacksmith. The chances are, that if you want to see John Smith on business, his wife will have to call him in from the farm before you can do so. But gradually, as the community grows, and there is more business done, there are more wants to supply, and more inhabitants to settle in the village and on the farm, John Smith drops his farming. Next he drops the dry goods in his store. Then the hardware goes, because other business men have established special lines of these things. Presently also the real-estate sign and the indication of the notary public disappear, and finally the little post-office in the window crowds out the grocery store, and John finds that he has all he can do in just simply being postmaster for the little village, in which when it first began he was everything.

It is, of course, a ridiculously small picture, but yet it contains an amount of information and a kind of information which the student of history cannot afford to neglect. Take the very same picture upon larger ground, and you will find that what was true in the small community of men is true of the large community of souls. Go back to the origin of the Christian Church, and you find her the dispenser of all things. Art, education, music, everything starts in and with the church. She is and has all things, from the highest to the lowest. She teaches her

people; she recognizes them when they come into the world and when they go out of it; she places her tag and label upon them in their various ways of life and demands of them their allegiance, and prescribes to them their duties; she cares for them when they are sick and buries them when they are dead; she teaches them to read and write, and taxes them for the only system of finance with which antiquity is familiar. Thus begins the church, with a wilderness of duties, in the midst of which she is all things to everybody. But now note the evolution of the church. Take close heed of what has come to pass. Go back with me to the misty edge of time. Here there looms forward out of a legendary period of the demigods the world's childhood, when the eyes have not yet learned to see and the hands have not yet been taught to handle, a vast picture of the patriarchate. Dim is the vision, but sufficiently distinct to tell that neither church nor state has yet been born. It is the family. It is the distinct cognizance of individuality, and man is not yet a social being. But presently, out of the obscurity of the human sea, there grows a church. It is a church in which the state is not yet recognized. There is no state as yet—the ruler of the church is both priest and king, after the order of Melchizedek. There is no distinction as yet between the divine right of priests and the divine right of kings. The fruit has not yet ripened to a degree of distinction. But glance along hitherward a little farther and the record of the national life of the days of old is epitomized for us in the story of Saul. One convulsive throb, and the state is born. There is a church and there is a state. The figure of Saul overtopping the plebs by head and shoulders becomes symbolical of the method of the genesis of a state—a method the same at all times and in every epoch of the world's history.

And thus the church and state step apart. The duties of neither are distinctly recognized as yet. It takes many years, nay, it takes many centuries, until this demarcation line can be established. It is not established yet, even at this late day. It is a matter of slow growth. At first there was a general division between the two giant entities over the civil, moral, and legal

aspects of the case. From those wild days at Canossa up to the time of the Magna Charta and even later, it took all the time and skill of diplomats, and all the mental and moral forces of the race, to distinguish these general outlines, where the church ends and where the state begins.

And the task of setting such a boundary line would be as hopeless as the attempts of the French Figaro to define the policy of England and Russia in Turkey, if it were not for the fact that, back of all human attempts, failures, and successes, there is a mighty law—a law, which, for want of a better name, we call the law of evolution—which is sweeping on resistlessly upon its pathway and the tokens of whose healthful activity are to be noted in every line of human life.

Trace the question a little more in detail. When the general outline of the legal, moral, and civic aspect of things had come into some kind of appreciable shape in the time of the Edwards in England, there had already been at work, and there continued at work, a series of hidden powers whose resultant products have escaped the eye of the careless student. Gradually there had drifted out of the church certain of its holdings. As in the case of John Smith, who relinquished one duty after the other until there was nothing left to him but the postmastership, but who found all he could do in that, so the church gradually lost and is to-day gradually losing a vast territory, of which she had a temporary control, but which must now be handed over to the state, so that she may attend to the more "weighty matters of the law." Take art. Divide it into its two branches, music and painting. Nothing is better known than the fact that both of these branches first grew up under the fostering care of the church, and that, in spite of the little revulsions of feelings under the iconoclasts, they continued under the fostering care of the church until within the recent past. Now where are they? Beethoven, Gluck, Palestrina, Handel, Haydn, and Bach, in fact all the names of the musicians of old, are intimately interwoven with the name and work of the church. But where is the connection between Wagner, Mendelssohn, or even Liszt, or the men of the modern schools, such as Grieg, Tschaikowski, Rubin-

stein, Sullivan, Foote, and the church? Put Bach's "Passionsmusik" and Wagner's "Götterdämmerung" side by side, and in the comparison of the two giant efforts, equal in mastership, equal in conception, equal in symmetry and power, you have the point I am trying to make. Music has drifted out of the church. She still sings the old masters, and she will continue to sing, but music has turned to the world. And now take painting. Cimabue, Raphael, Rubens, Titian, Da Vinci, compare them with the men of to-day, West, Tucker, Whistler, Muncaczy, Hogarth, Chlodowiecky, and what does the comparison show? It shows the point that painting has drifted out of the church. Put a Hans Makart alongside of a Raphael, and you have again the point which I am trying to make.

What is true of art is true of those lines of human activity which run rather upon the material plane than upon that of ethics and the artistic sense. Whence comes education? From the bosom of the church. For it is quite well known that there was a time when the church furnished all the clerks, when "clerk" and "clergy" were but different ways of saying the same thing—but who furnishes the education now? The state. And that wing of the church which doubts the right of the state to run, to control, and to establish the school will have a very trying time to prove its position and has had such a time of late. In the same way it might be shown that the theater traces back its legitimate origin to the mysteries, or *mysteria*, of the church, that the state institution of charity is the legitimate child of the hospice of the church, that even science roots back in the church through astrology and alchemy, the ancient rootlets of science, upon which modern skill has grafted astronomy and chemistry. And so question after question arises and receives its answer, in either a definite or a halting way. So that finally even the question of marriage has been agitated as a civil contract, rather than as one requiring the sanction of the church.

What, now, are the deductions to be made along this line? Is there a tendency toward the extinction of church citizenship and a gradual evolution of state citizenship only? What a useless question. Of course not. Did John Smith lose "his hold upon

the masses" by dropping the temporary offices he held and finally turning postmaster and that alone? Not at all. He became more intimately concerned with the actual life of the community in which he held a prominent place. So if the church finds that on the ground of things temporal she apparently loses her hold, it is simply a symptom that she is growing more rapidly and developing more strongly upon the field which properly belongs to her. An unprejudiced observer will note that what the church loses in temporal things she gains in things which are eternal. What drifts beyond her pale in things of the world, she has gained and is gaining in things spiritual.

If in the resistless march of evolutional development, the state legitimately and obviously lays claim to certain ever-increasing factors, it is not difficult to see that the church, divested of the care of these things, can turn her attention earnestly and sincerely to those more delicate departments of human life, the intuitive and mysterious workings in which and of which are still subject to gross misconception, to misty superstition, to dense ignorance.

It is a helpful thought, rather than a distressing one, to find earnest and convincing thinkers and writers active upon the questions of citizenship, and intent upon their various efforts to define a boundary line which is coming more and more clearly to the surface. We approach the solution of the question more and more nearly with every step in the march of progress, whereby a man is enabled to recognize more clearly what *is* the spiritual side of a question and what its natural side. And every step in that march points in the direction that man's social and civil attitude toward his neighbor creates citizenship of the state; while his mental attitude toward his neighbor conditions and constitutes citizenship of the church. To act rightly and to speak rightly are matters for the thoughtful consideration of the state-citizen. To add to such action the accomplishment of willing and thinking rightly are matters to occupy the attention of the church-citizen. And both fields are equally large and of equally momentous importance.

ADOLPH ROEDER.

THE NATIONAL PERIL.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT, ESQ.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in his famous Gettysburg Address, said, referring to the then still unfinished war for the Union, that the loyal people of the country were engaged in a struggle to see whether a nation conceived in the spirit of liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal could long endure. Not only did the conflict then being waged end in triumph for the national cause, but they who had rebelled threw down their arms, so hopelessly defeated that, if we may judge by their conduct, the unthinking and, to a great extent, the thoughtful too, believe that the struggle of which Mr. Lincoln spoke ended at Appomattox and that, as a nation, we have finally and forever settled that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." It would be agreeable to one's proneness to civic indolence to share in this belief and to feel that the effort, the sacrifices, the toil, and the warfare necessary to perpetuate free government already have been expended by those who preceded us on the field of action, that we, their descendants, are the fortunate possessors of a sort of paid-up insurance policy guaranteeing to us, without labor or exertion on our part, and to our posterity in turn, uninterrupted enjoyment of the liberties which have come to us "through the costly sacrifice" of thousands of martyrs to civil liberty.

This would be a cheerful, a pleasing view to take, but it is not permitted to one who may look beneath the surface thus to indulge his fondness for political repose. The truth is that we are to-day, no less than in Mr. Lincoln's time—nay, much more than then—face to face with the necessity of waging a warfare to preserve free institutions and to make it certain that our republic shall for long endure. It is true that we have

no armed foe within our borders and that we may, with reason, regard ourselves as invincible to attack from without. But notwithstanding this fact, our institutions are assailed by a more insidious foe than ever marshalled on a battlefield and a greater peril than hung over our country during the Civil War threatens to-day the integrity of our government. This foe is corruption, which endangers the very existence of our institutions by destroying the patriotic virtue and manhood on which alone the security of those institutions rests. When armies defied the national authority and sought the nation's life, it was, in a sense, a contest of physical force with physical force, which might have ended either way without seriously impairing the manly virtues of the people. Had Pickett's charge up Cemetery Hill not been beaten back, had the battle of Gettysburg ended in the rout and ruin of the Union army, had the boast of a Confederate general that he would call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill been realized and the nation been dismembered, still we need not have wholly despaired of free institutions, for the principles of free government would have survived in the hearts of men to reassert themselves when the hour of madness should have passed and the clouds of darkness lifted. Physical power might have overthrown, but could not have destroyed liberty itself. So long as real men survive, liberty will live, but when men degenerate into mere things of barter and sale, the Goddess of Liberty will depart from our shores, for she will have no abiding place. It is not in mountain, valley, or plain that you will find her habitation, but in the hearts and brains of clear-headed, incorruptible men. The honest heart and unclouded mind furnish the only environment needful that liberty may grow. In the history of the world, the same territory has, in turn, nurtured freemen and a servile race. The difference was not in the land, but in the inhabitants thereof. Our own land may remain as beautiful, as fruitful, as now and yet our people may become incapable of maintaining the liberties which they have inherited.

It is worse than folly for us to imagine that we are the especial favorites of providence, that we can disregard the law of moral

gravitation and our institutions suffer no shock in consequence. So long as we comply with the conditions of civic prosperity we may hope to prosper, but when we fail to meet those requirements, we shall fall from our high estate. Governments and peoples cannot escape from the universal law of cause and effect. We cannot, in politics, sow corruption and reap incorruption. As we sow so shall we reap. Disgraceful enactments like the ill-famed race-track legislation in New Jersey, three years ago, are but the moral consequences of immoral political action. The infliction of such laws upon us is the righteous punishment of unrighteous conduct. It is no more just that a man who plants and cultivates a field should harvest the product than that a people careless of their political honor should gather fruits that will shame them before the world. Natural results of public and political action will and ought to come to pass. No miracle will save us from the consequences of our acts. In his maiden speech in the House of Commons, John Bright said to the government of the day, "You have been sowing curses, and you now wonder that curses have grown." The Alpha and Omega of political philosophy is embodied in that pregnant sentence. And the curse that we are sowing and of which I wish especially here to speak is the terrible curse of bribery. It is not merely an evil but it is a growing and expanding evil. Its nature is to grow by what it feeds upon and never to stand still. Like an octopus it has thrown out its tenticles in all directions until scarcely a branch of our government is wholly free from the pollution of its clammy touch. It is not merely that men buy and sell votes, but under the influence of this practice every sphere of political activity is rapidly coming to be dominated by the idea of private compensation for public services rendered. Under its malign influence patriotism is becoming unfashionable, almost ridiculous. Disinterested activity is gradually being eliminated from political life, and to a deplorable extent office is bestowed for cash or its equivalent, and the young man whose ambition would leave him to serve the state is confronted with the necessity of buying the opportunity with his own money or of selling his talents for the money of others. It is an open secret

that when patronage is to be distributed candidates for favor are expected to "put up" a stipulated sum in order to have their "claims" seriously considered by the "leaders." This is a return to the old English system of disposing of positions in the public service by purchase and in such a system patriotism has no place. Among our standard so-called "practical politicians" a patriot is as much out of place as is a learned physician among a body of ignorant quacks. His point of view, his methods, and his aim are so different that he cannot coöperate with them. He is, therefore, driven by circumstances into the rather undignified position of faultfinder and critic, for his fitness for power becomes his disqualification for preferment.

It is no schoolboy declamation, no hysterical shriek of the alarmist, to say that unless the rising tide of bribery and corruption shall be checked and turned back our system of government must fall and that at a no distant day. It cannot survive when that upon which alone it rests is gone, any more than our capitol buildings could stand after the foundation stones should have been, one by one, removed. Do not misunderstand me. I believe I am no pessimist, nor yet, perhaps, an optimist. I do not think our forms of government are likely soon to be overturned no matter what may or may not be done. But forms are of little present value without the substance. Our written constitutions, our statutes may remain, and yet all that those constitutions were intended to preserve or those statutes to enforce, may be almost if not wholly lost to us. A government may survive as an articulated machine long after it has ceased to be the living embodiment of the principles it was meant to cherish. The monarchical government of Great Britain, with all its senseless forms, still exists, a large portion of the British people still fawn upon their princes and princelets, but England is governed by a democratic republic under the forms of the ancient monarchy, and English democracy is furnishing to us examples in popular, efficient, and economical municipal government which we should do well to study. In England, therefore, we see a monarchy with many of the advantages of a republic, and we may, on the other hand, yet see in our own country a republic with the chief

drawbacks of a monarchy. It will be perfectly possible to destroy the essentials of our system while we leave untouched its forms. We may be ruled by despots without possessing royal families. The title makes no man king and a ruler may be in every essential a czar without a crown. Victoria is but the paid official head of British society, while Oliver Cromwell, uncrowned, ruled England, a king in his every act. Our forms may, therefore, become a mere skeleton from which all that was once vital in the republic shall have decayed and fallen away.

We remember how, as schoolboys, our indignation was stirred by the story of Cæsar's overthrow of the Roman Republic, but Roman liberty had become a mere tradition to a corrupted people long before the conqueror of Gaul crossed the Rubicon. Not only do forms alone afford no protection, but the very forms of free government may be used to enslave a people. From the time of its organization to the reign of Henry VIII. the British Parliament was regarded as the bulwark of English liberty, and it was the constant study of arbitrary kings to dispense with parliaments as much as possible. But in Henry's reign, Thomas Cromwell made use of this organ of freedom to accomplish the most merciless work of arbitrary rule. And thus, at a time when the representatives of the people were called together oftener than they ever had been before, England held her breath under her Reign of Terror. As Mr. Green, the historian, says of Cromwell, "He saw in the Parliament a means of shrouding the boldest aggressions of the monarchy under the veil of popular assent and of giving to the most ruthless acts of despotism the stamp and semblance of law." History furnishes other similar examples. George III. deliberately attempted much the same thing through the bribery of Parliament, and his minister declared that the king had discovered that "the forms of free and the ends of arbitrary government were not altogether incompatible." The resistance of the colonies contributed in no small degree to frustrate George's designs, but with the bribery of voters unchecked and unresisted, our latter-day kings — the political bosses and public plunderers—will soon convince us of the truth of Lord Bute's remark and will demonstrate to us and

the world that the "forms of a free and the ends of an arbitrary government" are only too easily reconcilable.

The successful working of our governmental system depends on the constant watchfulness and periodical expression of public opinion. Only this and nothing more. Mr. Lowell says, "All free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion, and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends." Neither constitutions nor statutes will preserve our rights. These are but the written evidences of what our institutions really are. Before there were constitutions constitutional principles existed, and, on the other hand, constitutions may remain after these principles shall have been overthrown. Armies and navies may guard them from foreign assults but they cannot protect them from our own attacks. Our machinery, our forms of government, may be shielded by our military forces, but the American system itself, in its essence, in all that it was intended to be, in all that gives it any excuse for being, depends for its protection, for its preservation, upon the jealous care of an intelligent public opinion. Nothing can be substituted for this. Without this public opinion in action, free government can no more exist than a man could live without the life-blood coursing through his veins. It is positively and undeniably a *sine qua non*. The foundation principle of our system is that "the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe."

But public opinion is merely the collective opinions of individuals. It is the resultant of varying individual views. It is formulated after free discussion and debate, and its character will depend on the character of the individual whose common voice it is. When constitutionally expressed, all good citizens bow to its decree, however erroneous they may regard it, and trust to education of that opinion for future relief. Our protection, the protection of our neighbors, of every individual, against confiscation of our property or the deprivation of our liberties through socialistic vagaries or otherwise, in the last analysis, lie in the fact, if it shall be a fact, that a controlling number of our fellow-citizens are so enlightened, their sense of

justice so developed, and their human sympathies so keen, that they will not tolerate or permit any infringement of those absolute individual rights to protect which our government was founded. And this, after all, is the only real protection we have, and on this fact rests the justice of our public school system, by which I am taxed to educate my neighbor's children and he is taxed to educate the children of others still. We educate because we dare not risk the danger of having our citizens grow up uninstructed. If the masses of our citizens shall be ignorant, if they shall have no regard for justice and their manhood shall have been corrupted, then we shall be at the mercy of every gust of passion and shall be the helpless victims of every voting mob that conscienceless wealth may organize. The courts will not long protect, for where public sentiment shall become permanently corrupted our courts will reflect that sentiment and the judges will themselves become our worst oppressors. History demonstrates this as a principle and the record of the Tweed *régime* points to its application. I repeat, our form of government may be preserved, but the benefits which that form was meant to confer cannot be experienced with a corrupted opinion.

If, then, enlightened public opinion is more necessary for the safety of our institutions than constitutions, or armies and navies, what of the effect of bribery on this opinion? It can have but one effect and that is to destroy it, and by destroying it to crush out all that is vital in our system. Every individual opinion helps to make up public opinion. The individual's vote is a nullity if not an expression of his opinion. To vote, in any true sense, therefore, one must have an opinion. And when a man sells his vote, not only does he sell his opinion but he unfits himself for future sharing in the work of free government, which is nothing but government by opinion. He has betrayed a sacred trust and he cannot again be trusted. His right to vote at all was purchased by the lives and sacrifices of a long line of martyrs, and when he stoops to sell this blood-bought right for gold, he effaces from his nature all that should lift him above the brutes. His self-respect and manly

pride are forever gone. In vain will appeals henceforth be made to his judgment, to his sense of right. To no purpose will you point out to him that your property and your rights, and his as well, are imperiled, or that the honor of the state or nation is at stake, for his judgment, his opinion is hereafter to be confined to a choice between competing bidders for his ballot. He is more to be despised than any slave, for he goes voluntarily to the auction block. The slave-dealer could but sell the body, but our vote-seller makes merchandise of his soul. With a large number of such creatures on our voting lists how are we to govern by appeals to public opinion? By whom will that opinion be formed? Whence will come that living force of patriotism without which we cannot work our system?

If a majority or a number large enough to hold the balance of power are for sale, then our elections will be but public auctions. It will be simply a question of organizing syndicates to exploit an election, as a syndicate was organized to reap the profits of a sale of bonds, and it would be more simple, it would be more economical and infinitely less demoralizing, to sell our public positions direct and to advertise for proposals as we do in giving out other public work—awarding in this case to the highest bidders. The prices paid would go into the public treasury and the successful bidders might be put under bonds for a faithful performance of duty. Instead of canvassing votes, our returning boards would open and compare bids and the result would be as good an indication of the public will. True, we should be deprived of the fun of voting, but with the contest decided by purchased votes all voting is a farce. If any man can neutralize my vote by his own, and then can overwhelm me by the purchased votes of others, my equality, absolutely, is gone and I am, to all intents and purposes, as completely deprived of a vote as though I were a subject of Russia. And when our elections shall thus come, generally, to be controlled by bribes our institutions will be gone, our liberties will be lost. We shall find that they who purchase power will recoup the cost. We shall find that our property will be absorbed and our liberties will be restricted to satisfy their greed of gain and

their lust of power. And property will call, and every one who loves peace and quiet rather than turmoil and disorder, will call for some form of despotic rule, for the Man on Horseback to protect our property and to give us order, and we shall add another example of a fallen state to prove the folly of attempting free government with a people who will not be virtuous and who, therefore, cannot be free.

We are told that the evil of bribery has always been as great as now. This cannot be. If it had formerly been so bad, it must now be much worse. It is of the nature of such practices to grow until resolutely checked. They who have engaged in the practice will tell us that when a man has once been bought he must be bought again and they will tell us further that new men must be bought every year. The contagion of one man's example spreads perhaps by that law of human nature which leads prostituted virtue to seek to mitigate its own degradation by dragging others down. Men become familiar with the idea that money is to be paid for political service and from pay for what is known as legitimate party work to pay for voting one's party ticket is not so great a step that the average conscience can discern a great distinction, while from being paid to vote one's party ticket to selling one's vote to the highest bidder the descent is easy and rapid. The average community has both classes of purchasable voters. For all practical purposes they may be classed together. They are alike recreant citizens and neither counts in the formation of public opinion.

If we could know accurately the proportion of those clothed with the privileges and charged with the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship, who have become voting chattels, we should doubtless be appalled. A gentleman in Connecticut after careful investigation has placed the number of venal voters in that state at thirty per cent. Think of it! Out of every hundred voters, thirty for sale. But what of the rest of the country? Is it as a whole worse or better? I have no figures, but from reliable information I will venture to say that in my own state of New Jersey, it probably is a conservative estimate to say that twenty per cent of the voters are purchasable in one

way or another. This proportion is large, if not astounding, but this evil has grown frightfully in the past few years. For my own city I am sure this estimate is too low, while reports from the country districts agree that it is becoming more and more difficult to get out the vote without paying even men who own farms to induce them to go to the polls, while a certain element in the rural districts vie with their city brethren in showing that they are voters for revenue only.

Are other states on the average better off? Probably not. Now what does all this foreshadow? Does it bode any good to our institutions? Where is it all to end? Shall we as a people decide to let the future take care of itself and resolve to eat, drink, and be merry for to-morrow we die? Remember, whether or not the extent of this evil has been approximately stated here, it is growing and will continue to grow unless actively we fight it. Consider what power these purchasable voters, or rather they who buy them, have over us. In a political revolution in New Jersey last year the total vote for governor was 311,609. The plurality for Governor Griggs was 26,900. This was an unprecedented plurality in our state. In handing over the seal to his successor, Governor Werts remarked that never before had it been delivered to one so emphatically designated by the people to receive it. It would be natural to conclude that an influence which could control the number of votes represented by the plurality of Mr. Griggs would, in the normal condition of parties, practically rule the state. Yet this plurality was but eight and one-half per cent of the total vote. Twenty per cent—the probable proportion of purchasable voters—would make over 62,000 votes. With the normal division of parties, who with these 62,000 voters will rule New Jersey? Is it any wonder that we have been put to shame by our legislatures? Is it any wonder that when superior character and intelligence, as in the case of our new governor, is elevated to position it always seems to have been an accident rather than design?

What are we to do about it? These 62,000 voters will soon be 100,000, and the 100,000 will grow to be 150,000. This evil grows like a contagious disease. But, many of our leading citi-

zens will tell us that bribery is a necessary evil. The arguments in justification are not novel nor are they convincing. It is claimed that the bribe-giver only pays a man to do his duty and that his conduct is not altogether unlike that of the man who, by persuasion, prevails on another man to cast a similar vote. The bribe-giver, it is claimed, finds men already corrupt, he does not make them wicked, he only finds them so and by paying them prevents their evil propensities from producing bad results. Bribery by the other side is offered as a justification, and the evils of bribery are sought to be mitigated by a resort to bribery itself. This is homeopathic treatment with a vengeance. Why, it is asked, should not politicians pay unprincipled men not to injure the state or ruin the country? The necessity of fighting fire with fire is offered as an excuse. But there is a fallacy running through all this reasoning so plain that he who runs may read. If the number of purchasable voters was a fixed quantity, there might be some plausibility in the arguments of these men. But such is not the fact and therein lies their condemnation. By continuing the practice of buying those already corrupt they are adding to the number necessary to be bought next time. To save the country from supposed present evils they pile up future evils of far greater magnitude. For it becomes a mere matter of mathematical calculation to demonstrate that this process of saving the country will, if unchecked, make its ruin certain and complete. "After us, the deluge," seems to be the motto of our politicians. This method of fighting fire is worse than puerile for it regularly adds fuel to the flames and increases the area of the conflagration. The constantly augmented flames will never be quenched until they shall have consumed the country's manhood. Were our elections to be held once for all, these men might possibly justify their acts. Pitt might with some show of reason justify his payment of a million for the passage of the Irish Act of Union, for that act made it certain that there would be no succeeding Parliament to bribe. When, therefore, future elections are to be held, the success or failure of no candidate, the triumph or defeat of no policy can be so important as to justify resort to corruption. Important as

our success in a present contest may appear to be, it is far more important that the organs of government be kept honest and pure for the honest decision of all future contests, for in that purity and honesty lies the sole security of those who will come after us. I repeat that our system necessarily relies on the possibility of, from time to time, appealing to public opinion and that with the corruption of the sources of that public opinion the destruction of our system begins.

Hence I say that the danger which confronts us to-day is greater than that which the nation faced in the Civil War. Hence I say that the men who continue this practice are, unwittingly though it be, worse foes to the American Republic than the most virulent rebel who carried a musket on the field. For the foundation of this republic is the virtuous character of its individual citizens. To debauch one of these citizens is to strike a blow at the republic's life as surely as to shoot down a soldier is to weaken the army of which he forms a unit. Nay, it is worse than that. The soldier's loss is the loss of strength but it is not added weakness. A loyal supporter is withdrawn but a traitor is not added to the camp. But the corruption of a citizen not only robs the nation of a defender but it makes of that debauched citizen a life-long menace to the republic. Thus doubly is the nation weakened. Moreover, the example of the soldier's death may inspire greater devotion and service on the part of others, while the example of the corrupted citizen spreads a pestilence of corruption among his associates.

But what are we to do? The question is more easily asked than answered. Horace Greeley used to say that the way to resume specie payments was to resume, and we might say that the way to stop bribery is to stop it. Certainly we may say to those engaged in this practice that the way to stop bribery is to cease giving bribes. But they are callous and public sentiment is dumb. Laws are not enforced and seem unlikely soon to be. But this we can do. We can arouse ourselves to a realizing sense of our "lost condition," of the peril to our country and its institutions, from this source. We can by ourselves becoming awakened create a sentiment that will point the finger of

scorn at reputable citizens and at members of Christian churches who patronize and countenance this unclean thing and that will mark them as false to their professions, false to their duties and obligations as citizens, and false to the memories of those who died to establish and to preserve free institutions for us. And when we shall have done this much we shall have accomplished great things. For the real danger to American institutions to-day is the civic ignorance and civic indolence of those who in a conventional sense are among our best educated and most moral citizens.

Educate public sentiment first, and the native intelligence of the American people will devise a remedy. When the evil shall once be thoroughly appreciated, its overthrow will be assured.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

FINANCE AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.*

BY MR. ARTHUR KITSON.

I.

I PURPOSE dealing with the money question, not from any political, but from a strictly scientific standpoint. It is one of the unfortunate results of our political system that problems regarding trade and currency—problems belonging as much to the domain of science as the atomic theory, or the principle of virtual velocities—are permitted to be solved by the ignorant majority, under the influence of passion and partisanship. Such a plan seems to me as irrational as that of solving medical, engineering, and mechanical problems by the popular vote.

The money question is a scientific problem and can be solved with the same degree of accuracy as any problem in mechanics or physics, providing we employ similar means and start from similarly correct premises.

The problem I wish to discuss is this: Why does the wealth production of nations fall so far below the normal capacity of their factors of production? How is it that with an abundance of natural resources—land, water, forests, and minerals—and a vast amount of labor power, ready and willing to employ itself—how is it that these factors are forced to remain idle?

The answer to these questions will, I think, be found in the solution of another and similar problem: Why is our industrial system so often stagnant, and how comes it that industrial progress is never continuous for any long period? These questions are so important, they so far transcend all other political and social questions, that one would expect the attention of statesmen and economists would be concentrated upon them to the exclusion of all others, until a satisfactory solution was

* A lecture delivered before the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Nov. 22, 1895.

obtained. But our public men have come to regard panics and business depressions as inevitable, and unless they desire to use them to arouse party prejudice and foment partisan hatred, these questions scarcely receive any attention from them.

The scientific world becomes intensely interested in the announcement of some new labor-saving invention, by which so many thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of dollars may be saved annually. But apparently little heed is given by our scientists to the greatest labor-saving device ever invented; a machine which is periodically getting out of order and causing losses so enormous that the mind can hardly conceive their magnitude. Just now all Europe is wild over the discoveries of gold in Africa, and immense fortunes have been created in the space of a few months. But the amount of currency (in the form of credit) that was destroyed in this country alone, within five months in 1893, by the disorganization of our financial system, exceeds the total African gold supplies, if continued at the present rate for the next fifteen years. Surely a system which can produce such appalling results is worthy the best attention the scientific world can give it. When I say these questions do not receive the attention they should, I do not mean to say that no attempts have been made to solve them. Attempts have frequently been made, but as to the skill and ability of those making such attempts, we may judge from one or two samples.

The stock answer given by our newspapers is "Overproduction." The reason men are idle and natural resources remain unemployed is that the markets are glutted with commodities. Goods are too cheap and it does not pay to produce more. This is the prevailing teaching, and the one that our commercial and industrial world has learned to accept. Acceptance of such a theory scarcely speaks well for the intelligence of our people. For it means that industrial progress has reached its limits. This Institute is devoted to the progress of science and invention. It is especially engaged in promoting industrial progress and rewarding those who distinguish themselves in the mechanical arts. Now, all inventions, or nearly all, have for

their immediate object the saving of labor and the facilitation of production. The whole spirit of invention and of industry is devoted toward increasing the quantities of goods, of cheapening commodities, and enlarging the world's stock of wealth. How, then, are we to reconcile the spirit of this Institute and of similar institutions throughout the world with the theory of "overproduction"? If that theory be true, then this Institute should dissolve; inventions must be abandoned; industrial progress must be arrested, for we have arrived at the confines of civilization.

I am reminded of Carlyle's sarcastic indictment of this theory. "Overproduction," says he, "runs it not so? Ye miscellaneous, ignoble, manufacturing individuals! Ye have produced too much! We accuse you of making above two hundred thousand shirts for the bare backs of mankind. Your trousers, too, which you have made, of fustian, cassimere, of Scotch plaid, of jean, nankeen, and woolen broadcloth, are they not manifold? Of hats for the human head, of shoes for the human foot, of stools to sit on, spoons to eat with—nay, what say we hats or shoes? You produce gold watches, silver forks, and epergnes, chiffoniers, and stuffed sofas—Heavens, the commercial bazaar and multitudinous Howels and Jameses cannot contain you. You have produced, produced—he that seeks your indictment, let him look around. Millions of shirts and empty pairs of breeches hang there in judgment against you. We accuse you of overproducing shirts, breeches, hats, shoes, and commodities in a frightful overabundance, and now there is a glut and your operatives cannot be fed."

So Carlyle wrote fifty years ago, and to-day his bitter sarcasm is just as much in place. Our able editors and great statesmen, backed here and there by a learned professor, sing the same old song. Our wheat-lands are too vast, our machinery is too perfect, our means of transportation too good. Hence prices are so low as to ruin the producer. In short, if we accept the explanation of our editors, statesmen, and financiers, we must conclude that our civilization is a mistake. Our inventions are to be abandoned, since they tend to overproduction and therefore

pauperism, and all the world's progress in science, art, invention, and discovery is a hideous system of retrogression leading to decay and ruin.

The slightest consideration of our social conditions will show us how false such a theory is. The incentive to the production of wealth is human desire. It is to satisfy their wants that men labor, and so long as there are men with unsatisfied wants, so long there must exist a natural market for goods. Now, no one would presume to assert that goods are not needed, that every one in the civilized world has a sufficiency of food, clothes, hats, shoes, shelter, books, and all the multitudinous things that go to make life enjoyable. How can there be overproduction when millions are in want of the necessaries of existence? But it is evidently not in this sense that the theory of "overproduction" is intended to be applied.

Preposterous as the theory is when taken in a literal sense, it actually contains a germ of truth when applied in a certain limited sense. It is quite true that sometimes goods sent to market are either unsaleable, or saleable only at a price below their cost of production. When such is the case their further production soon ceases. It is a common expression that there is no market for such and such goods. We do not mean by this expression that such goods are not needed. How many of our population are there who would not take an extra hat, pair of shoes, or suit of clothes? How many would wear gold watches if they had the means of purchasing them?

The industrial market to-day is not the natural market, where human wants may be freely satisfied, but a very limited one, where only a certain limited number of appetites may be appeased. And this market is limited by the amount of the means of purchasing—the medium of exchange. Between manufacturers and producers on one side, and purchasers and consumers on the other, modern civilization has erected an artificial medium—money. And it is solely by this medium that our industrial progress is gauged. We can produce no more than the money we have will transfer from one class to another.

To use an illustration: If the transportation between Phila-

delphia and New York were legally restricted to one railroad, then the commerce between these two cities would be gauged by (1) the number of cars the railroad company would furnish, and (2) the speed at which the cars traveled. The greatest number of cars that could be provided, moving at the most rapid rate consistent with safety, would be the limit of our inter-urban trade. And if there were no other city with which trade could be carried on, the productive capacity of each city would, so far as this reciprocal trade is concerned, be limited to the capacity of the railroad. And to carry our illustration still further: any attempt to increase the volume of this trade would be futile that had not for its immediate object an enlargement of transportation facilities.

At the present time, while the final objective end achieved in production is the satisfaction of desires, the first or immediate end sought is exchange. The development and specialization of industry whereby men produce quantities of goods far in excess of their own ability to consume, makes exchange the immediate object sought. Exchange is, therefore, absolutely necessary for life. Goods are produced for exchange, and hence the quantity produced must necessarily be limited by the exchange facilities. It is therefore clear that the medium of exchange is by far the most important question confronting us. If this is inadequate for carrying on the exchange of all the goods society is now capable of producing, of what use is it to increase the facilities of production? Imagine an engineer proposing to enlarge the capacity of a water-works, where the distributing mains were already too small for the present supply! Every possible view of this subject leads irresistibly to one conclusion: the reason that the amount of wealth produced by nations falls so much below the maximum capacity of their factors, is insufficiency and inefficiency of the means of exchange. It is this that causes the *actual* demand for goods to fall so far short of the *natural* demand. It is variations in the supply of the tools of exchange—money and credit—that causes industry alternately to flourish and stagnate. It is the enormous fluctuations in the value of money that so often causes fluctuations in prices, and

renders business so uncertain. And it is to this invention, this mechanism of exchange, to money and credit, we must look for a solution of our industrial woes.

I purpose dealing at once with the currency question, and shall endeavor to point out what, in my judgment, are the radical defects in our present system. I shall also try to show how they may be remedied.

The United States monetary system is said to be based upon the gold standard, and our statutes have created what is termed a standard unit of value, which consists of 25 8–10 grains of gold 9–10 fine.

Our legal currency consists of gold and silver coins, with copper and nickel tokens, and six different kinds of paper money. (1) United States notes, called greenbacks, secured only by the credit of the government, except that there is held in the treasury about thirty per cent of the amount of these notes in gold as a redemption fund.

(2) National bank notes, issues nominally by the various national banks of the country, but practically issued by the government. These are secured by the deposit of government bonds, are guaranteed by the government, and rest as completely on the credit of the government as the greenbacks do, though in a different way.

(3) Silver certificates, secured by a deposit of silver bullion.

(4) Gold certificates, secured by a like deposit of gold.

(5) Treasury notes, secured by a deposit of silver.

(6) Currency certificates.

All of these notes, together with our gold and silver dollars, circulate on a par, and are thoroughly interchangeable. The reason of this I shall explain presently. Gold is coined freely in any amount offered, while the coinage of silver has been restricted for years, and recently wholly stopped.

The total amount of this currency in circulation October 1, 1894, was $1,655,038,982, while there remained in the treasury $587,602,438, making a total of $2,242,641,420. The reserve fund which must be maintained by the treasury and banks reduces the available amount of legal tender to about $1,500,000,000.

Of this amount nearly $1,000,000,000 is paper money, consisting of certificates and notes before mentioned. Under our present system all this paper currency is supported by a so-called gold redemption fund, which our government tries to maintain at $100,000,000, but which in the past few years has often fallen far below this sum.

Such is the currency system of this country, and one which is as ridiculous, dangerous, and unsound as laws can well make it.

Both the gold and silver reserve funds are an absurdity, so far as giving stability of value to the paper currency is concerned. You could no more redeem 1,000,000,000 promises to pay $1 gold dollars, with $100,000,000 at a given time, than you could drive a camel through the eye of a needle. And the proper test of any system is when subjected to the greatest possible strain. The greatest strain to which our system could be subjected is instant redemption. Further, under our laws the gold certificates after redemption must be reissued, and hence no matter how often they may be redeemed, they must be reissued. These notes, therefore, form an unlimited demand for gold. It is unsound because the quantity of currency provided for business is totally inadequate to meet its demands. Indeed, our legal currency is inadequate even to carry on five per cent of the nation's commerce. Hence, credit, in every conceivable shape and form, is made to do duty, and ninety-five per cent of our real currency is not legal tender but credit, which is built upon the most unstable and precarious foundation possible.

Our currency system has provided no means of self-expansion commensurate with the growth of trade and increasing demands of commerce, and none whatever save that which comes from the accidents of gold mining. So that it is a fact that under the gold standard the industrial progress of the world is largely dependent upon the luck of gold mining.

One of the serious errors made by our public men regarding this question is, in treating coin and legal tender apart and distinct from credit. By far the greater proportion of exchange is carried on, not by legal tender, but by bills of exchange, promissory and credit notes, checks, due bills, etc. It is estimated

that fully ninety-five per cent of the commerce of the civilized world is performed by these instruments of credit which function as currency. If we take the definition of Francis Walker that that is money which does the money work, we must include credit in the category of money. At any rate, although we distinguish between credit and legal tender, so far as commerce and industry are concerned, credit does fulfil all the functions of money. It does facilitate exchange and act as its medium, and hence, in passing judgment upon any financial system, we must necessarily include all the personal and corporate instruments of credit in use or circulation within such a system. Now, if we consider the conditions offered for credit by our present system, and upon which it is built, we shall arrive at very different conclusions to what we shall if we simply confine our attentions to the mere volume of legal tender. And we shall see how insufficient for the world's commerce a single commodity like gold or silver is. Further, we shall see what a terribly wasteful and dangerous system that is which periodically created millions of dollars of currency and instantaneously sweeps it away.

In the report of the comptroller of the treasury of the United States for 1893, the individual deposits of the state banks, loan and trust companies, savings banks, and private banks of the United States are given as $3,070,462,680, and the individual deposits of the national banks as $1,465,446,904. In these figures are not included the deposits classed in bank statements under the head "Due to National Banks" and "Due to State Banks." Thus we see that the people of the United States, irrespective of whatever actual cash they may have on hand, have a purchasing ability, expressed in banks and trust companies, amounting to $4,535,909,584, or about three times as much money as the United States has placed in circulation. The greater part of this sum is either subject to check or issued as negotiable demand certificates. While deposits expressed in time certificates and in savings bank balances are not generally devoted to purchases by our people except under emergency, yet they are regarded as a cash asset in the hands of any man in relation to their power to pay debts or purchase commodities.

If we are to comprehend the monetary situation, and money supply in this country, and its relation to the rise and fall in prices, and the prosperity or depression of our business interests, we must fix firmly in our minds this great truth: that since bank-credit currency (to wit, checks and drafts drawn against bank deposit balances) is accepted on a par with United States currency or coin, in payment of a debt or of the purchase price of a commodity, therefore the supply of money in the country, regulating prices, cannot be considered as United States coin and currency alone, but must be considered as including the total sum of bank credits which, in relation to a commodity or debt, has the same buying and debt-paying power as the actual money of the government. The whole of the nation's currency would be required in New York City alone, were it not for the instruments of credit.

Now all this credit rests upon legal currency, and this in turn rests upon the treasury reserve, under the present treasury rulings. In other words, we have at least forty-five dollars of credit for every gold dollar provided by the government, subject to draft, even when that reserve is preserved intact. But this is only a small proportion of the load that gold is compelled to carry. The policy of our statesmen and financiers has made the interest on the national bonds, on railway bonds, and hundreds of other corporate indebtedness payable in gold. To such an extent has this policy been carried out that if creditors demanded their "pound of flesh," "as it is nominated in the bond," such a panic would ensue as the world has not yet witnessed.

The financial condition of this nation has been well illustrated by an inverted pyramid, standing upon its apex. This infinitesimally small point is gold. Upon this rests an enormous mass of credit, and upon this, in turn, rests commerce, trade, and industry. Any variation of the apex affects the whole structure enormously. And, indeed, the entire edifice is so unstable that the nation's commerce is actually endangered by such trivialities as the annual summer excursion of European tourists, or the marriage of an American heiress to an English

nobleman. It is a fact that if any one of our multi-millionaires were to decide to monetize his wealth, and hoard it or ship it out of the country in the form of gold, he could shake our entire financial centers and necessitate the issuance of more bonds.

Of course, so long as creditors do not demand gold in settlements of debts, so long our present system operates. Credits are extended and debts cancelled in other commodities. But we are always within easy reach of a financial panic. Professor Jevons once said that the gold standard currency system would continue to operate providing not more than five per cent of those who are legally entitled to gold demanded it at one time. But let a rumor of an impending failure of a banking house gain circulation, or anything arise to create fear in the public mind, and away goes this so-called "sound" financial system. Gold is at once hoarded. There is a rush to redeem credits. But the stock is far too inadequate for the work, and hundreds and thousands are doomed to irretrievable ruin. This is what has happened again and again throughout the world. And it is what will happen again and again in the future, unless we cease building credit and industry upon so small and insecure a basis.

In the short period of five months, in 1893, there was destroyed by the panic in this country bank credit money to the amount of at least $668,000,000, a sum equal to the total gold production of the world at the present rate, for over four years, or of all the silver mines in the United States for over nine years, not sparing any use for the arts. Let those who talk of an overproduction of gold and silver for currency reflect on this fact!

Of course these evils must arise under any system which restricts the currency to an amount insufficient for business. For my part, I can see nothing sound or secure in any monetary system that breaks down when but five per cent of those entitled to the money of redemption happen to demand it. Indeed, the more I contemplate this gold standard basis and the monetary science as taught by some of our statesmen and editors, the more I am led to marvel at the contradiction between the principles they teach and those upon which the

physical and mechanical sciences are built. For instance, in designing a tunnel, a bridge, or building, an engineer employs what is known as a factor of safety. That is, he calculates the maximum strains to which his building will be subjected. Then he multiplies these into his factor of safety, two or three, and constructs his building accordingly. And it is because of these precautions, based upon sound scientific rules, that our bridges and buildings seldom give way, and why there are comparatively so few accidents. And it is because our financial systems are *not* established upon any such safe rules, nor in accordance with any scientific laws, that they are periodically giving way and precipitating business and commerce into the mire. The factors of safety employed by our financial institutions, instead of being double the maximum strain to which the system can possibly be subjected, are usually a fraction of that amount. Instead of making their factor two, it is more often one fourth or one tenth. Hence, when the maximum strain occurs, viz., a demand for instant redemption, our banks close, the system cannot bear the load.

Now I contend that if we are to accept the teachings of our public authorities on this subject, if the recent statements of the gold standard advocates are to be accepted, then we should accept no dollars but gold dollars; and no bank, nor the government should be permitted to issue a gold certificate or a paper dollar without having in its possession its equivalent in gold. Instead of maintaining $100,000,000 of gold as a reserve, it should maintain the full amount of the certificates and notes it has issued. Of course our financiers know perfectly well that this condition could not be maintained. They know perfectly well that this country could never purchase sufficient gold to maintain a purely gold currency and meet the demands of trade.

It is amazing to me, considering the instability of our monetary system, and knowing the narrow basis upon which we stand, how our public men can make the wild and reckless assertions that they do. If the greenbacks are bad money, if our silver dollars and certificates are fifty-cent dollars, how do they propose to supply us with a sufficient circulating medium?

ARTHUR KITSON.

THE WORK AND NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

BY W. H. DEPUY, D.D., CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

PROF. JOHN H. HYSLOP, of Columbia University, referring to organized efforts for the permanent betterment of civic conditions, speaks of the American Institute of Civics as follows:

"Institutions of this kind are of the first importance in giving organized character to the movement, and more particularly in making it cosmopolitan and freeing it from the suspicion likely to attach to it if it were undertaken by parties of any kind."

Professor Edwin E. Sparks, of the University of Chicago, closes a suggestive article in *Public Opinion* on the same subject with these words:

"Among the several movements along the lines indicated, in its appeal to the understanding as well as the enthusiasm of the people, none is more consistent or upon sounder pedagogical ground than the American Institute of Civics. *But it needs to come into closer contact with every part of its vast field; it should have a greater differentiation; it needs to be more widely known; and it must have in some way official entrance to its clientele.*" In the words to which emphasis is given Professor Sparks, referring to features of the Institute's work, clearly and concisely indicates the one thing wanting in order to the full realization of the noble plans of its founders. A "vast field" is in very truth open to its efforts. Its objects and plans are unreservedly commended by the best citizens wherever brought to their knowledge. In communities in every state and territory it is represented by members of its National Body of Councilors. Its "clientele" includes men and women in all parts of the country who represent the highest aims in citizenship. But these facts, which represent the results of its ten years of unostentatious

work (conducted without salaried officers or paid agents) are indicative not only of vantage ground successfully contended for, and opportunities for nation-wide usefulness fully secured, but of larger needs for the meeting of which *the Institute must have larger resources.* It may be said without hesitation that no institution in the United States is in position to accomplish a work of greater or more lasting public benefit, or is more worthy of the moral and material support of patriotic citizens. And for its present commanding position credit is due to those whose voluntary and wholly unselfish labors and gifts have contributed to this gratifying result. Especially is this true of its chief founder and its president, who at a sacrifice of time and means equivalent to many thousands of dollars, has unreservedly and without compensation devoted himself to its service for ten years. But the magnitude of its work will no longer permit of its dependence on services given to it at the sacrifice of hours of leisure and personal interests, by those who are engaged in other exacting labors. The Institute now demands the undivided services of those who can bring to it the highest equipments for usefulness; and men of the highest ability are willing to undergo sacrifices if they may be permitted to serve it thus unreservedly.

The thousands of citizens throughout the country who have pledged to it their coöperation are in need of the stimulating and directing influences afforded by carefully prepared printed matter, including outlines of programs for local undertakings, and other helps in useful activities. Provisions are to be made for the fuller utilization of the invaluable services of the Institute's grand corps of 236 lecturers. It has yet to take proper advantage of opportunities for far-reaching usefulness afforded by the relations which it has established with more than 250 colleges and professional schools. Its plans in the direction of securing adequate attention to qualifications for useful citizenship in the public schools of America, already crowned with an encouraging measure of success, make demand upon it in the way of specific labors, painstaking correspondence, and printed helps, which it is not in the power of the Institute to meet as it should. Inquiries from individuals and organizations, daily re-

ceived and increasing in number, cannot receive the prompt and adequate attention which it is their due. Christian citizenship activities in connection with churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, and other organizations which have been inspired by the Institute, and which look to it for guidance or helpful suggestions, need a degree of attention which is now impossible.

In truth, the Institute's work has assumed a magnitude and importance so entirely out of proportion to its present resources as to make the responsibilities resting upon its officers overwhelming. They are meeting them as best they can. But if the Institute's great work is to be conducted in a manner worthy of its high aims and rich opportunities, patriotic citizens must come to its assistance with adequate financial support.

That there is need for the maintenance of at least *one* permanent national institution solely devoted to the inspiration, the promotion, and the direction of influences recognized by every intelligent citizen as necessary to the welfare of the individual and the public, under a government vested in the people, must be evident to all.

The American Institute of Civics is the only institution in the United States specifically intended to meet this need. In the conduct of its wholesome activities, it recognizes neither sections, parties, creeds, nor classes; but embodies and represents the truest Americanism, and the purest patriotism. Shall it have the support of which it is so unquestionably deserving? The answer—*your* answer—is respectfully invited, and may be addressed to Col. Charles H. Denison, Treasurer, 38 Park Row, New York City, or to the undersigned, at the same address.

W. H. DEPUY.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

1796—CENTENNIAL—1896.

ON September 15, 1896, one hundred years will have passed since Washington, in retiring from public life, crowned his services to the republic by the utterance of the words of wisdom, warning, inspiration, and lofty patriotism contained in his Farewell Address.

The centenary of utterances whose every reading has been a new invocation to the spirit of truest manhood should be marked by observances calculated to kindle anew the fires of patriotic devotion, and to give a larger ascendancy to the influences which have created and preserved, and are necessary to the highest development of, our free institutions.

It is fitting that such commemorative observances should be especially promoted by the American Institute of Civics, whose sole purpose is to promote intelligence, integrity, and fidelity in the discharge of civic obligations.

This institution invites the coöperation of its members, and of other citizens and organizations, and especially organizations which are patriotic in character, in efforts to give effect to the following plans:

OBSERVANCES BY REPRESENTATIVES OF PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS.

It is proposed that assemblies composed of representatives of patriotic organizations, and other invited citizens, shall commemorate the event by meetings in April or May. It is suggested that these special meetings take the form of a banquet, unostentatious in character, and that the guests include representative women as well as men. A feature of these assemblies should be appropriate brief addresses based on some or all of the words of the Farewell Address in which the "unceasing wishes" * of Washington for the welfare of the American people are expressed as follows:

(1) "That Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence."

(2) "That your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual."

(3) "That the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained."

(4) "That its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue."

(5) "That the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as well as acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it." *

* Farewell Address.

Topics naturally suggested by these words will be: (1) The dependence of the nation upon, and the conditions necessary to, the Divine favor. (2) The importance of, and the essentials to, national unity. (3) The necessity, if the charter of American liberties is to be kept inviolate, of educational efficiencies calculated to give to every citizen an intelligent understanding of the significance and importance of its provisions. (4) The necessity of giving force to whatever influences are calculated to secure intelligent, honest, and painstaking discrimination in the choice of public officers, to the end that "wisdom and virtue" * may prevail in the administration of public affairs. (5) The fulfillment by this republic of its mission as an exemplar for every nation whose people labor and wait for the fuller dawn of human liberty.

MAY 30—OBSERVANCES CONNECTED WITH SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL DAY.

Efforts will be made to secure the delivery at this time of addresses especially calculated to more closely cement the bonds of national unity, and to promote the devotion of all citizens, regardless of parties, creeds, or localities, to the faithful guardianship in times of peace, as well as war, of the sacred rights and privileges in defense of which American heroes have laid down their lives.

A subject for suitable thought on this day will be, "One country, one flag, one future," in connection with which reference may be made to the following words:

"It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; and that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity. . . . Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." *

COMMENCEMENT DAY OBSERVANCES IN CONNECTION WITH COLLEGES.

It is asked that "The principles of true patriotism enunciated in the Farewell Address" be one of the subjects assigned to members of graduating classes in 1896, for treatment in orations or essays; and to students presenting the best of such papers the American Institute of Civics will make the sixth annual award of its Hall Prizes.

OBSERVANCES IN CONNECTION WITH INDEPENDENCE DAY.

On this day (Saturday) or the day preceding, it is proposed that children and youth in attendance upon the public schools, be assembled in suitable places, with exercises calculated to give force to the spirit and teachings of the Farewell Address. Suitable remarks may be made on the following words relating to *government:* (1) Respect for its authority; (2) compliance with its laws; acquiescence in its measures; (3) are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.*

* Farewell Address.

Topics obviously suggested by these words are: (1) the subjection of self for the highest benefit of all; (2) reasons for willing coöperation in the maintenance of law and order; (3) a summary of citizenship duties.

On the Sunday following, July 5th, it is suggested that the subject of an address in churches be these words:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not evince all their connections with private and public felicity. . . . And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. . . . Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of religious principles."*

OBSERVANCE BY THE AMERICAN PRESS.

On the 15th of September (the day when the address was issued) or the nearest date of publication thereto, American newspapers will be asked to promote the adoption of arbitration instead of war in the settlement of disputes between nations, by editorial utterances based upon these words:

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin such conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."*

Local committees appointed to secure the observance of this day are especially asked to invite the aid of the press in securing signatures to memorials requesting congressional action looking to the establishment of an International Tribunal or Court of Arbitration; these memorials to be afterward placed in the hands of Hon. Cephas Brainerd, LL.D., one of the officers of the American Institute of Civics, and chairman of the Law Committee of the International Arbitration League, and Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, Esq., secretary of the Institute's Department on Affairs of Legislation, as a basis for addresses to be presented to the president and Congress of the United States, the queen and Parliament of Great Britain, and the ruling authorities of other nations.

Committees already appointed are expected to coöperate in giving effect to these plans in nearly four hundred cities and towns. Citizens interested, and desirous of coöperating in this effort to enforce the lessons in civic virtue set forth one hundred years ago in the inspiring words of Washington, are invited, without delay, to address the American Institute of Civics, New York City.

* Farewell Address.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

PENNSYLVANIA: *Pittsburg.*—The Civic Club has taken up the matter of improvements in the water supply and the street car service, and devoted a recent evening to the consideration of defects and remedies.

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PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—The Christian League, a new organization, is making good its claim to the sympathy and support of all good citizens of that city by its aggressive and effective campaign against corruption and inefficiency in the police department.

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PENNSYLVANIA: *Scranton.*—The Rev. Charles E. Robinson, of the First Presbyterian Church, is leading a fight for civic righteousness. In a recent sermon on "Righteousness in the City," he averred that the charge made by him of rottenness in the municipal government and that certain police officers were simply "runners" for dens of infamy, was conspicuously true. As witnessing the point of corruption reached and public debauchery resulting, Dr. Robinson stated that "there are professed Christians in Scranton who just now say that they go to church for peace and rest, and don't want their pastors to annoy them with sins of the world which better be left unreferred to as too closely connected with politics and business."

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NEW YORK: *Rochester.*—Mrs. W. A. Montgomery is delivering a course of lectures on "Current Topics," in furtherance of civic reforms, before large audiences in the hall of the Chamber of Commerce.

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NEW YORK: *Buffalo.*—At its largely attended annual meeting, February 4, the Council of Good Government Clubs listened to encouraging committee reports, and elected Edward L. Parker president, and George A. Ricker secretary, for the coming year.

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NEW YORK: *New York City.*—Recorder John W. Goff discussed the problem of "Our Civic Duty" before a large audience of business men in the West End Presbyterian Church, One Hundred and Fifth Street and Amsterdam Avenue, February 7, to promote the interests of good government.

The Rev. J. Balcolm Shaw, D. D. (A. I. C.), pastor of the church, presided. "Nothing can exist in popular government, good or bad," Mr. Goff said, "except by the will of the people. A representative may betray them once, but if he succeeded in doing it the second time it becomes collusion with the people. If he asks for a vindication in the shape of a reëlection and he gets it, the people who help him are as guilty as he.

"The greatest blot of municipal corruption in the world to-day is on the cities of the United States. Scarcely a city has escaped. It is because the people have all buried themselves in selfishness or indifference. All men should kneel at the temple of political purity, and every church in this city must necessarily be a unit of morality. It should be a place where should be taught the civic duty of the citizen as well as the religious duty of the man. If a corrupt state exist it can only exist by the continuance or collusion of a corrupt church. If there be a pure state it must arise from the moral condition of the people."

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: *Washington.*—F. M. Bradley addressed the McKerdom Epworth League February 21, on good citizenship. He spoke of the great evils of the times, principally that of the saloons, and locally of the five hundred licensed saloons of Washington and the evil influence the boy messenger service is subjected to. Hope for reform lies in Christian citizenship, he said, and the education of our youth also in the united action of Christian associations.

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CALIFORNIA: *Los Angeles.*—*The Investor*, an excellent local publication, contains the following suggestive paragraph:

"The Citizens' League, now apparently defunct, started out with an excellent array of prominent business men as members and began some investigating on broad lines, with promise of good results. But the inevitable took place; one by one the business man could not 'spare the time' necessary, and the politicians, who never sleep while 'the stuff' is in sight, laughed derisively at the short-lived efforts of the well-meant league.

"The apathy of the business men should be shaken off and those who feel, as we believe some do, that they would rather pay the extra imposition of taxes than be bothered with reform movements, may be reminded that they have duties toward those members of the community who can ill afford to suffer the unjust exactions now imposed, and further, that this neglect may have far-reaching results."

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MASSACHUSETTS.—The State Federation of Woman's Clubs devoted its meeting in Boston, February 11, chiefly to the consideration of plans looking to effective efforts for the promotion of municipal reforms. Mrs. Alice H. Lincoln gave a stirring address on "Good Citizenship." She believes that the better housing of the poor was one of the first steps necessary in municipal reform. Mrs. Mary A. Mumford, of the

New Century Guild of Philadelphia, commanded careful attention by a sensible address on "Practical Civics." One pertinent question was submitted for the further thought of her hearers:

"Is it not possible that we are only morally strong because we have not been tempted? Could we vote disinterestedly for a public measure if we saw that it would cut off a modicum of our income? Would we not sit by while the city was robbed by a corporation if the stocks and bonds that yield us our daily bread were to be affected by that vote? Could we clearly discern a moral principle if our own advancement stood in the way? If it is true that this country is immersed in money-making, and that the strife for the almighty dollar confuses if it does not defeat all our ideals, have we no responsibllity for this? Where do the men who are eager in the pursuit of gain spend the money they attain?

"Is it not on us, our dress, our houses, our travels, our clubs, our necessities, and our whims? Could we not do with a little less and thereby secure some of his intelligent service to the state? Have we ever advised this voter, who is devoted to us, to make his working day eight hours instead of twelve, and give the extra time to looking after the political condition of his ward or city? Patriotism has always been reckoned among the superior virtues. It lifts us out of the region of self, and causes us to lose sight of our own petty lives in the aspirations of the great associated life of the nation. May we never forget that it is ours to hold up continually the ideals of self-denying service which laid the foundation of this nation, and which alone will preserve it."

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TEXAS: *Houston.*—The Good Government League proposes to nominate its own candidates for municipal offices at the ensuing elections.

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ILLINOIS: *Chicago.*—A citizens' meeting was recently addressed by Hon. Hazen S. Pingree, mayor of Detroit, who enforced many lessons in the matter of civic obligations, and this among others:

"We have national codes and state codes and municipal codes by the ton. We need a few more. A practical primary election law is more important than all the rest. The law should provide that no man should vote at a general election who does not vote at the primary election. The days on which elections are held should be legal holidays, and a fine should be imposed upon every citizen who does not have interest enough in the city in which he lives to spend ten minutes once a year to take part in its government."

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NEW JERSEY: *Jersey City.*—Rev. John Tighe, of the R. C. Church, delivered an impassioned address on "Good Citizenship" before a large audience in the rooms of the Y. M. C. A., February 6.

With emphasis the speaker exclaimed, "I am an American from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot, I tingle with Americanism."

He then referred to men who ignore true patriotism in their lust for office or greed for money, and thereby sap the virtues of the government. He said we needed a civil war to knead closer together the people of this country. It came and was the test that proved American character and we had emerged from the conflict a better nation, now living less in the branches and more in the roots.

"America in the future will be worthy of the great experience of the past," the speaker continued. "One truth never to be effaced is that as long as water runs America will remain a nation undivided and undivisable, and every child born in this land should be vaccinated with that idea. No nation challenges the declaration; it is not denied and the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine will add to our strength and standing. The crucible problem is how to produce that harmony that should exist among all the people. Religion is the morning, noon, and evening of life. Resting on the basis of religion the safety of our country will be insured. We will stand before the world as one nation, where every man is free and is master of himself alone, with no aristocracy."

In conclusion Father Tighe commended the objects of the Young Men's Christian Association and advised all to follow the teachings of Christ, who was the originator of liberty. "Differences in dogmatical doctrines do not prevent unity in the love of Christ and in Christianity all may be brothers, and so long as we were true to our manhood, we would be true to Christian citizenship, the love of religion, sobriety, integrity, and love of character."

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MARYLAND: *Baltimore.*—Good citizenship was the cause which brought together a large audience at the Central Y. M. C. A. Hall, February 3. Measures to give local veto, to extend to Clifton Park and vicinity, immunity from the sale of intoxicating liquors; to placard buildings with notices that application has been made to open a saloon therein, and the Bruce civil service reform bill, were discussed and recommended to the legislature for passage.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.—At a late meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, held at the office of the secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff (A. I. C.), in Philadelphia, the following named associations were admitted to affiliated membership: Civic Progress League, of Lewiston, Me.; Good Government Club, Syracuse, N. Y.; Good Government League, Bordentown, N. J.; Civic Centre, of Washington, D. C.; Citizens' Association, of Erie, Pa.; Christian Citizenship Union, Camden, N. J.; Citizens' Association of Marietta, O.; Good Government Club of Richmond County, N. Y.; Civic Federation, of Kansas City, Mo.; Municipal Improvement Association, of Kansas City, Mo.; Citizens' Federation, of Toledo, O.; Chamber of Commerce, West Superior, Wis.

WOMEN'S CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AUXILIARY.—At a meeting held recently in New York City a "Women's Auxiliary to the New York Civil Service Reform Association" was organized. Bishop Potter presided, and addresses were made by Carl Schurz, president of the National Civil Service Reform Association, and others.

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CIVICS IN GENERAL.

REMEDIES FOR MUNICIPAL MISRULE.—Commenting on the report just made by the commission of the legislature of New York appointed for the consideration of this subject, the *Rochester Post-Democrat* says: "The crowning error of American municipal government has been that of divided responsibility—power lodged chaotically in the mayor, in commissions, and in common councils. Hence have arisen confusion of counsels, imbecility of action, and corruption in administration.

"The remedy is twofold—the conduct of cities as corporations, rather than as political entities, and the investing of responsibility in the head of such a corporation, precisely as it would be so invested in the president of a great railway, or in the superintendent of a vast manufacturing establishment. This, the commission for second-class cities—and we address ourselves to its report especially—proposes to do. The mayor is to appoint all the city officers, and except as otherwise provided by the laws of the state, and by certain exceptions in the bill formulated by the commission, he shall have the power of removal upon charges preferred and proved against any official, giving him, of course, the opportunity of being heard in his defense. Within the appointing power will be the departments of finance, with a comptroller, treasurer, and a board of estimate and apportionment, of public works, with a commissioner, who selects his deputies; a city engineer, a police department, bi-partisan with four commissioners; a board of education of nine members, appointed for six years each, original appointees, however, to be in groups of three for two, four, and six years respectively; a fire department, with three commissioners besides the mayor; and health, charity, and park departments. It will thus be seen that the functions of the mayor are as broad as they are precise. Full responsibility is vested in him, as it should be.

"The common council is to be a purely legislative body. The manner of electing aldermen and the number comprising the council is not changed, but it will be noted that all appointing power is taken from these bodies and relegated to the mayor. That this provision is equally wise with that which enlarges the duties of the executive will, we apprehend, be conceded by an educated public sentiment. The two provisions are consistent with each other. They both make for good government and pure administration."

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THE NEW PATRIOTISM.—With all the "new" things which have been crowded into public view within the past few years, the new theology, the new philanthropy, the "new woman," room must be found for one thing more—the new patriotism. But as newness does

not always involve strength, beauty, and righteousness, as we have learned only too well in the case of some of these new things, it needs to be demonstrated that the new patriotism is something which meets and fills some real need of the world before it can be welcomed to the hearts and minds of earnest men. That the new patriotism in its true definition is of a quality to merit such a reception we have no manner of doubt. Patriotism would need no qualification of "new" or "old" had not the word itself been so often twisted from its original meaning and used for cheap and base purposes as so many other words of noble meaning have been. Patriotism in its right application means nothing more or less than love of country, a virtue of which no true man can be devoid. But patriotism in its common acceptation has come to have a narrower and less inspiring meaning than simply love of country. It is in its restricted sense a love like that which men too often show toward those who have a rightful claim to their affection, a love manifesting itself only at rare intervals and in great emergencies, a love that leaps to defense in moments of trial and danger, but moves not nor gives evidence of life in the common ways of peace and quietness. Love is always sweet and good, but it is highest and best when it stands by and makes itself known and felt through all hours and days, not flashing up to life and power in rare emergencies only, but glowing steadily like the sun, an abiding source of comfort, hope, and strength. Love of country has come to mean in its old and low sense a love that is seen in its best estate chiefly if not only on battlefields and in scenes of blood and carnage. Patriotism as exhibited in song, in story and romance, has been associated almost exclusively with the martial spirit, with heroes who rush to battle and sacrifice themselves for their country's good. The very word has been filled with the spirit of war; with the sound of clashing swords and roaring guns. This old patriotism is noble, but the new is nobler still, for it retains all that is worthy of the old and adds to it something of yet higher worth, and of diviner quality. It is a love that loves all the time and everywhere in days of peace as in days of war, a love which expresses itself in the common events, duties, and obligations of civic life as well as on rare and extraordinary occasions. This patriotism needs no trump of war to call it into life, no scent of blood to arouse it to action. It is a virtue which belongs in all its fulness and glory as much to the man at the plow and the anvil as to the man at the bayonet's point or the cannon's mouth; it lives not only in the breath of dying men on gory battlefields, but in the joy and strength of living men doing their duty in the world day by day. It is not patriotism which sees its country's enemies only in aliens who "insult the flag," or deride a cherished doctrine or who come marching in with wasting torch and sword, but finds even deadlier foes than these in the men who profess the name of loyal citizens while they bear the hearts of assassins and traitors; men who befoul the very springs of civic life with fraud and bribery, who buy and sell the sacred rights of citizenship; who pervert the ends of justice for a price and pollute the statute books with unjust oppression and unrighteous laws.

In enemies like these, in intriguing politicians, in base demagogues, in cunning and unscrupulous "bosses," in Tammany Hall rings, in these and all their slavish following the new patriotism sees the chiefest foes for it to fight, the only foes which really threaten the life of the country, and give present occasion for dread and alarm. Against this array of treachery, greed, and base ambition, the new patriotism feels called upon to set in opposition its largest resources and its utmost powers, to strive, to battle unceasingly. It hears in these things a call to arms sounding through all the days and years, a call to unceasing vigilance, to never-ending duty. Happy and prosperous shall this land be when this newer and nobler patriotism, this true love of country, inspires every breast, this love that loves all the time and never loves so much or so well as when it actuates to faithful, honorable, and intelligent service in the common duties of civic life.—*La Salle A. Maynard.*

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DIVORCE LAWS IN THE TERRITORIES.—Bills are before Congress which provide for the repeal of the ninety-day divorce law of Oklahoma, and the establishment of more satisfactory divorce laws in other territories. Memorials from members of the Institute of Civics and other readers of this magazine favoring the action proposed, may be addressed to Hon. J. R. Hawley, of the Senate, and Hon. Marriott Brosius of the House, of the Board of Trustees of the American Institute of Civics.

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WOMEN'S WAGES.—Prof. E. R. L. Gould expresses the belief that "the country in which the ideal of man as the breadwinner, and of woman as supported by his toil, is most nearly approximated, is the most civilized and the most satisfactory in its conditions for both sexes. In the United States, for example, the ratio of women workers to men workers is only 12.8, while in Italy it is 40.5.

"Further, there is a fallacy in the cry of 'equal pay for equal work' as between the sexes. Often, where the work is described as equal, it is not equal, but similar. Considerations of the greater steadiness and endurance of men workers and their greater aptitude in meeting the strain of emergencies enter in here. If by some legerdemain it could be brought about, in certain callings, that women's wages be made equal to men's, it would be but a sorry boon, because, for the reasons suggested, men would be preferred to women, if there were no difference in pay. The women teachers of Boston, in making their application for better pay, expressly disclaim the theory of 'equal pay for equal work,' but maintain, what is perfectly true, that the existing disproportion is far greater than it ought to be.

"Professor Gould's statistics go to show that, during the past half century, women's wages, on the average, have increased in a slightly higher proportion than men's. This process is likely to be accelerated during the next half century, until some of the inequalities now complained of disappear."

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UNITED STATES UNIVERSITY.—The indefatigable labors of Hon.

John W. Hoyt, LL.D. (A. I. C.), on behalf of the establishment of a great national university, which have extended through a score of years, have again resulted in bringing this important matter before Congress in the shape of a bill which has been favorably considered by both Houses, and now awaits action. Senator Hawley (A. I. C.), of the Senate Committee on Education, in a recent address before the alumni of Hamilton College, in New York, spoke encouragingly of the plans for the university, but doubted the success of the measure for its establishment during the present session of Congress. One of the important features of the university, as planned by Dr. Hoyt, will be a department of civics.

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INDEX OF STATE LEGISLATION.—The New York State Library has issued its sixth annual comparative summary and index of state legislation, covering the laws passed in 1895 by thirty-seven states and two territories. Each law is briefly described or summarized and classified under its proper subject-head, with a full alphabetic index to the 4,847 entries.

There is steadily growing appreciation of this bulletin by all persons interested in improving state legislation. It is already widely used and helps materially in raising standards and promoting uniformity in the laws of the different states. The bulletin improves from year to year. This year additional intermediate marginal heads give closer classification and make it much easier to grasp the contents rapidly. The great problems of municipal government have received special attention.

A new feature this year is a separate table of constitutional amendments arranged by states showing the result of the vote on all amendments in 1894 and 1895, and giving also those to be submitted to future vote.

This number of the bulletin makes a volume of 310 pages. Though not distributed free except to state officers and members of the legislature, it is mailed by the state library at the nominal charge of thirty-five cents.

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CORRUPT PRACTICE LAWS.—In an editorial in *The Century* on new corrupt practice laws, it is noted that only two new acts of this kind were enacted last year, those of Minnesota and Connecticut. These two make a total of ten states in which corrupt practice acts now exist, as follows: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and New York. Of all these, according to *The Century*, the laws of California and Missouri are the best. Of the laws enacted last year that of Minnesota is said to be much the better. It requires sworn publications after election by both candidates and committees, and places maximum limits to expenditures by all candidates. The new Connecticut law is very weak and as it stands can be of little avail toward repressing political corruption. *The Century* seems to think that the outlook for this kind of legislation

is not on the whole very encouraging. Even where the best corrupt practice laws exist there seems to be little public interest in their enforcement and the politicians treat them mainly as a joke.

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TRICKERY IN LAW REVISION.—The commissions appointed from time to time to revise the statutes of various states are supposed to act always in the interests of simpler, wiser, and better laws. They are usually appointed partly with that end in view. But that this supposition is not always correct is evidenced in the case of a commission authorized to revise the laws of Iowa which recently made its final report. Among the statutes in the revised code has been discovered a curious addition to the law of divorce. To the grounds for divorce heretofore allowed is added failure to provide for the proper comfort of the wife. This cause is an unwarranted interpolation by the revisers and, of course, it opens a wide door to new and scandalous abuses. Every judge would be left to put his own interpretation upon the words "proper comfort." With this ground of divorce allowed by law the situation would be much as it would be if the law provided that every judge having jurisdiction might grant a divorce for any cause whatever that seemed to him sufficient. It is expected that the Iowa Legislature will discard this particular feature of the new code. It is suggested that it might be well to guard against such dangerous interpolations by providing in every revision that the courts shall treat as void any changes of existing law, by interpolation or omission, unless the revisers call attention to such changes in a connected schedule accompanying their report, such schedule to be printed conspicuously as a preface to the revision.

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GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITIES.—Some highly salutary reforms in legislative procedure are expected as the outcome of the work performed by the commission appointed by Governor Morton of New York last year, to revise the rules and regulations governing in this matter. One great abuse which the commission seeks to remedy is the familiar one of "holding up" bills in legislative committees. The committees have had such power here that they could practically block any reform measure referred to them by the simple process of "smothering" or refusing to report it. The commission recommends that all private and local bills referred to committees must be reported favorably or unfavorably in a certain number of days. Another evil common to all legislatures is that of permitting bills affecting private interests to be rushed through by secret and unfair means, often without any previous knowledge whatever by the parties chiefly affected. It is proposed to guard against such legislation as this by providing that due notice of all private bills must be given in advance to all interests affected by them, and that the bills must be formally filed thirty days before presentation and be accompanied by petitions setting forth the arguments both for and against them. This measure, it is believed, will

prove an effectual remedy for one of the abuses of legislative procedure which has given rise to many grave scandals.

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JURY REFORM.—An important bill in the interest of jury reform has been introduced in the New York Legislature. The measure is the outcome of one of the police trials in New York City last summer in which weeks of time and a large amount of public money were wasted in the process of selecting twelve men for the trial. The case emphasized so strongly one of the most absurd and vicious features of the present jury system that a strong public sentiment was formed in favor of a change. Some of the tests applied in this particular case were obviously calculated to exclude the very persons best fitted to serve and to enable others qualified for jury duty to escape the service. The measure introduced in the legislature aims to remedy some of these abuses by providing a body of special jury-men for a certain important class of cases by excluding beforehand those who are disqualified on general grounds. Other provisions are such as to insure the selection of intelligent and fair-minded men. The changes proposed are only the beginning of what promises to be a very thorough and radical reformation of our whole jury system. This reformation is imperatively required in the interests of right and justice. This is true not only of New York State, but of every state in the Union.

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VARIOUS MATTERS. LINCOLN'S TRUST IN PROVIDENCE.—When leaving Springfield to enter upon his duties as president, Lincoln said in a speech to his neighbors:

"Washington would never have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine blessing which sustained him; and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support. And I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain."

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles and Gen. James F. Rusling tell in almost the same words of an interview they held with President Lincoln on the first Sunday after Gettysburg. Sickles had asked the president whether he had not felt anxiety during the Gettysburg campaign. Mr. Lincoln gravely replied, no, he had not; that some of his cabinet had, but he himself had no fears. General Sickles seemed curious about the matter, and inquired why it was he felt no anxiety in so grave a crisis. The president, with some hesitation, finally replied:

"Well, I will tell you how it was. In the pinch of your campaign out there, when everybody seemed panic stricken, oppressed by the gravity of our affairs, I went into my room one day and locked the door and got down on my knees before Almighty God and prayed to him mightily for success at Gettysburg. I told him this was his war and our cause his cause, but that we couldn't stand another Fredericks-

burg or Chancellorsville. And I then and there made a solemn vow to God that if he would stand by our boys at Gettysburg I would stand by him. And he did, and I will. And after that—I don't know how it was and I can't explain it—but soon a sweet comfort crept into my soul that things would go all right at Gettysburg, and that is why I had no fears about you."

Only a year before his assassination, Lincoln wrote, in a letter to his life-long friend, Joshua Speed: "I am profitably engaged reading the Bible. Take all of this book upon reason that you can, and the balance on faith, and you will live and die a better man."

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JAMES M. BECK, Esq., of Philadelphia, who has contributed two able articles to THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, has been appointed attorney for the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Mr. Beck is an eloquent speaker and has never failed to raise his voice against political abuses. He is especially opposed to war as a means of settling international disputes. The *Philadelphia North American* thus speaks of his appointment:

"A most felicitous selection. Mr. Beck is one of the most brilliant and promising members of the local junior bar. He is an able lawyer, a singularly eloquent speaker, a man of wide reading and high culture, and an amiable and estimable, honorable gentleman, who makes hosts of friends by the charm of his manners, and keeps them by the loyalty of his nature and the uprightness of his life."

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PENNSYLVANIA CITIES OF THE THIRD CLASS.—A convention of representatives from the third class cities of Pennsylvania was held at Reading, Pa., March 11-12. Seventy persons, including mayors and other city officials, responded, representing the following cities: Allentown, Altoona, Bradford, Chester, Carbondale, Erie, Harrisburg, Hazleton, Lancaster, Lebanon, McKeesport, Monongahela City, Reading, Scranton, Williamsport, Wilkesbarre, and York.

The following officers were elected: president, John H. Keppelman, of Reading; vice-presidents, J. H. Torry, Scranton, R. J. Salsman, Erie, and A. A. Cochran, Chester; treasurer, George C. Faman, Bradford; secretaries, W. L. Shollenberger, Altoona, and Col. H. H. Hammer, Reading.

Dr. L. S. Rowe, lecturer on municipal affairs of the University of Pennsylvania, then spoke as follows: "This convention marks an important step toward the recognition of the principles of municipal home rule. The problem we have before us is to give to our municipalities a definite place in the political system of the state, and to so frame legislation as to make it adaptable to communities of various sizes. In Pennsylvania the Supreme Court has seen fit to set a limit to classification in making three classes the maximum. The legislature is stopped from making any discrimination between cities within one class. To remedy the classification evil, three methods are possible, but only the third immediately practicable. These methods are: first, to allow all cities to

frame their own charters; second, to further subdivide the cities into classes; third, to prescribe a form of government so general in character as to make it readily adaptable to the needs of every city, no matter what its size."

A committee of five to prepare rules was appointed as follows: James H. Torry, Scranton; George Platt, Erie; W. B. Crocker, Williamsport; Charles A. Miller, Harrisburg, and A. A. Cochran, of Chester.

James H. Torrey, of Scranton, chairman of the committee on organization, read a lengthy report which called for the appointment of committees to have charge of the various departments of the municipal affairs of the state. The report was adopted as a whole.

W. W. Brown, city solicitor of Bradford, deprecated the attempt to annul the law of 1889 and said it is more perfect than the decisions of the Supreme Court, which have set more municipalities at sea than anything else. Mr. Brown suggested that the duties of the mayor be enlarged, and that he be eligible for reëlection, while the city treasurer should be ineligible for reëlection.

Thomas Paskett, of Erie, was in favor of relieving the mayor of the duties of police justice. The mayor, he said, should nominate the police and the councils should confirm, and the mayor should have the right to discharge for dereliction of duty.

A. A. Cochran, of Chester, advocated the changing of the law to empower the mayor to have entire control of the police force without the advice and consent of councils. He strongly advocated the removing of the power of councils to increase the salaries of officials during their term of office.

Mayor-elect David Salzman, of Erie, spoke strongly on removing political lines in all of the departments of municipal work.

City Clerk Charles Miller, of Harrisburg, held that the great need of cities of the third class was the power to enact laws and legislate for themselves. He advocated the creation of a new ward when the population of any ward reaches one thousand voters and that there should be a precinct to every 250 voters. The courts were willing to divide the wards but the politicians were not.

W. Kerper Stevens strongly advocated a police commission and civil service in the appointing of policemen.

The following was presented by Colonel Sanderson and passed:

"*Resolved:* That the delegates from each city be requested to transmit to the committee as soon as may be practicable any suggestions they may have to make as to amendments which, in their opinion are desirable to the act of 1889. If any of such proposed amendments are, in the opinion of the committee, in conflict with the constitution, they shall so report to the next meeting of the convention. If practicable the committee shall have their report printed and copies sent to each delegate at least two weeks prior to the next meeting."

The committee on time and place of the next meeting reported that Williamsport had been decided upon, to be held at a time named by the special committee, which was unanimously adopted.

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MAY, 1896.

NATIONAL CURRENCY AND HARD TIMES.

BY HON. H. H. TRIMBLE.

I.

WE are in the midst of one of those periodical political excitements that occasionally convulse the nation and incite the masses to investigation and discussion. It is not an ordinary political campaign where the excitement is caused by organized effort. It is not the work of partisan leaders. It is a result of "hard times." Most people find money hard to get, and conclude that money must be scarce. The next step in this logical process is easy. It is matter of common knowledge that the government has undertaken to supply—directly and indirectly—the entire volume of circulating medium. If money is scarce it must be because the government has failed to supply the requisite amount for the needs of the nation. They inquire, "In what respect has it failed?"

It demonetized silver. It has not attacked any other part of the circulating medium. The deduction is that the assumed scarcity of money is a result of the demonetization of silver. "Restore silver," say they, "to its ancient place of honor, give us free coinage of silver, 16 to 1, and good times will return. This will swell the volume of currency, put the wheels of industry in motion, employ all idle laborers, furnish a market for all surplus products, and furnish it at enhanced prices; will enable the people to pay debts, and will thus inaugurate a new era of prosperity."

Such is the view entertained by very many people as to the

cause of hard times, and such is the belief as to the needed remedy. This belief is intensified and widened by adventurous politicians who have nothing to lose and a chance to gain something by the advocacy of free coinage; also by all silver-producing communities who have nothing to lose and much to gain; and by that numerous and pestiferous class of people known as "cranks," always ready to plunge into every muddle where they have opportunity to exercise their talents for and to gratify love of strife and turmoil.

Did the demonetization of silver cause a scarcity of money? Did it reduce the volume of currency in America? Did it cause the hard times which overtook us in 1893?

Silver was demonetized in 1873. At that date there was in circulation—including all kinds of currency—$751,881,809. This made a per capita circulation of $18.04. There was in circulation in 1893, when the recent crisis commenced, $1,596,701, 245, being a per capita circulation of $23.85. We had in 1893 a very much larger circulation than in 1873, when silver was demonetized. The volume of circulation in 1893 more than doubled that of 1873 notwithstanding the demonetization of silver. The per capita circulation had increased twenty-five per cent.

There was in 1873 not a dollar of silver in circulation. In 1893 there was in existence—that is to say in the treasury and in the circulation—of standard silver dollars and subsidiary coin $496,230,880; of silver certificates, $339,776,504; of treasury notes—under act of July, 1890—$151,609,267. There was in actual circulation in 1893, of silver, $123,485,309; of silver certificates, $326,849,827; treasury notes—under act of July, 1890—$107,001,850.

These facts show that the demonetization of silver did not make money scarce, refute the logic of the friends of free coinage of silver, and conclusively show that the hard times was not the result of the demonetization of silver.

The reports of the national treasury show further that during the period of recent hard times we had as much money in circulation as during the period between 1879 and 1892 inclusive,

when the country was fairly prosperous. The amount in circulation from 1879 to 1894 is shown by the following table:

Year.	*Amount in Circulation.*	*Circulation Per Capita.*
1879	$ 818,631,793	$16.75
1880	973,382,228	19.41
1881	1,114,238,419	21.71
1882	1,174,290,419	22.37
1883	1,230,305,696	22.91
1884	1,243,925,969	22.65
1885	1,292,568,615	23.02
1886	1,252,700,525	21.82
1887	1,317,539,143	22.45
1888	1,372,170,870	22.88
1889	1,380,361,649	22.52
1890	1,429,251,270	22.82
1891	1,500,067,555	23.45
1892	1,601,347,187	24.44
1893	1,596,701,245	23.85
1894	1,661,835,674	24.30

These figures are taken from the treasury reports. They show that in 1893 we had a very small amount—only $4,645,942—less circulation than in 1892, but they further show that we had in 1893 $96,633,690 more circulation than in 1891 and a larger amount than in any previous year from 1879 to 1891 inclusive. We not only had a much greater volume of circulation in 1893, but a larger per capita circulation than during any of the most prosperous years from 1879 to 1891 inclusive. Our circulation in 1892 was a trifle greater than in 1893, but the difference was too inconsiderable to make any impression on the business interests of the country. But we had a much greater circulation in 1894 than we had in 1892. 1893 and 1894 were the years of greatest depression and "hard times."

It will be remembered that 1892 distinctly gave signs of an approaching financial crisis, and yet we then had a circulation in volume and per capita greater than in any year since 1873, and during both years of hard times we had a greater circulation and per capita than in any year—except 1892—between 1873 and 1895. In 1894, in the very midst of the crisis, we had a larger volume of circulation by nearly $100,000,000 than in any preceding year from 1873 to 1891 inclusive.

These indisputable facts show that there was in 1892, when the signs of approaching "hard times" first manifested them-

selves, no scarcity of money, no scarcity of money during the years 1893 and 1894 when suffering the severest burdens of hard times. It must also be remembered that not a dollar of our money became worthless. Every dollar in circulation was just as good as a gold dollar. The government stood behind it to make it good, and did maintain in the parity of all the various kinds of money which constituted our circulating medium. A small amount of national bank currency was from time to time retired because the banks found such circulation unprofitable, but other currency — supplied by the government—took the place of this retired bank currency.

It was difficult during the hard times to get money in the usual way of securing it during prosperous times. It was hard to exchange property for it, or to exchange labor for it. This, however, was not because there was a scarcity of money, but for other and different causes that will be discussed further on. There was an abundance of money and this money could be got, during the greater portion of the period of depression, upon first-class collaterals. During the most of the two years of hard times the banks in the city of New York and elsewhere had a larger deposit than in any preceding part of our financial history for twenty years. The banks of New York City, in the fall of 1893 and the winter of 1894, had an unusually large deposit, sometimes amounting to nearly one hundred million dollars, in excess of legal requirements.

It was not scarcity of money that caused the hard times. It is just as well to look plain facts squarely in the face. Let us thoroughly understand the causes of the disease, and then we shall be much better prepared to prescribe the remedy. If there was no scarcity of money, then scarcity of money did not cause the hard times. We must look elsewhere for causes.

Hard times have rarely resulted from a single cause ; they are generally the result of many concurring causes. The recent hard times were no exception. The causes that concurred to produce them were numerous but not all equally potent. Among the more potent may be named unwise and reckless speculation, the multiplication of labor-saving machinery, labor strikes, trust

combines, an unwise currency system, a vast burden of indebtedness — national, state, corporate, and individual — the demonetization of silver by the enlightened nations of the world, failures in Venezuela and Australia, overproduction, national extravagance, the Sherman silver-purchasing law, and tariff legislation.

Let us now proceed to analyze some of the more potent causes.

Unwise and reckless speculation is a fruitful cause of hard times. Most people who discuss the causes of hard times fail to apprehend its full significance, or if they apprehend it, fail to so analyze and illustrate it as to impress others with its importance. America is a new and prolific field for human enterprise. It is a vast, varied, and fertile domain teeming with the grandest possibilities. Numerous avenues of wealth in every department of industrial life known to civilization invite enterprise and industry. In agriculture, commerce—including trade and transportation—in the mechanic arts, in mining and manufacturing, magnificent prizes are offered. Competition is open to the world. Our government secures to every one equal opportunities and promises protection in the enjoyment of all that can be honestly acquired. Such conditions develop the highest qualities of the race, awaken every energy, encourage industry and enterprise, and incite the people to wealth-getting. How greatly these qualities have been aroused in America is well illustrated by the progress made since the close of the Civil War; progress in extending vastly the area of civilization to every part of our domain; in the construction of railroads and telegraphs; in the building of cities; in the invention of labor-saving machinery; in the application of electricity and other natural forces to new and important uses—in a word, in the improved and extended use of all wealth-producing agencies. These achievements require both *enterprise* and *capital*. The two are rarely possessed in sufficient quantity by the same person or combination of persons.

All or nearly all large business enterprises are organized and conducted by people who use *borrowed* capital. When the country is on a high wave of prosperity, credit becomes cheap.

Numerous and vast enterprises are undertaken — enterprises often unwisely conceived and recklessly prosecuted. Take the building of railroads as an illustration. From 1880 to 1890 we constructed, in round numbers, 8,000 miles of road per annum. This furnished employment for a vast army of workingmen—say 500,000. All these lines were built with borrowed capital. Many of them were not needed and wholly unprofitable. They were not only not needed and unprofitable, but by dividing the business with competing lines already constructed, rendered these competing lines unprofitable. The result of this unwise speculation was that in 1892 and 1893 numbers of these lines defaulted in their interest and went into the hands of receivers, disclosing the fact that hundreds of millions of capital had been lost in unwise investment. The Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Santa Fe are notable instances, and these were but a few of the many lines that became bankrupt. Capitalists refused to lend any more money for indiscriminate railroad building. Nearly all railroad construction ceased at once. Hundreds of thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. Many of our cities have had a similar history. In prosperous times the spirit of speculation runs rampant. Adventurous speculators who have nothing to lose start a boom. More conservative men are drawn into the current. Young cities, without any capital except what they can borrow, start on a career of speculation and improvement, both public and private, that has no parallel any place or time except in America and in the nineteenth century. Elegant and expensive structures—business houses, manufacturing plants, residences, colleges, schoolhouses, city halls, and other public and private buildings—are rapidly constructed by the use of borrowed money. Streets are graded and paved, lighting and heating plants established, street railways constructed, water-works, sewerage systems, and every luxury that the oldest and wealthiest cities can afford, are supplied by these boom cities on borrowed capital. Municipal credit is extended to railroad companies to aid in the building of railroads.

Trade is conducted largely in the same way. Every municipality and many business men are loaded to the guards with

debt. The city outgrows the country. Many expensive structures not needed are built as a matter of speculation upon borrowed capital. Crop failures or other causes produce a stringency. Rents take a tumble; profits on business fall short; fictitious values suddenly collapse; foreclosures and receiverships are the order of the day. St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha, Sioux City, Kansas City, Wichita, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, and many other cities of less note but not less folly, furnish object lessons easily understood. While such cities were being built and millions of money spent, a vast army of laboring men found employment. When experience demonstrated that many of the improvements, so-called, were unprofitable, capitalists declined to furnish more funds, the boom collapsed, and this army of workingmen was thrown out of employment. The workingmen who during the boom built the railroads; who dug the iron ore and the coal; run the steel rail mills; made engines and cars; graded tracks; made bridges and ties, and built cities from 1879 to 1892, constituted a large portion of the armies commanded by Coxey, Kelly, and similar chieftains in 1893. This vast army, probably numbering 1,000,000 men, with their dependents, suddenly ceased to be producers of wealth and became destroyers. They ceased to buy the necessaries and comforts of life, and became tramps and beggars. Under such conditions, all branches of trade and business suffered. There can be no complete revival of business until these workingmen find *new* and *profitable* employment.

Another fruitful source of hard times is the rapid "multiplication of labor-saving machinery." This is an important and constantly increasing factor in the labor market. It is, and has been for many years, taking the place of manual labor. It is constantly displacing labor and compelling it to seek other avenues of employment. This creates the necessity of continuous readjustment, drives a portion of the laboring men to seek new avenues of employment, and leaves them idle until such avenues are found. When a crisis like that of 1893 overtakes the country, this class of men helps to swell the ranks of idlers. As already said, we cannot hope for a return of good times until

the army of workingmen find new and profitable employment. The readjustment will come in time, but it requires time. If the enterprise of the nation cannot get funds to build railroads and cities, it will seek other fields, and labor will again find employment, but its opportunities will be constantly embarrassed by the inventive genius of America and occasionally by such crises as we have just passed.

"Labor strikes" are an important and very embarrassing factor in the production of hard times. They not only carry destruction in their wake, but create serious apprehension among capitalists and men of enterprise and greatly obstruct the success and growth of industrial enterprises.

"Overproduction" is not an inconsiderable cause of business paralysis. Any measure of widespread influence that offers valuable prizes to special industries, that greatly stimulates manufacturing in certain lines, is sure to result in overproduction, in glutting the market, and in ultimate depression in the very lines of industry stimulated. This adds to the army of idlers and hastens and intensifies the hard times.

Most people who seem fairly sensible about most public matters believe that the late crisis was precipitated by prospective "tariff legislation." No great financial crisis was ever precipitated by so inconsiderable a cause, unless we were already on the verge of a crisis produced by other and more potent causes. The causes of our late crisis were far wider and deeper. They were destructive causes, not mere bugbears. They had been engaged in their mischievous work for years and had been growing in destructive power, undermining the foundations of solid wealth, till the structure began to show signs of weakness; then came a stringency, then a crisis.

The approach of this crisis was clearly indicated months before the election of 1892, which was the first intimation of probable tariff legislation. No doubt after the crisis set in, such prospective legislation added an element of uncertainty to the business situation and retarded the return of prosperity.

H. H. TRIMBLE.

DOES MATERNITY PRECLUDE POLITICS?

BY FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

THE December number of this magazine contains an article on "Woman's Natural Debarments from Political Service," which seems to invite remark. It is a frank attack upon a body of women who for their efforts in the cause of equality for their sex deserve, in my judgment, the respectful sympathy of all women. I trust the author, to whom I am most friendly, will allow me the same freedom of expression which she has exercised.

She starts with the proposition that the majority of women do not want to vote for the reason that they possess certain "qualities which make them averse to attracting attention and comment" by so doing.

I reply that the real reasons why women, many women, do not want to vote, are more than one, the chief of which is ignorance of the benefit it would be to them to possess the franchise. The other reasons are dread of ridicule and the superstition impressed upon them by their religious teachers that God made man the natural superior of woman, and woman the natural dependent of man. Lastly, there is a feeling among women pretty generally that whether or not it would be best for them to become voters, they will never overcome the opposition of men, and therefore "what is the use of contending for what we will never get?"

This writer whom I am answering says, that during the late session of the Women's Congress in San Francisco this city became, temporarily, the storm center of the equal suffrage movement; and further that of 150,000 women in this city only a beggarly 800 of these could be induced to range themselves under the yellow silk banner, despite the fact that they were so eager for proselytes and followers as to receive into the ranks

"rich and poor equally." "Surely," she says, "this is a small proportion of our feminine population to arrogate to itself the right to speak for us all, and demand, in our name, something which we do not want."

The reply to this is very simple. Should we succeed in obtaining the coveted privilege, which we by no means feel sanguine of, no one not wishing to will be forced to avail herself of it. Many women, like many men, will undoubtedly neglect their opportunity, and shirk their duty. But admitting that only 800 out of 150,000 are asking for an amendment to the state constitution, this number is greatly in excess of the usual representation by men, for men, in political or government affairs, in state or national legislatures.

Notwithstanding the "insufferably conceited, insolently intolerant," and "clamorously importunate" majority of the "800," it is admitted that there are among them "many women who are the noblest of their sex"; but it is also asserted that these for the sake of others "incur a notoriety repugnant to their own delicacy," and endure a "special form of martyrdom." If appearances go for anything these leaders are not suffering any form of martyrdom on account of their notoriety. On the contrary, if any proof were wanted of the benefit to women of the enlargement of their sphere, it is to be most clearly discerned in the more intellectual, serene, and commanding manners of women upon the platform.

But, says our author, they, the suffragists, "include many disappointed women, women who find themselves in their later years, for various reasons, alone in the world, with the remnant of their lives stretching before them blank and barren." What better argument could be produced for the enfranchisement of women than this presentation of the utter uselessness of a large class, doomed to spend a third if not more of their lives without a human interest? Would not these women, had they the incentive to the study of politics, become a strong reserve whenever war was to be waged upon any social or political wrongs? It would seem only plain common sense to answer in the affirmative.

In this connection let me say that our author loses sight of the foremost reason why, in our country, women, in spite of all their objections, do, almost as a unit, desire the ballot. That reason is the prevalence of intemperance and the habit of public drinking. The suffrage leaders demand the ballot as an unquestionable right; but the main body ask for it as the only means by which they can hope to escape from the evils imposed upon them by the liquor traffic. For long years women have cried to men to deliver them from the unhappiness, privation, desolation, and outrage which they suffer by reason of it. They have prayed for the comfort and sanctity of their homes, for the purity of their children, and the indissolubleness of the marriage bond which would come with temperance. What answer have men made to their appeals? They have only surrounded the traffic with greater allurements and impregnable defenses; and by enacting laws which protect the dealer have fostered a monster which threatens the life of this republic by making of its children imbeciles and their mothers maniacs or paupers. Woman, always brave in defense of her children, decides to seize the weapon of last resort, and by "nagging," or any other way, to secure the means by which only the horror which threatens her can be averted. It might almost be prophesied that could the saloons of the land be suppressed the suffrage movement would fall flat, and the suffragists who are arguing upon the basis of "right" may yet thank the liquor men for forcing all classes of women into their ranks.

By what evidence—the time not having arrived for such proofs—our author asserts that "office-holding is the goal which they [the suffrage women] have in view," is by no means made plain; at the most it can only be a surmise. "But here," she says, "the line should be drawn sharply and decidedly." Why? Because the average woman could not "take upon herself in her young womanhood the duties of an important public functionary, of any kind, with the prospect of doing herself or the office credit."

And now we come to the "milk in the cocoanut." Having voiced her personal objections, the writer has based her opposi-

tion to a political career for women upon "one single reason—a purely practical one, with which sentiment and prejudice have nothing whatever to do"—woman's physical organization.

It is clear that she is not an evolutionist, and that the story of the creation is among her fixed beliefs. The scientific view that we make ourselves, consciously or unconsciously, in accordance with our environments—that life started at a single cell—that we propagated by budding like a plant, as many primary forms of life still do; and somewhat later divided our bodies as other inferior life forms continue to do, growing on a head or a tail according to our need; proceeding thus without sex for ages upon ages, getting a little higher up in the scale of being until after millions of years the male and female principle was evolved; and improving upon our merely animal existence until after millions more of years a trace of soul began to exhibit itself; after which the story of our growth proceeded more rapidly, and unconscious desire and aspiration became conscious brain and soul power—this is evidently not her view.

But in the process of time a stage of being *was* reached when the male and female perceived qualities in each other higher than instinct, and out of that knowledge love, as we understand it, was born. It was too late, however, to save the female from the consequences of the hardships she had endured on the road to this higher plane. She was the half of man, but the lesser half in size and strength. The duties pertaining to maternity and the rude treatment to which she was subjected by her mate before intelligence came to be united to will in either, created for her an environment from which she is only now rationally emerging, and to which the ignorant or the too timid woman still clings from force of habit.

It is this force of habit which in either sex is the greatest hindrance to growth. A shrewd male reporter at the Midwinter Fair Congress of Women, commenting on the general excellence of the program and warning men to look to their laurels, remarked, "And they might have done this before if they had only known it." There lies the true secret of achievement. As a man thinketh so is he. Believing you can do a

thing helps you to do it; and fearing you cannot hinders in the same measure.

We cannot afford to leave out of our calculations the power of this spiritual force working against woman. Man prefers her to be timid because he fancies it for his advantage and pleasure. She, accustomed to domination, cultivates a belief in her dependence because he insists upon or desires it. This combined though unseen and intangible influence keeps her an intellectual subject.

But I doubt if this influence of opinion, or desire and will, militates against the intellectual strength of woman as injuriously as against her physical powers. "Motherhood," says the author, "which is intended by nature to be an almost mechanical function—a temporary inconvenience it may be, but unaccompanied by pain or even appreciable discomfort—is to the generality of women a source of acute suffering which having its seat among the most delicate of the bodily organs, disturbs their nerve centers, depresses their spirits, and lowers their vitality."

This, then, is the outcome of the dependent idea to which we have been born and bred. Nature has intended one thing and we have acted upon a different line. Let us now return to nature and insist upon our equality before her laws. It does not require an extraordinary observation to perceive that the laws of nature may be made to yield to our demands in the desired direction, as our author has shown that they have done in an undesirable one, in making the civilized woman what she is. Let her now make civilized woman what she should be.

To quote further, "I consider that a woman has no rightful place in public affairs while she is bringing into the world another soul, or while the child which she has borne is young enough to need her special care and ministration." Why should woman be secluded during the child-bearing period, if, as our writer says, in her natural state she is free from any suffering or inconvenience? Allowing this to be true, it would then follow that nature never intended that woman should cease from the usual exercise of activities or interests during that period.

On the other hand, a healthy woman might reasonably be expected to be in the enjoyment of added energy and intellectual activity during the dual condition. Then, if ever, she should be specially inspired with good impulses and ambitious desires, that the life-germ developing within her may be gifted with the same. She should seek to put herself in association with the most generous culture and loftiest thoughts, beginning the education of her child before its birth—not seek to make an invalid and recluse of herself, thinking only of the physical in its lowest sense. Then fewer children would be born with darkened minds, or physically monsters from deformities and birthmarks.

The notion that politics, and politics alone, should be prohibited until a woman is beyond the child-bearing age has nothing in reason to sustain it. Women from twenty to fifty are in the thick of the battle of life as much as men; they are shocked and wounded as often and as cruelly; the fact that they are wives and mothers does not save them, but more frequently increases their risks. To be denied their wages, their pensions, or their privileges, upon the sole ground that they are dependents, represented in the world's affairs by men, is unjustifiable upon any rational ground. Yet such is the force of custom and prejudice that the popular mind does not perceive that they earn anything—that they in fact are the world's greatest producers. "To bear, to nurse, to rear," is recognized as woman's lot, which she is asked to bear humbly, and without pay. Whatever she receives of the world's goods is regarded as the gift of man. In the process of man's evolution, the lawmakers have, within recent years, discovered that she has some "rights."

From a pretty close scrutiny of the constitution of modern society (I am not speaking of the "four hundred") I feel convinced that if a census were taken of producers, traders, and laborers of every class, with a view to determine the men supporting women, and of women supporting men, for a given term of years—say seventy—it would be found that men are actually more dependent upon us than we upon them. While it is true that men from about twenty-two to forty-five or fifty years of age do as a rule exert themselves in their own behalf,

and in behalf of their families, they are very often during the earlier and later portion of their lives largely dependent upon mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters for support. The young man is fed, sheltered, clothed, and educated until such time as he finds the "situation" for which he is seeking open to him. He marries, and his earnings go to provide for the wife and home he finds necessary to his comfort. If he is unsuccessful in business, as the majority are, he "loses his grip" and the wife, who may be still bearing children, adds the support of the family to her proper sphere of labor, helped out by the daughters more often than by the sons whom she has reared. This condition of society pertains especially to life in the city, where girls find employment more readily than boys, because they do the same work for less pay, and there is no law compelling employees to pay girls the same wages they would boys for the same service. Men complain that because women have invaded their trades and professions wages have fallen. They do not see that if the law provided for equality in wages, men and women working together and not against each other could compel a better rate of compensation. All these facts and conditions enter into the consideration of the suffrage question. It is idle to hold up "nature's laws" as authority for our opinions. Humanity is old enough, by this time, to assist nature in making laws for its own good.

The doctrine that "maternity was intended to be a woman's business" should be relegated to that past which has declared that we are "conceived in sin and born in iniquity"—a doctrine as abominable in sentiment as repulsive in expression. If we are altogether so iniquitous in our conception and birth, where are the boasted honors of maternity? If maternity is truly honorable it should not debar women from the exercise of all the privileges belonging to humanity.

As our author has stated, man's part in the inception of a new life is merely an incident. Folded within the woman is the ovum which can be developed into an independent existence only by the nourishment and care which she gives it after the great and sacred mystery of conception has taken place. From

thenceforward it is wholly hers, to make of it her best. If the father influences its development it is through sympathy alone. The ancients perceived this and poetically put forth in their religions the idea of a divine mother. Less cultivated in science than in sentiment and imagination, they honored womanhood by making a virgin the mother of a God, by the "brooding of the spirit" of divinity. They had not yet reached the great truth that we are all divine to the extent to which we will receive inspiration from the soul of the universe.

While I am not one of those who believe and insist that a woman should have children simply because she can, and as many as she can, in order not only to grasp the honors of motherhood but to populate the earth, I am persuaded that to be a mother brings a woman into closer relations with humanity, and thereby enriches her nature. The care of any children, even other people's, does that. Motherhood, however, is to be intelligently entered upon, and there may be reasons why it should never, or but rarely be undertaken. The number of apples upon a tree does not determine its value, but the quality of the fruit; else a wild crab-apple would be able to compete in the market with the choice and selected tree from which you have carefully removed excessive "sets" in order to secure the finest possible fruit.

Our author suggests that we suffragists might do better than to put the ballot into the hands of ignorant, unfortunate, "and even sinful women." I would suggest that of all the classes or individuals needing the ballot, none need it more than "sinful women," against whom sinful men have ever legislated most cruelly and barbarously. Compared to the triumphs of maternity, as great, if not greater, will be the honor due those just-minded women who will lift the yoke from these necks, and, as Christ did, say, "Go, daughter, sin no more."

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

THE TRUE CITIZEN.

BY EGBERT L. BRIGGS.

THE true citizen is a man of character who stands four-square to the world. You may make him a pentagon or a hexagon if you choose, but I shall call him four-square.

On these four sides of his being he touches the world in four great lines of activity and influence. He is an industrial being, a social being, a political being, and a moral being.

As an industrial being he is a producer. He is contributing by his energy to the service of the world. He may have developed some skill which gives him productive power; he may be possessed of knowledge or genius which gives him guiding strength. If it falls to his lot to be a common laborer, he is then using his powers with all reasonable efficiency. If it is his to support or manage great industries, while justly mindful of personal gains, he is always seeking to give mankind a product that will enhance its power or increase its happiness.

The error should not be made of regarding the workers upon material things as the only producers. Those who care for the tools in the great shops of the world are as important industrial agents as those who pattern and polish. The vast army working to fit youth for efficient life, and that other army guiding manhood to a truer and nobler living, and all who are giving their service to bring the human instrument to a higher degree of perfection, are as truly industrial agents as those who till the soil, stand at the forge, delve in the mine, or operate in any of the factories of the world.

The true citizen is not a sapper of society, consuming its products while he contributes nothing to its support; but, turning his energies into those channels in which they can be made to flow most freely, he strives to return to his fellowmen an

equivalent at least for that which he must needs have for his own life.

The true citizen is a social being and recognizes his social relations. Society is a product of the ages. We are born into it and it becomes the very atmosphere of our lives. No worthy life can exist without it; no one should be so base as to be unmindful of his duties to it.

To fulfil one's social duties does not imply that one must enter into all the social amenities of a given community. This would often result in the destruction of the truest social growths.

The ideal citizen will give his first and highest attention to the home and the family. Domestic felicity, while often difficult of attainment, is always to be a supreme object of desire. Without it the family, the social unit, must be deficient and the product it gives to the world defective.

The citizen can give no aid to society more beneficent than that which helps to maintain the integrity and the purity of the home, and he who lifts so much as his smallest finger to defile, or traduce, or destroy them is worthy only the distrust and contempt of his fellowmen.

The citizen's interests will be alive to all the agencies for the extending of education, culture, and morality in society. The development of those institutions in his community that work for righteousness and militate against iniquity will be a matter of his highest concern. The schools, the churches, the libraries, and their kindred organizations will be objects of his care, and about them and into them he will throw the strength of his support and influence.

He will give his earnest endeavor to keep the social atmosphere which must be breathed into his children's lives and the lives of his neighbor's children as free from contaminating germs, as pure and wholesome, as the ether of the gods.

The true citizen is a political being. It devolves upon him to govern and be governed. The political organs of the nation, state, county, town, and city are objects of his earnest thought and careful study. Their successful working is a result he is justly ambitious to promote. He recognizes the privileges and

blessings that have come to him from their existence and he as fully appreciates his duty to them. In a country governed by the people he is conscious of his prerogative as an integral part of the government. He studies its great questions that he may act intelligently in relation to the political issues of his day. He allies himself with a political party that he may exert his power effectively, but he demands an independence of the demagogue, the boss, and the ring who would subordinate the principles for which his party stands to sectional jealousies or personal greed.

He is not merely a patriot in the great emergencies of war and national crises, but is one continuously and from habit. The simple affairs of the town and city are objects of his deep concern and the excellence of their government is his constant solicitude.

He understands that no body can be healthy as a whole that is diseased in its members; that, if the head and the heart are to be vigorous and clear, tumors, ulcers, or scrofula must not be carrying on their insidious sapping of the vitality in any of the extremities.

He believes that the primaries and the caucuses are of more moment in the government of his nation than the great conventions and general elections. He is at his post when the guns are being placed and trained and does not wait until they have been spiked and charged to offer his suggestion and guidance.

The fallacy that it makes no difference about the man chosen for the position, if the platform on which he stands is constructed of acceptable timber, is apparent to his judgment. He is interested in good policies, but he insists on having them backed by good men.

He believes in the powers of the ballot,

> "A weapon that comes down as still
> As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
> But executes a freeman's will,
> As lightning does the will of God."

The ballot to him has some weight, and when it falls from his hand into the ballot-box it carries a force for good government.

He is not a persistent seeker after office. "He holds the public weal above private gain," but is ready to respond when his country calls to service, whether it be in official trusts or amid the carnage of the battlefield.

The true citizen is a moral being. He stands in his community for integrity and justice, for purity and truth. He pays his debts promptly and at their par value. He is the helper of the needy and, while he condemns evils, is ever ready to lift up the fallen. He believes in good laws and in their just and vigorous enforcement. He is sensitive to right and duty and is prompted in his relations with his fellowmen by the great Christian principle of love.

Citizenship in our beloved nation is a boon of no mean significance. No one can trace its growth as it has advanced out of the dim past, hand in hand with Anglo-Saxon liberty—through Runnymede and Naseby, through Lexington and Gettysburg—without feeling his pulsations quicken as he thinks, "I am an American citizen."

If we have debased its character by amalgamating too freely the impure elements of other lands and races, let us lift our ideals higher, and live more nearly up to our ideals; then the true American, the American of the Washington and Lincoln type, will continue to wield an influence that will transform the peoples of this entire land, of whatever language or color, into a true and loyal citizenship.

EGBERT L. BRIGGS.

FINANCE AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

BY ARTHUR KITSON.

II.

LET us examine this system a little more closely. The legally established unit of value is stated to be a certain weight or mass of gold, $25\frac{1}{10}$ grains, $\frac{1}{10}$ fine. What is the meaning of this? First of all, what is value? There is no part of monetary science so elusive or more difficult to grasp than the conception underlying the terms value and the unit of value. It is one of the most abstract of all economic questions, and hence one of the least understood. Governments have attempted to establish what are termed standard units of value, consisting of certain weights of gold or silver. And these units are supposed to correspond to the units of weight, length, and capacity, and are usually classified with them. I wish to show that definite weights or masses of commodities do not and cannot function as standards or units of value, and there is no similarity between a unit of value and a unit of length or weight. I shall also show what vast and irreparable injury is done to industry through this institution, as unscientific as it is unsound, of a metallic unit of value. The term value is used in economics in three different ways: (1) as a thing, (2) as a ratio, (3) as purchasing power. The first definition appears to me obviously incorrect. The value of one thing—that is the property, quality, or attribute of a thing—cannot be another material thing for the reason that a concrete cannot possibly be the quality or attribute of another concrete. If, for instance one cow equals four sheep, I must either say the value of one cow is equivalent to the value of four sheep, or I must say that one cow is the same thing as four sheep. Four sheep cannot possibly be the quality or attri-

bute of a cow, and hence it is incorrect to say that the value of a cow is four sheep.

In this discussion, to avoid ambiguity I shall employ value as synonymous with purchasing power. In this sense value is an attribute or power conferred by society on commodities by reason of which they are exchangeable for each other. And this power arises solely because some person or persons desire them. In other words, value or purchasing power arises from demand. An accompanying factor, however, is that of supply. For an excessive abundance of a thing reduces or destroys its value, although it may still be desirable, while its scarcity enhances its value. In short, values are wholly dependent upon supply and demand, and are fixed by the ratio of supply to demand. It is neither possessed by a thing, nor does it reside in it. For proof of this we have only to recognize the fact that the value of a thing can increase and decrease, appear and disappear, without the thing itself undergoing any material or physical change whatsoever.

To speak, then, of value as an inherent property, to say that money must have "intrinsic" value, that the precious metals are "intrinsically" valuable, is meaningless. I particularly call your attention to this fact, because upon this absurdity rests most of the arguments of the metallic money schools. Almost all, indeed I may say all, the standard economists agree upon this view of value or purchasing power, that the center of value is in the human mind and not in the object valued. It is quite true that what are termed valuable objects possess properties which excite human desires. But the value of those objects is the estimate which the human mind places upon them. And this estimate is determined not by the desirable properties of those objects, but by the difficulty in obtaining them. It is not what a thing is *per se* that determines what we will give for it, but how much we desire it, and how many of such things are available. It is the quantity of those things offered for sale that controls its value. What, for instance, would be the value of a diamond if diamonds were as plentiful as cobble-stones? On the other hand, how valuable water becomes in places or

seasons where drouth prevails. Considering the intrinsic qualities of these two commodities, the one that is to-day absolutely necessary for human life and social existence is almost valueless, so far as its exchange power is concerned, while that which is really unnecessary, so far as it supports life, is immensely valuable.

Now, although this is elementary to all students of economics, whenever a practical application of this theory is presented, as, for instance, with the money question, the very foundation of the theory of value is abandoned, and instead of treating it as an ideal thing, value becomes a material thing, a concrete substance. Men talk of measuring values just as they talk of measuring a room or weighing coal, and insist that we must have a definite mass of a commodity for our unit of value. And yet such a position indicates an entire misapprehension of value and a confusion of thought.

In the first place we do not "measure" values in the same sense that we measure the length of an object, or quality of a substance. We "estimate" them, and this estimation is not a mechanical but a purely mental operation. We do not measure the value of a diamond by placing a piece of gold beside it. Give a child a yard-stick and tell him to measure the length of a room, and find its superficial area, and he has no difficulty in arriving at a result. Now give him a valuable jewel and then hand him the gold unit of value, viz., $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, and ask him to measure its value. He will at once either question your sanity or wonder what joke you are trying to perpetrate.

When a storekeeper sets out to mark the prices of his goods, or when an expert is appointed by an insurance company to appraise the value of various goods, do they have recourse to this standard unit of value? Not in the least. In fact, I am safe in saying that of all those who measure or estimate values, not one in ten could tell you what the unit of value is. Now, here, it seems to me, is the great fallacy upon which most of the world's monetary systems are founded, and which is largely responsible for the inequitable results that have brought about

such serious social and economic disturbances throughout the civilized world. It is in confounding the ideal with the material, in regarding a certain mass of gold or silver as the unit of value, instead of the value of that mass, or the estimate which the human mind puts upon that mass. This difference is all important, as I shall show you.

What is a dollar? Our financiers tell us it is a certain mass of gold, viz., $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, $\frac{9}{10}$ fine. If this be so, then the greater proportion of wealth is immeasurable. According to the best statistics, the total available gold in the world, for coinage purposes, does not exceed 200,000,000 ounces. The last United States census gave the wealth of the United States of all and every description as equal to $40,000,000,000. Now if a dollar is essentially $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, $\frac{9}{10}$ fine, and if there is in the whole world only 200,000,000 ounces, then it follows that the total number of dollars or units is only 4,000,000,000. Now, how is it possible to measure wealth in dollars beyond the number of dollars existing and therefore capable of expressing such values? To measure the wealth of this country, supposing it to be equivalent to $40,000,000,000, would require ten times the quantity of gold that now exists throughout the entire world. And if this quantity of gold capable of measuring this nation's wealth were suddenly produced, what would be the effect? The value of gold would naturally fall, and hence the dollar would represent less wealth than it does to-day, so that the present estimate of our total wealth would be incorrect. In other words, if a dollar is a certain amount of gold, the value of the dollar depends on the present supply of gold. And when we speak of a number of dollars in excess of the present supply, we are talking of something we do not know the value of.

The same argument holds good for all other estimates of large aggregations of wealth. For instance, the total number of dollars on deposit in banks and trust companies, and subject to draft, was, according to the comptroller's report, nearly $5,000,000,000, while all the gold available in the United States does not exceed ten per cent of this amount, and the total number of legal dollars, including gold, silver, and paper in circulation, is

only one third of the number actually due bank depositors. It is therefore evident that the dollar, as used in finance and commerce generally, is not a certain weight of gold, but an ideal unit which may or may not correspond to the purchasing power of the standard gold unit, viz., $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, depending upon whether gold is at a premium or not. So that when it is said that the wealth of this nation is equivalent to $40,000,000,000, this does not represent so many million ounces of gold, but 40,000,000,000 times the present purchasing power of one dollar. And its present purchasing power is the result of the present extremely limited supply coupled with an unlimited demand.

Now, if value is not a thing, nor the inherent quality or property of things, what sense is there in setting up a definite mass of gold or silver and calling it a unit of value? If I take a yard-stick, I have a definite and practically invariable unit of length, and so long as I preserve that stick I can preserve that fixed length. It does not matter how many other yard-sticks there may be, nor how their number may vary, the length of my stick remains invariable. The same is true of weight. The earth's pull on the mass of one pound remains practically constant in the same locality. If I add one million other pounds to it, the earth's pull on the total mass will be just a million times its pull upon a single pound. Now, value is in no sense similar to these conceptions. Definite values are not associated with definite weights or masses of commodities. Suppose I carefully preserve the gold unit of value $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold, $\frac{9}{10}$ fine, do I preserve an invariable unit of value? Not at all. To-morrow the discovery of rich gold mines will alter the value of my unit, causing it to decrease. In other words, its value is not contained in it, but fluctuates with the total supply and demand of all the gold in the world.

Every addition to the market supply of gold, whether natural or artificial, lessens its value, and every diminution of supply increases its value. Similarly every increase in the demand for gold increases its value, and every decrease in the demand decreases its value. It is this fact that causes the prices of commodities to fluctuate so enormously, and it is owing to the

increased demand for gold, brought about by the demonetization of silver, that there has been a steady fall in prices since 1873. Professor Jevons tells us that between 1789 and 1809 the value of gold fell 46 per cent, from 1809 to 1849 it appreciated 145 per cent, while between 1849 and 1873 it fell at least 20 per cent, since 1873 gold has appreciated fully 30 per cent. To talk of a standard which is subject to such fluctuations, is, to say the least, an entire misuse of words. I need hardly point out to you what a terrible social misfortune, what misery and suffering, such fluctuations in the so-called unit entail. That similar variations in the units of length and weight would engender disorder and chaos in the industrial world, no one can doubt. And yet changes in the unit of value are far more serious to our social welfare. If such fluctuations resulted merely from changes in the production of gold, solely from natural causes, monetary systems based upon these metals would seem, from the scientific standpoint, too ridiculous for serious consideration. But when we remember that such changes occur by the mere withdrawal of gold from circulation, from the manipulations of speculators, such a system seems nothing short of madness.

Now I am going to make a statement that will surprise most of you, and that is that in no country in the world is the so-called monetary unit either gold or silver, notwithstanding all our monetary laws and statutes. The monetary unit of every country is governed by the supply and demand of all that which functions as money, viz., coin, paper, credit, etc. This unit is neither one thing nor another. It is an ideal unit and is expressed by all. And since 98 per cent of the currency used throughout the civilized world is paper, checks, bills of exchange, notes, etc., it follows that the value of the unit is governed not so much by gold or silver as by credit. Gold enters as a disturbing factor to shake or enhance credit, and is thus most potent in changing values. I have before me an ebony yard-stick, a metal one, and a tape measure. Each defines the unit of length. But this unit is neither ebony, metal, nor tape. It is a certain distance. Similarly, I have a certain monetary unit called a dollar, which is expressed in

gold, silver, and paper. All these dollars have equal purchasing power. Hence a dollar is neither gold, nor silver, nor paper, although expressed by each. And although our statutes declare $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold $\frac{9}{10}$ fine to be the standard dollar, yet the dollar is governed principally by the amount of circulating credits out. We have only to remember what becomes of our value unit, when most of this credit is destroyed, as it was during the panic of 1893, to realize what a fiction this gold unit is.

If we abolish the so-called gold unit, what unit will replace it? By what means and in what terms shall we estimate and express values? My answer is, in precisely the same terms as we do to-day. The commercial unit of value to-day is an ideal dollar. It is in terms of these that we estimate wealth, and not upon the supply of gold. As I have shown you, if we were to take the estimates of our wealth based upon the gold or silver dollar, we should find that we had underestimated gold and silver, and considerably overestimated our wealth.

The simplest and only way, in my judgment, for establishing a practically invariable monetary unit, or unit of value, is to abolish the gold and silver units—units which have no use or purpose but to cause sudden fluctuations in our present ideal unit—and adopt the commercial unit. If we started to-day say by dissociating the dollar with any particular commodity—that is, if we abolish the gold and silver standard—what would be the effect? We should of course have to adopt a different monetary system and destroy all such absurdities as promises to pay gold and do other impossible things. But if paper money were allowed to be issued upon any and all suitable wealth without limit to any amount, except the value of the wealth behind it, the unit would be practically invariable, since there would be always a constant ratio between supply and demand for money. If the government permitted all wealth to be freely monetized, in other words, if all commodities were given equal privileges with gold, so that those who owned houses, lands, factories, steamships, and other forms of wealth, could convert them into money as readily and as cheaply as the gold miner does his gold,

the supply of money would always keep pace with the demand, and hence the unit of value would be constant. Now, at any given time all commodities stand in a fixed relation to each other, every salable thing has a definite price—and this price is expressed in one common language so far as any one nation is concerned. In this country the language is dollars and cents.

Now these estimates and prices are based upon the conception that there actually exists a material dollar for every dollar's worth of such wealth. There is probably at one time exposed for sale at least $10,000,000,000 worth of goods in this country alone. Now, our total currency, counting out paper and silver dollars as good material dollars available for purchasing, only equals $1,500,000,000, and a large amount of this is always hoarded or stored away for future use. The chances are there is never more than $1,000,000,000 of currency at any one time actually circulating.

But the above estimate is based upon the idea that each dollar's worth of wealth can be transformed into one dollar in money, and it is only by the rapid circulation of money, whereby it goes from purchaser to seller and back to purchaser again, that so little money is enabled to do so much work. It is further relieved by the part that credit plays in performing the same task.

Now I can conceive that if there were always an equivalence between general purchasing power, in the shape of dollars, on one side, and goods offered for sale on the other, that each of these units or dollars would be invariable. It matters not whether so many material dollars actually exist, or whether by quick circulation a much smaller number can be made to perform the work, so long as there is an equivalence between the supply of and demand for money by producers and sellers, so long the unit of value will remain invariable. And this constant equation between supply and demand can be maintained only by making exchange facilities commensurate with the facilities of production. With the production of wealth the means for exchanging it ought to appear with it.

Nearly all our industrial woes and business depressions are

the result of a continual friction, if not warfare between the industrial and financial world. The value unit employed in commerce is, as I have shown you, an ideal unit, and the currency or exchange medium demanded by trade is one that is commensurate with the capacity of our wealth-producers. The limit of industry is the satisfaction of human wants and desires. And until the volume of currency is proportionate to the demand for it, trade cannot be safe or healthy; it cannot continue brisk for any long period. How long, think you, production would continue, if our medium of exchange grew proportionately with the growth of wealth as it should do? Certainly as long as human beings were in want of commodities, and as long as they were willing to work. You seldom or never hear of industrial panics. Panics always arise in the financial world, and it is our unscientific financial systems that are responsible for our industrial troubles. But now mark what happens under our present financial system. Our laws have set a limit upon the quantity of the tools of exchange, and have placed them entirely in the control of a few men, now formed into a solid organization. Now, wealth can only find its ultimate destination by means of exchange, and exchange can only continue under our present system so long as the means of exchange hold out. When there is a reasonably general distribution of money among the people, especially the wage-earners and wealth producers, trade becomes brisk, and factories and mills are started everywhere. It is from among this class that the great demand for commodities arises, and unless you enable them to get the means of purchasing, the natural demand is inoperative on trade. When, therefore, money circulates among the working and poorer classes, trade becomes brisk. This condition is allowed to go on until the tools of exchange are fully employed, and the bank reserves are reduced to low watermark. Then our financiers are compelled to refuse further loans, in order to maintain the legal margin of safety. Credit is curtailed; business begins to decline; men are discharged; there is a lessening demand for goods since the banks are calling in the means for purchasing the necessary tools of commerce. Hence, although

the natural demand for goods is as great as ever, the actual demand is cut down because our producers and wage-earners have not the means of purchasing. Thus it is that no long, uninterrupted period of industrial prosperity is possible under our present financial system. Our industrial system works in cycles. It cannot help but be fitfully spasmodic. The system tends to concentrate the means of exchange, not in the hands of those who really need it and would, could they get it, employ it in production, but in the hands of those who neither toil nor spin—society's drones. Consequently industry is alternately depressed and excited with the varying caprices of those whose wants are usually satiated. No healthier condition can exist than that in which the nation's currency is generally and regularly distributed among the wage-earners. For with them the money is constantly moving, and is kept in circulation, a necessary condition for industrial progress. But where the system tends to concentrate the money in the hands of the few, stagnation arises. There is congestion in one center and impoverishment in the other. It is as though you drew all the blood from the limbs and confined it to the head.

Now I contend that the gold standard monetary system is a bad system, because of the insufficiency of gold for the needs of commerce. In the choice of a material out of which to manufacture any tool or machine, the first question that must be answered is this: "Is there a sufficient supply to meet the demand?" The car company that attempted to furnish the public with ebony or Spanish mahogany cars would be deemed insane, owing to the high cost and limited supply of these woods. The industrial world always selects the cheapest and most plentiful material out of which to manufacture commodities. Thus we see iron superseding brass, and wood iron, wherever these materials are cheaper and efficient. But our monetary science seems to work upon entirely opposite principles to those governing our mechanical and physical sciences. The combined forces and intelligence of civilization are directed toward increasing the number of commodities and cheapening of goods. Every labor-saving machine and every invention has

this for its immediate object. But money, the most useful, the most necessary of all labor-saving machines, the most essential for the growth, happiness, and prosperity of nations, is legally restricted, and we are actually told that its scarcity is a blessing, that if it were plentiful we should sink into decay and ruin, and the race rapidly disappear. Really one cannot but marvel at the contradictory nature of this science with all others. If a measure were introduced legally restricting the production of agricultural machines, of telephones, of sewing machines, the press of the country would boil with indignation. How the sugar monopoly and Standard Oil Trust have furnished themes for the righteous indignation of our newspapers, from one end of the country to the other! But this money monopoly, this to which all others are mere pigmies, excites no opposition whatever. Indeed, our editors are all employod in justifying it and in denouncing those who oppose it.

The fact that the miner who digs gold is permitted to go to the mint and convert his product into legal tender, without any expense to him, while the farmer who raises wheat and cotton, the miner who produces coal and iron, the lumberman who furnishes timber, and the manufacturer who manufactures all the comforts and necessaries of human life, are debarred from similarly monetizing their products, all this not only excites no feeling of burning injustice and wrong on the part of our public men, but they are constantly ridiculing those who dare to point out and denounce the iniquity of such a system. Of course such a system, founded as it is upon a false and inequitable principle, cannot operate without producing evil and trouble. And we have only to open our eyes to facts to realize what a terrible plight the world is in regarding the subject of finance.

I said some time since that the gold basis, the so-called sound money system, was unsafe. Let me recite a few facts.

The recorded gold debts of Europe and of this country alone are more than twenty times all the available gold stock in the world, and fourteen times more than all the gold that has been mined during the past century. The present gold production of

the world, enormous and increasing as it is, is not sufficient to pay the interest charges on the gold debts of this country alone for four months. And yet our papers are constantly soothing us with statements as to the ample sufficiency of the present gold production to meet the present demands of commerce!

In the October 12th number of *Harper's Weekly*, Edward Atkinson, the well-known statistician, and a man who is represented by the press as a great authority on finance, gives us a definition of good money. "The coin," he says, "which being beaten smooth with a hammer, retains its full value, is good money; that which being beaten smooth with a hammer, does not retain its full value, is bad money."

Now, these definitions contain a most glaring falsehood, and serve to convey a theory which is contrary to fact, to experience, to the very elementary principles of political economy. What Mr. Atkinson and what the gold standard advocates are trying to make the people believe, is, that gold holds its present high value, not to its legally established money function, not to legislation, but to its "intrinsic" qualities. They wish us to believe that if the statutes which constitute gold the "standard of value" and the medium of exchange were abolished, the value of gold would not be affected. Mr. Atkinson means that, or else his definitions amount to nothing. To say that a piece of gold of the weight and fineness of a $10 gold piece, is worth $10, is only another way of stating that the law permits you to go to a United States mint and have it coined into $10. But this would be the same with silver, or in fact with any metal, under a similar free coinage law. If a free silver coinage act were passed, then every piece of silver of the weight and fineness of a silver dollar would be worth just one dollar. Now, any schoolboy who has mastered the principles of arithmetic knows that by adding to the demand of a thing you increase its value, and *vice versâ*. When the law gives to a certain commodity the function of discharging debts, it at once opens to that commodity an enormous field and creates for it an unlimited demand. Its value at once rises. This was the case with silver and would be again under a free coinage act. We

hear of fifty-cent dollars; an implication that if the free coinage of silver were permitted, dollars would be worth fifty cents. The statement is ridiculous. First, because a dollar is not an absolute unit of value; and to talk of a fifty-cent dollar is to say that a half dollar and dollar are one and the same thing. Second, because supply and demand govern values, and when you admit silver to the same privileges as gold, you create a demand for it, and its value would immediately enhance. The fact is, that if a free silver act were passed, silver would immediately rise in value and gold would ultimately decline, and the general purchasing power of dollars would be a little less than it is to-day.

Suppose the civilized world were suddenly to remonetize silver and demonetize gold, does any sane man doubt that the present values of these metals would be reversed? The fact is that Mr. Atkinson and those who believe with him fail to see what gives a commodity that functions as money its value. They mistake cause for effect. The present value of gold is entirely due to legislation, by which it holds a monopoly of functioning as legal tender. These gentlemen, however, imagine the reverse to be true. They think that gold functions as money because of its value. They believe there is some intrinsic property or quality of gold that is responsible for its value.

The scarcity of gold and its legally acquired power to settle debts are the only two factors entering into present value. And silver or paper may acquire by law exactly similar values. The definition of Mr. Atkinson, however, denies the well-established principle that supply and demand govern values. It is a sheer waste of time to discuss such a bald contradiction of a truth which has become axiomatic, and I merely place it before you to show you the desperate straits to which the gold standard advocates are reduced in order to maintain their ground.

The truth is that whenever a commodity functions as money, its commodity value is lost sight of. For if the commodity is more valuable than the nominal coin value, it at once disappears from circulation. This is the essence of what is termed

the Gresham Law, which says that "bad money drives out good money," and which would be more correct if stated in these words, "Cheap money drives out dear money." This law applies to all commodities alike, and illustrates the fact that the whole tendency of the commercial and industrial world, of progress and civilization, is to reduce the cost of production of all things, to economize labor. Now the legal privilege of monetization given gold at once fixes a limit below which it is impossible to fall, but it does not prevent it from rising above that value. Hence, if gold functions as a coin, it does so only because it is more valuable as money than as gold, and hence it is solely the money function that gives it its present value. And since sixty per cent of all the gold produced is employed for coinage purposes, it shows that its use in the arts does not determine its present value.

In conclusion, let me urge you to study this money question for yourselves. It is by far the most important social and political problem confronting the human race to-day. It touches the life and happiness of every human being in the civilized world.

Two paths are open for us. The one is a free monetary system, based not upon one particular form of wealth, but upon all wealth; a system that gives a substantial basis to all forms of currency and credit. The other is a system by which one commodity is exalted into a king, a despot, an omnipotent ruler over all other commodities. It is essentially monarchical in principle. It means despotism on the one hand, and subjugation and slavery on the other.

The free monetization of commodities is entirely safe. It keeps the issuance of money within the limits of the values it represents. Under it, panics and business depressions become impossible. Industry, the sole creator of wealth, would then be free, and the shackles which now bind it as the slave of finance would be broken. The gold basis means an unsafe currency. It means overissuance of money, the use of a baseless credit system.

Gold, as I have said, is insufficient to support a nation's currency, without the issuing of more promises to pay than

there is gold to redeem with. Hence we are driven to an unstable condition, and panics and bankruptcies are inevitable. It is wrong, utterly wrong, to make civilization dependent upon the accidents of mining. It is wrong, utterly wrong, to make invention, science, art, even life itself subject to the caprices of gold and currency speculators. Our safety as a nation, our honor, happiness, and welfare as a people, depend upon a scientific solution of this great problem. It is only by thought and study, devoid of all passion, party strife, and prejudice, that we can arrive at this desirable consummation.

ARTHUR KITSON.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PROF. JOHN S. BASSETT.

THE ends of our American government will best be realized by the freest, most intelligent, and most conscientious participation of the individual citizens in public affairs. This is a truth that has been more or less conceded since the American stock began; but through all it has had a certain amount of development. It has passed through four stages of growth in regard to its actual interpretation into public affairs. (1) In the colonial period it was a claim of the Americans. The struggle to get it, however, was chiefly confined to attempts to overcome the unwarranted authority of the royal prerogative which was exercised by governors, councillors, and other agents of the British government. (2) The success of the Revolution threw the reins of state into the hands of a certain number of men of local prominence who had organized and guided to the success that notable struggle. In many of the states these were men of the local aristocracy. When they came to decide as to the means of carrying on the government which had thus been born they adopted a system which would leave control of affairs in their own hands. They were convinced, and properly so, that this was the best means of perpetuating the principles for which they had fought. Accordingly, in most of the states suffrage was in some way restricted. (3) In the course of a generation these men had died and the principles they had wished to perpetuate had so crystallized themselves in the political habit of the country that there was no longer need that the old restrictions should be in force. With the great political upheaval that is associated with the name of President Jackson came a wave of reform that swamped state after state, till suffrage was at length placed on a basis of equal rights for all.

Many people thought then that the ends of our government had been attained. They were mistaken. (4) It was soon seen that although all men might now vote, the freest, most intelligent, and most conscientious action of the individual citizen was thwarted by the power of rings, caucuses, lobbies, and in short by corruption in politics. This conviction has set to work a vast number of agents of reform. There is an increasing demand to get down to the basis of intelligent and honest individual responsibility. This struggle will be won as the other struggles have been won. A generation hence another obstacle to the best individual action will be the object of the reformers' efforts and the great moral forces of our people will take another step in a progress which only the end of time will see concluded.

The various struggles are all pretty much alike in outline. Those who are to-day fighting to remove political corruption may not inappropriately know the experience of another struggle that has already been won. Such knowledge will give experience and confidence for the present. It is for this reason that we may consider the story of the fight for equal suffrage in the state of North Carolina.

At the beginning of the Revolution, when the patriot leaders found themselves in charge of the government of the province of North Carolina, they decided that they would take into their own control all those executive offices; as the governorship, the secretaryship, the appointment of sheriffs, and the various other functions which previously had been in the hands of the crown. They accordingly provided that all these officers should thenceforth be chosen by the Assembly. That body was by this means supreme. In order that the Assembly might remain in their own conservative hands they provided that there should be two houses, each of which should have a veto on the measures of the other. The lower of these houses should be chosen by the freemen of the state; but the upper should be chosen by those freeholders who owned fifty acres of land in fee or for life.

The result of the labors of these leaders was the constitution of 1776. It remained in force until 1835, when there was a convention in which many of its features were amended. The

feature in regard to the property qualification for voting, however, was not disturbed. But it was only seven years later that it began to be agitated. In 1842 we have mention of a mass meeting in Lenoir County to protest against the existing arrangement. The meeting addressed the county's representative in the state legislature, asking his views on the subject. This is all the mention we have of this matter. It was not long afterwards when Green W. Caldwell brought up the same matter in the Assembly, "but," said an opposition paper, "it met with so unfavorable a reception then as was sufficient to convince its sapient author that intelligent men would not be duped into the support of any such a dangerous and leveling innovation."

In 1848 there appeared a man in the state's politics who had both the ability, the courage, and the conviction to push the matter to success. This man was David S. Reid of Rockingham County. It is said that the idea of making the fight was first suggested to him by Stephen A. Douglas, who was at that time visiting relatives of Mrs. Douglas in that county. For some years the Democrats had been losing strength before the Whigs, who embraced most of the vast number of small landowners in the central and western part of the state. Mr. Reid was nominated against his wishes and informed the party leaders that he would accept the nomination only on condition that he be allowed to make the canvass on the question of a constitutional amendment to abolish the property qualification. The leaders with much hesitation finally concluded to accept the conditions. They had their doubts of the expediency of the proceedings and many of them supported it but faintly. Mr. Reid had, however, one ally of unusual strength. W. W. Holden, editor of *The Standard*, a leading paper of Raleigh, had once been a poor boy and had sympathy with the landless men. He came to the assistance of the Democratic leader and together the state was given an earnest and efficient canvass. Although politicians had predicted failure the result was a great reduction of the usual Whig majority. Still the Democrats were defeated. Two years later the same two men faced each other as candidates for the governorship from their respective parties. Free suffrage

had in the meantime grown more popular. Governor Manly, the Whig candidate, now declared that he was personally opposed to the doctrine, but that since the people seemed to desire it he would promise not to antagonize it. The Democrats were not uncertain. Their platform demanded in the strongest terms the abolition of the property qualification by constitutional amendment. As between the candidate who waived his convictions for the wishes of the people and the candidate who stood for his convictions the people chose the latter. Mr. Reed, who had been defeated by a minority of 854 votes in 1848, was now, in 1850, victorious by a majority of 2,774.

The fight was now transferred to the Assembly. To pass a constitutional amendment it was necessary that it should pass each house by a three fifths vote, lie on the table till the next Assembly, and then receive a two thirds vote of each house. All this must be followed by a ratification by a popular vote. To this formidable task the friends of equal suffrage now addressed themselves. The Whigs met them with a proposition to call a constitutional convention, their object being to get representation in the Assembly placed on the basis of white, rather than federal, population. Such a measure would operate against the Democrats, who were strongest where there were most slaves. The demand for the convention failed by a good majority. The Democrats then brought in their proposition. After a spirited debate they lacked four votes of the necessary three fifths majority in the House of Commons. They did not become disheartened, but in a few days secured a reconsideration and passed their bill by a vote of eighty-five to thirty-six. In the Senate the measure had the same success. Defeated at first, it was taken up on a motion to reconsider and passed by thirty-two to fifteen votes.

Everything now depended on the political complexion of the succeeding legislature. The Democrats did their utmost to get two thirds of the votes of each house. The Whigs again urged a constitutional convention, hoping by that means to elect enough members to render impossible a two thirds majority by

their opponents. As soon as the Assembly was met the measure was introduced. It passed safely through the Commons but lacked one vote in the Senate. Weldon Edwards was speaker of the Senate. He could secure the passage of the bill by casting his vote. He was a Democrat. His party turned to him with anxiety. He refused to vote and equal suffrage was lost. Holden, in the *Standard*, charged that Edwards had defeated it. It was a provoking defeat and might well have disheartened the advocates of the bill, but they had no intention of giving up.

The struggle was renewed in 1854. The Whigs declared for a general revision of the Constitution. In party convention they resolved: "That we are of the opinion that the people of North Carolina desire a change in the constitution of the state and that this can most wisely and safely be done by a convention of delegates elected by the people. Therefore we recommend to the legislature to call such a convention and in submitting the election of delegates to the people, so to provide as to preserve the present basis of representation in the legislature." The Democrats stood to the fight on the single issue of equal suffrage, to be secured by constitutional amendment. They had the advantage of a single clearly defined issue. They appealed to the innate sense of justice for which wise politicians have always trusted the people. It cannot be doubted also that the trend of the slavery question in national politics was for the advantage of the state Democracy. The election showed that party strongly in the ascendant. Equal suffrage was again passed by a three fifths majority. So much had it gained with the people that no further attempt was made by the Whigs to oppose it. It received the necessary two thirds majority in 1856 and in August, 1857, it was ratified by the people by 50,007 as against 19,379 votes.

Thus was achieved the greatest political victory ever won in the state. It illustrated a fact which is too often lost to sight to-day, viz., that a strong and sustained appeal to the good sense of the people in favor of a righteous measure will at length be crowned with popular approval.

JOHN S. BASSETT.

A CABINET SECRETARY OF LABOR.

BY MORRISON I. SWIFT.

IT is becoming clear that governments cannot ignore the labor question and stand. The theory of "hands off" has failed, and the only pertinent question is how government hands are to be laid on. It will be as the agent of intelligent justice, controlling the anarchist forces of wealth, or as the subaltern and accomplice of these forces, to meet popular rebellion. Contemporaneous events, Chicago, Brooklyn, warn that do-nothingism in the old sense means fight; for if the state can be gotten to do nothing the citizens will rebel, and the state will be ignominiously compelled to fight back. Ignominiously, because it chose the part of repressive fighter rather than of just mediator. The existence of the state will be imperilled, and if it survives to enforce the tyranny for which it fights its own downfall were preferable.

Although the government is nominally one of and by the people, it is necessary to remember that the people have very little to say about it. The incumbent of office is remote from popular command and is amenable only to the small political clique, which is allowed to exploit politics on condition of keeping the track clear for the owning class to exploit industry. And he is generally a political debauchee, with no interest in principles or in progress beyond his own. If the state ever belonged to the people it has slipped out of their hands, and this creates the seeming paradox of a people in antagonism to a state which they are supposed to constitute. For the state to collapse, however, is something more than even the political creature can composedly face. It will not pay him to have it collapse, and at the last moment, when war or downfall is imminent, he may do something to prevent them for his own sake.

Whatever the state does is attended to, for everybody's eyes are upon it. Whatever individuals do may pass unnoticed. The state, therefore, is the prime educator. The state has greater facilities for accurate information than private individuals. When it gathers facts or forms conclusions it has funds and apparatus to make them known everywhere. Its investigations are relied upon. It has power to act when it is convinced that a course ought to be taken; the private individual can only act on a great scale by inducing government to act. The office of the legislator is to initiate. He is elected to be foremost in attending to important questions. He is supposed to know about them, and to lead practically in their solution. Since the people expect leadership of him their temper is to accept and approve. Government action signalizes a subject as one that ought to be studied by the citizen, and the busy man often waits to have what is vital selected for him. The semi-ignorant have a remnant awe of government acts, and are more disposed to realize a serious issue when government tells them it is serious than to rely upon their own or other individual judgment. When a policy is recognized in law it at least cannot be ignored. It must be tried out. If it is good the good will be obtained, and in any case the people will be enlightened.

What ought to result educationally from a Congress or Parliament has been suggested by Walter Bagehot apropos of English institutions: "A great and open council of considerable men cannot be placed in the middle of a society without altering that society. It ought to alter it for the better. It ought to teach the nation what it does not know."* Such a body of really considerable men would have a great destiny. But even when they are not considerable its influence will be deeply felt. Incredible time is expended by the people in following the proceedings of our own Congress, even when they are in the highest degree sterile. The volumes of discussion which the press issues indicate that the people demand them. Whatever subject Congress or an administrative department takes up is greeted with the same fervent curiosity. Under these conditions,

* "The English Constitution," page 196.

although the members of the central deliberative body may be thoroughly mediocre or inferior, if they can be impelled to consider a weighty matter, they emphasize it and impress it upon the country. They may not help by the character of their discussion of it, which may be hopelessly feeble, but by discussing it at all, and thus focalizing the thought of the nation upon it. The people require incitements. Republican government has not taught men to subdue their prejudices and break the tether of their habits. The good, if it is new, has not sufficient power to attract the majority, and some artificial means of compelling their notice, especially if it includes iteration and reiteration, is still the most efficacious propulsion toward virtue.

An important step would be taken in government avowal and comprehension of the labor problem by placing the National Department of Labor on a par with the leading departments of state and giving its chief administrative position as cabinet secretary. There are eight cabinet officers, the heads of those departments which cover the most important affairs. Agriculture was the last to be let in. The Labor Department stands by itself and has no cabinet voice. In England the number of cabinet ministers is not invariable as with us. Eleven departments are always represented, and others are added according to the prominence of their interests at the time. The interests raised by the labor problem in this country entirely transcend all others, but in the executive council chamber they have no spokesman or expounder. There is a tremendous loss of executive intelligence through this vacancy. There is not a possibility only, but probability and almost certainty of blunders of the largest sort.

It needs a man there of great information on this subject; one of external and mechanical observation would be of no use. It must be one who comprehends the springs of the labor movement, and that will have to be a man of force and caliber. Imagine him placed in the American cabinet to interpret and explain these unspeakable phenomena which are dissolving foundations and consuming men's peace. How quickly he would dispel those scores of fogs! How easily he could show

a way to avoid the menacing friction between government and citizens which is blotting our record! How he would educate his colleagues by transmitting to them those views based on fact which he only among them would have, and out of the incompetency and chaos prevailing in their minds at length be able to evolve a reasonable and efficient policy! And how this policy would clear the gloom which overhangs us! One wise man in the right place could do this, because there his voice would be heard with effect.

A few years ago an amazing and portentous confession of national incompetency was made by a leading journal, called forth by an essay on the condition of American workingmen. The journal condemned the sentiments of the essayist, saying, "Surely, too, every sensible and observing man knows that these articles feed the fires of anarchical discontent all over the country; that there is nothing more mischievous than persuading ignorant men that they are suffering from evils for which nobody knows any peaceful remedy." Apart from the ethics of keeping silence about evils from which men are suffering in order not to be put to it to find remedies, the people who are staggering under these evils now recognize them so vividly without persuasion that the sole question is the remedy. To tell them that nobody knows any peaceful remedy is equivalent to advising non-peaceful remedies, for their minds are set to have relief. The truth is, and it is very shameful, that no pains have been taken to discover any remedy at all. Government has slept while the problem became gigantic. To recover lost ground it should now hasten to incorporate the neglected problem into the national structure and program. It can convince the people of its confidence that peaceful remedies exist, and of its established purpose to find them.

Cornered by circumstances from which it could not run away, the administration was lately compelled to act on the conflict between capital and labor. The cabinet dealing with the Chicago strike was like nine blacksmiths building a house or painting a sign. It was not their vocation nor did they provide themselves with the directing advice of anybody whose vocation

it was. They might have had the highest intentions without any hope of success but chance, for the noblest motives cannot endow the blacksmith with the builder's or painter's art.

The misfortune of not having a labor secretary in the cabinet was conspicuous. There was no reliable information to base action upon, and federal intervention was so mixed and inconsistent that no class of society emerged from the conflict satisfied. The attorney-general was charged by the working people with interfering as a corporation lawyer; they maintained that President Cleveland's interposition with troops was the perversion of executive authority by upholding capitalists' interests, while the governor of Illinois decried the ordering as arbitrary, because the state although at all times amply able had not been called upon to quell the trouble; the mayor of Chicago likewise censured the president for meddling; a flame of indignation against the courts spread through the working classes because the volley of injunctions proceeding from them was issued, the workingmen contended, to crush the strike. On the other hand, Mr. Cleveland was condemned by the wealthy because he did not proclaim against the rioters earlier; Governor Altgeld and Mayor Hopkins were denounced from the same quarter as connivers with the strikers, apparently because they did not come to the rescue of the railroads without being called, although this reasoning would also have made the federal government connive; and the general in command received his meed of blame from the rich for not killing more persons.

The net result was a material lessening of the workingman's loyalty to government and confidence of the fairness of its judiciary, a clearer pronunciation of the cleft between the masses and the classes, and in the minds of the wealthy a strengthened impulse toward military government. The conflict of authorities, the want of tact and penetration at Washington, the complete absence of preparation for allaying such troubles without bloodshed, were painfully manifest to all; and in probably all minds the sense of domestic security, confidence in the creed of law and order, and respect for the intelligent inclination or the forced capacity of the state to provide fit-

ting apparatus for so grave a matter, were extremely shaken.

It is now nobody's business to know about the causes of these catastrophes beforehand and to head them off. The entire people have apparently acquiesced in placing the labor controversy in the catalogue of those ungovernable evils which seemed to Alexander Hamilton to evade the nets of human contrivance. In his persuasion of their transcendental quality he wrote: "And as to those mortal feuds which, in certain conjunctures, spread a conflagration through a whole nation, or through a very large proportion of it, proceeding either from weighty causes of discontent given by the government or from the contagion of some violent popular paroxysm, they do not fall within any ordinary rules of calculation. When they happen, they commonly amount to revolutions and dismemberments of empire. No form of government can always either avoid or control them. It is in vain to hope to guard against events too mighty for human foresight or precaution, and it would be idle to object to a government because it could not perform impossibilities."*

True, it is a "weighty cause of discontent" if government incontinently renounces all responsibility in the most pressing and momentous public issue of the age, when it is idle and ignorant concerning a giant and mortal controversy which has filled the horizon with its clouds and lightnings for years, and yet this is anything but being surprised by "events too mighty for human foresight and precaution." It is rather beseeching "some violent popular paroxysm" to break forth, and cultivating its contagion. This government asks for respect, but what does it do to earn respect? There have been warnings until their very magnitude and recurrence have grown commonplace. No extenuation survives for those who, stationed where they are to scan the approaches of trouble, have seen with full vision every one of those prophetic occurrences whose incessant reappearance upon the field of contemporary history has hardly permitted space for any other important event. He is a traitorous guardian who foresees evils and by silence promotes

* *The Federalist*, No. XVI., page 97.

what his office is to prevent. It is idle to find fault with a government for what it cannot perform, but it would be a crime to condone that sublime imbecility which shirks its duty in order to court its own ease, on the very threshold of revolutions and dismemberments.

If there are some who delighted to fancy that the mighty questions which appal us "do not fall within any ordinary rules of calculation," so that government is perforce condemned to inaction and impotence, the report of the commission on the Pullman strike must have dispelled that illusion. The commission was appointed at the eleventh hour; the evil had been done, the ugly social wound was inflicted. It was too late for prevention or compensation. All that the government could accomplish was to go back several months and gather up facts which were strewn upon the surface and had lain there from the beginning, open to all the world and ignored by all the world.

The report of the commission was a reversal of nearly everything the public and government had thought. It evinced that the strike had been a just and necessary one, forced into existence by the sordid utilization of employers' privileges legally allowed but intrinsically irreconcilable with decency and right. It gave the public and the reverberant press the chagrin of seeing the foundations of their exhaustive vituperation of the strikers swept away. It drove this press to the bitter dilemma of unsaying what it had screamed with scurrilous rancor for months, or of sticking to it against the damning verdict of sedulous investigation and irrefragable evidence, and of turning its batteries of calumny and vilification from the working classes upon the commission itself.

The latter disgraceful course was generally chosen. The Los Angeles *Times* said on printing the report: "It is an outrageous piece of special pleading, concocted with the obvious design of whitewashing the A. R. U. and currying favor with organized disorder." "It descends to the lowest depths of pettifoggery in working out its illogical conclusions."* The New York *Tribune*, under the inscription "Lawlessness Justified," gave

* November 15, 1894.

forth: "What we do condemn the commission for is the recklessness and folly with which it has indirectly, but no less positively, justified conditions of irresponsible dictatorship, rapine, lawlessness, and anarchy, and thereby openly invited a recurrence of similar outbreaks equally alarming and destructive to public peace. . . . The effect of the report will be unsettling and mischievous."* The Boston *Transcript*, after inflaming the evil passions of the rich by anathematizing the strikers as conspirators and pronouncing it "a question whether our government is 'of the people, for the people, by the people,' or a travesty cooked up by *wild western ignorance and irresponsible tyranny*,"† churlishly accepted the rebuttal of its blundering onset with no other apology to the working classes than is contained in estimating the attorney-general's opinion in the case between the striking switchmen and the receivers of the Reading Railroad, "victory enough for one year," "right on top" of which, however, comes the report of the commission "finding the Pullman Company and the railways' General Managers' Association in the wrong in the circumstances leading up to the terrible labor troubles of last summer in Chicago."‡ But later the headline editor surreptitiously betrayed the paper over to truth in the winged sentence, "Concentrated Essence of Gall," introducing the characteristic intelligence from Washington that "the railroads want pay for carrying the soldiers who saved their property from destruction."‖

How much would have been saved if the commission had investigated and reported at the inception of the Pullman strike, or even when the sympathetic railroad strike began! The rebellion would not have transpired, the blood of the rich and the laborers would not have boiled with a class rage beyond anything known heretofore in this country, the press of the wealthy would not have blindly taken a stand from which it could not extricate itself without stultifying its professional acumen—in short, the whole painful chapter of tragic events which are now hardened history would not have been.

* November 14, 1894.
† July 6, 1894.
‡ November 14, 1894.
‖ November 20, 1894.

The commission received especial obloquy for saying, "The policy of both the Pullman Company and the Railway Managers' Association in reference to applications to arbitrate closed the door to all attempts at conciliation and settlement of differences. The commission is impressed with the belief, by the evidence and by the attendant circumstances as disclosed, that a different policy would have prevented the loss of life and great loss of property and wages occasioned by the strike." It was replied to this scorching arraignment that "what was indispensable then was an absolute refusal on the part of the Pullman Company and the General Managers' Association to do what the commissioners now say they ought to have done." But what is perfectly certain is that the great body of Americans would have had a very different opinion if the facts given to them subsequently by the commission had been in their hands then, and that if the public had been posted in the first days the general sentiment would have been overwhelmingly on the side of the strikers. Here then we have justice alarmingly balked by the general ignorance of facts which were accessible to proper inquiry; on account of the powerlessness of truth to be heard we have "a rebellion against authority of terrible gravity," and the sudden formation of one of those mortal feuds which tend to culminate in revolutions and dismemberments of empire.

Quite apart from the immediate ravaging consequences of an ignorance which plunges a sober commonwealth into chaos, it is demoralizing for a great people to have to reflect that it has gone egregiously wrong without excuse, and is therefore more than likely to repeat the fatal incontinence. And for such a people to allow their "authorities" to persist in the blunders of ignorance in the most critical affairs is to commit the republic to damnation.

The Department of Labor at present "is charged with the collection and publication of statistical and other information touching the condition and interests of laborers—information, for instance, bearing upon the relations of labor and capital, hours of labor, the housing of laborers, rates of wages and methods of payment, the food and expenses of laborers, etc."

Hence the necessary foundation already exists. A department owes its establishment and development to legislative act, so that the proposed alteration would be simple.

The functions of the department would necessarily be greatly extended in concurrence with the actual proportions of the field. Admitting the struggle between capital and labor to be the most weighty affair of the modern world, to chronicle properly its movements and keep them correctly before the people would be alone a gigantic work. If it were battles of arms between two factions or nations over some contemptible rivalship the country would have the minutest details, and these comparatively worthless proceedings would be preserved with pedantic care for posterity. But one of the really pregnant and mighty race events is allowed to slip along half unnoticed. In the present growing strain between the combatants it would not be too much to publish several periodicals of exact facts from the Labor Department, monthly or weekly, and in emergencies daily, to educate the people on their own vital affairs. The present able methods of the department would cover the ground proposed by enlargement and extension into new fields.

The labor question would no longer be the dreadful apparition that it is if these points were carefully investigated and published—the principles on which the capitalists deal with their employees; the profits of the capitalists; how the wages of the employed compare with these profits; how the capitalists live; how the workmen live; how many of the capitalists drawing revenue from the industry perform any service in connection with it, or with any industry; what the nature of that service is, and the number of hours required by it; the hours required of the workmen; the surroundings in which the labor of the capitalist and the workman are carried on respectively; the pay of the officers of the industry, compared with the pay of the workmen; whether when wages are reduced the salaries of these officials are also reduced, and in the same proportion as wages; whether any of the salaried offices are sinecures or partial sinecures; whether in dull times profits are kept up by cutting down wages; whether the workingmen are better able to stand

a diminution of wages than the owners are a lessening of profits; how the necessaries and health-giving comforts of the two are affected by decrease of income; whether a certain standard of profits, represented by the expected rate of interest on invested capital is maintained at the expense of the education, health, and development of the workman, and how this will influence the character and prosperity of the nation in the long run; what proportion of the profits goes to pay interest upon capital which was never invested in the industry but was created out of water; the quantity of labor of women and children, and how the families and the health and nurture of the offspring are affected by it; the degree of education possible for the workmen's children; the sanitary conditions which the wages paid are able to command, and the quality of the food; the regularity and irregularity of the employment given; the provision which the workmen are able to make for bad periods of business, sickness, and old age; the history of the development of the industry, how it attained its present position, how the capital for it was acquired, what service its present owners rendered in return for it, how many of them ever did anything to develop the industry, and what proportion the laborers received during the massing of this capital; the number of workmen that have been displaced by machinery and consolidation, and what became of them; how far the workmen are consulted and treated as if they had an interest in the industry; how often wages are raised in prosperous seasons without the stimulus of a strike or the threat of one; how often, when wages are lowered under plea of necessity, this plea is more than pretense; the real cause and warrant for every reduction of wages which is not heartily acquiesced in by the workmen; all the conditions originating and involved in strikes; the mathematical degree of hope of bettering his estate the laborer is justified in having; the ideals, wishes, and purposes of the working classes, and the intrinsic meaning of the labor movement for them.

These are some of the inquiries to be made and regularly transmitted to the public. If there were a minister in the cabinet well versed in these subjects, prepared to furnish

information and suggestion to congressmen, authorized and expected to have and develop a policy on the conflict between capital and labor, we should have no more Homestead slaughters, Chicago rebellions, or Brooklyn riots. It would be the greatest possible boon to the country if the property-owning classes could have the social movement translated and interpreted to them. The investigation of strikes should be begun by applying the foregoing inquiries to leading industries long before the strikes occur. The government now tardily lags in to examine the battlefield after the battle.

MORRISON I. SWIFT.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN.

BY WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

EVENTS of the past few months have projected the view of the American people much more forcibly upon the politics of the world and have given a distinctly international complexion to the politics of the country itself. Men who have strummed over tariff facts and figures until they were proficient political economists have awaked to the consciousness that beside the tremendous issues of life and death which have arisen in less peaceful and favored lands, our solicitude in regard to slightly increased or diminished taxation—and that of an indirect character—seems weak and narrow. Not that our sympathy with the oppressed should lead us to neglect or undervalue the problems of local and national politics which crowd so thick and fast around us, but that they should not absorb all our attention. We should be able to take a wider sweep and should cultivate some sympathy with the millions of oppressed in other lands. We have had the plainest object lessons of late. We have had our republicanism stirred to its center as we have become painfully impressed with the fact that not one monarchy of the Old World at this day occupies the position of a real defender of the weak, but each in its way is a selfish opportunist —ready to profit by the overthrow of the weak but waiting until that is accomplished, lest in its desire to gobble a slice for itself it may rouse the wrath of some of its equals in strength. It is well that our people have had such object lessons, painful and exasperating though they may be. It is to be feared that in our weariness of Independence Day frothings, of the vapidity of jingo babblers, and the like, we had grown at heart a little indifferent to the real temper and purpose of the average European monarchy and a little callous to the peril which besets whole peoples with whom we would otherwise deeply

sympathize. There is such a thing as disgusting the best of men with a good cause—by travesty, by caricature, by that ignorance in advocacy thereof which is so exasperating that it may prejudice the cause itself in the minds of its sincerest friends. Some men have actually been heard to speak of republican institutions as a failure—in disgust perhaps at the rudeness and actual trickery and bribery which too often sully the elective franchise. But we have also seen the wealthier of our citizens making painful and almost ludicrous efforts to buy their way into the presentation chamber at court. We have witnessed the utter abandon with which rich and ambitious parents will sacrifice their daughters on the altars of legalized shame for the sake of an aristocratic connection, marrying men whose reputation in their own circles is that of blacklegs or Lotharios of the grossest, most selfish type. This decadence of our republicanism had gone far. Our forefathers had grown dim and it seemed so pleasant to believe that the grounds for their prejudice against monarchical things were not so strongly existent to-day. In a certain sense we have of late had a rather rude awakening. We have seen that under the guise of what we admired as the modern presentment of chivalry there lurked the cold-blooded selfishness which would condemn a whole people to the worst outrages of fanatical and lustful Turks. We have seen that their chivalry consists in wearing a mask, each for the other, with the poniard up the sleeve, each ready to deliver the other a deadly blow if it shall subserve his individual interest and if he is permitted to do so. I can only hope that the object lesson of European diplomacy in the past few months will strengthen our Americanism.

Of course the perfidious course of England and other powers with reference to the Armenians in particular does not change in our minds the estimate we have already formed of the average Russian, French, German, or English character. Those whom we may have esteemed and valued as friends, or as literary or scientific beacon-lights, are no less dear now because they happen to live in countries which in their cowardly fear of each other have sunk so low as governments in the moral

estimate of mankind. The republic of letters and science does not expel or brand the individual for the shame on his national escutcheon. It takes a good many people to make a nation and it takes very complex causes to fix the selection of a premier. He must be a pilot even though he steer into disgrace and reproach—he must simply not steer into danger. This is the curse of European politics just now—that it is founded on mingled cowardice and ambition—an ambition however which means mere greed. Our people have had an opportunity for months to realize the full force of this condition and to see, not dimly, whither it is tending. The coward must some time or other fight. The man who will not fight in a good cause may have to fight in a bad one. I am no prophet, but it takes a very scant measure of historical divination to read the signs of the coming conflict. We can see thus that there is need for more attention on the part of our people to international questions, since they are very likely to interest us more and more as months and years roll on. We have found ourselves by a strange drift of circumstances the one nation in the world which has come out plainly and through legislative expression in condemnation of the atrocities perpetrated on the Christians of Armenia, and in sympathy also with the cause of Cuban liberty. And yet in the meanwhile there have been voices not a few in our midst which sounded so strangely like the cowards' squeak around the kingly council board—counselling prudence and a regard for the good-will of royal tyrants—talking of *ententes cordiales* and all the "dwarfish demons" of a mask-like policy which our forefathers never knew or which, if any knew, they threw aside when they threw overboard the tea in Boston Harbor.

Buncombe, as the term is generally understood, is a little absurd but it has already been severely scourged. Our people now are more sensitive than formerly to ridicule on the score of their Americanism. We import too many Old World ideas of propriety of expression and we are falling diplomatically too much into the rut of our continental neighbors. This is why I predict that the man who can set forth true Americanism of

feeling without the suspicion of a selfish and designing jingoism will best illustrate the spirit and temper of our people and will be known as the true international statesman of the age. Let it be understood once for all that the world of European monarchy cares nothing for our republican ideas except in so far as we are able to enforce them, if need be, in a tangible way. The surface indications of friendship for well-heeled American guests at fashionable spas and baths must not be mistaken for any great increase of Americo-mania. This republic has committed the crime of succeeding as such and as standing as a perpetual barrier in the path of transatlantic aggression—so we may well be assured that those who are deaf to the shrieks of outraged and murdered Christians whom they might have protected would in the case of a like powerlessness on our part be equally as unmoved.

This Armenian question is of crucial importance not merely with reference to its own comprehensiveness but as showing up the real motive and inspiration of all European diplomacy. It must be a guide and a warning to us. We feel very secure and so in a sense we are. But I, for one, after hearing the piteous wails of the helpless sound in vain in the ears of England, Germany, France, and Russia, would not give many figs for their friendship jointly or severally if for any cause this country should ever be imperilled. Therefore there arises more need than before for a high quality of international statesmanship—not that vulgar jingoism which appeals to votes here and there or which delights to pick a quarrel for the mere pleasure of vaunting and blustering. We want men who can read, internationally, the signs of the times and can read them thoroughly. We want men who have made a dispassionate study of diplomacy in Europe—of the combinations which have been made—and so may form good forecasts as to combinations which may be made. Such a diplomatist need not be a cynic—that is, he need not have a jaundiced hatred of European nations based on the insincerity and double-dealing of their diplomats. All he needs is to see things as they are without unnecessary prejudice.

We do not want any war with England or any other power on

earth, but what we do want is that this country shall be prepared to meet aggression. Some people have the idea that the United States are beloved and respected by other nations—that our tourists are so gentlemanly, uncomplaining, and liberal—our State Department so fair and conciliatory, and in fact that Uncle Sam is at all points so fine a fellow that other nations consider him a sort of pet—even though they may be ready to rend each other. Fatal illusion! Europe likes us because we are rich but hates us because we are free. It also fears us because we are strong. This is the diplomatic situation in a nutshell and from this it may be inferred how greatly we need international statesmen of broad gauge and the least inclined to sentimentalism. At school and elsewhere is it not always the case that the boy who avoids difficulties is the one who is not looking out for them but who is ready invariably to meet them in a quiet business way if they are presented? Just so in diplomacy. We need to be quiet and self-contained, and if we have military enthusiasm bubbling over let it exhibit itself in the systematic strengthening of our seaport and coast defenses and of our growing navy. That is jingoism of the right sort!

WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

"ARE WE A NATION OF RASCALS?" A REJOINDER.

BY HON. JOSEPH OKER.

"If America adopts our system of finance her boasted liberties will be but a phantom."—*Pitt.*

THE leading article in the March number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS has the above startling caption. Although its author does not answer this question positively, yet he stands on dangerous ground when he endeavors to win the companionship of honest men to the support of his theory of "honest money."

Mr. Hume can meet no more sincere and candid believer in honest money than myself; and furthermore, that this question shall not be answered in the affirmative by future generations, I will gladly aid him in "arousing the national conscience."

In the first place it is definitely stated that "if anything should be honest it is money." Agreed. Furthermore, if there be "dishonest money," I will add, dishonest men have made it. It may be the product of the counterfeiter, or it may be the product of a constitutional and sovereign power. Let us see.

If in our investigation we meet with dishonest money, let us crush it as we would a viper. If "the moral side is by far the more important side," let us not hesitate or equivocate; let no preconceived opinion or political preferment cause our judgment to waver; but let us bring its author before the bar of human justice.

Of all the money, both "honest" and "dishonest," that has visited the world, man is its author. Nature has nowhere and at no time decreed anything to be money. She has been perfectly indifferent, showing no discrimination, offering all metals for coinage, and unlike man is unmoved by the powerful influence of money. It is not of her children, and for centuries such a thing as money was unknown. With civilization it grew

out of the necessities of trade and commerce. While it is true that primitive man used "shells, stones, and iron" to *express* the relative value of other things, nevertheless these articles were merchandise and not money as we now understand it.

The money of civilization is created by law; it is the decree of a sovereign power and differs from the money of barbarism as intellectual force differs from the physical. This is amply proven by the fact that money ceases to be money when taken out of the dominion of the power that created it, and becomes a commodity. While the words "fiat money" are so often used with disdain by those who subscribe themselves the disciples of honest money, yet it is true there can be no dollar without the "fiat" any more than there can be a legal or standard pound or yard without the fiat of the people in their collective capacity. The demonetization and remonetization of gold and silver at various times prove this.

Our silver coins are as yet not wholly demonetized; they still retain their legal-tender quality; but silver bullion being denied free coinage at the mints, as is accorded gold, this metal has depreciated in value when measured by that metal that still enjoys free coinage. The complete demonetization of silver will be secured when the legal-tender quality of the silver coins is withdrawn by the power that gave it, or, in other words, when the government rescinds its "fiat" as it did with the "trade dollar" then silver money with us will be a thing of the past. The standard silver dollar will depreciate as did the trade dollar, which simply demonstrates the magic influence the fiat of government has upon either paper or metal.

As it is with silver, so is it with gold. In 1844 Great Britain passed the Peal Act, establishing the value, as expressed in pounds and shillings, of an ounce of gold, and this "fiat" of government has obtained with all nations using gold or having commercial intercourse with gold-using nations.

Thus far I think we understand each other. That coining money and regulating the value thereof is one of the prerogatives of government is admitted by all. It is a privilege and a duty proclaimed by the federal constitution, and for any person

or combination of persons to usurp this right and duty subverts popular government and destroys the hope of the race.

If Congress has the sole power to "coin money and regulate the value thereof" and there be "cheap money" and money of a "high standard" in circulation; or if there be a "fluctuating currency," Congress is responsible. That "every fluctuation brings loss to some one" is admitted, and the promiscuity of "cheap money" and money of a "high standard" is also an evil for which government is responsible if it exists.

The history of the financial legislation of the United States from 1862 to the present time is without a parallel in all the annals of government. The Neros and Caligulas that wrapped the world in the clouds of imperial crimes are as amateurs compared with the systematic, scientific, and prodigious plunderers of modern times. The crudities of the past have yielded to the craft of the present. Evolution in slavery, evolution in crime, has become as distinct a manifestation in sociology as is found in the material world.

If ever a government should feel grateful, it is this republic toward those who responded to the repeated calls of Lincoln to repress the advance of its enemies, and sustain our national existence. The soldiers who enlisted in this struggle for the Union were promised by the government a stipulated sum of money per month. If ever there was a sacred obligation this was one. It was the pledge of the drowning man to his rescuer. It requires no argument to prove that the faith of the government was as much pledged to the soldier who risked his life as to him who merely risked a portion of his wealth in a secured loan to the government. But the record shows that the pay of the former was reduced by vicious legislation nearly sixty per cent, while the returns of the latter were doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. The same legislative enactment that reduced the value of the soldier's pay increased that of the creditor's bond, by providing that the money of the soldier should be rapidly depreciated in value, by limiting its function, while the interest upon bonds should be payable in coin; and then after the war was over the government to its own injury changed its con-

tract with the bond-holder by substituting another and more valuable bond, thus making it more difficult for the soldier and citizen to pay.

That the purpose of the lawmakers was deliberate was exposed in a speech by Senator Sherman in the Senate July 14, 1868. He said: "It was, then, our policy during the war to *depreciate* the value of United States notes, so that they would come into the treasury more freely for our bonds."

Ingratitude is the blackest of crimes. It is the amalgamated baseness of a putrid heart and a pernicious brain.

The first act in this enormity was the "exception clause" upon the greenback. Upon its face it was decreed money, upon its back it was repudiated by the very power that issued it. It was money for the soldier, and the government's obligations to him were rendered with this kind of money; but when he wished to pay his obligations to the government, it refused to honor its own production. Do you not call this "discrediting its own paper"? Unlike the first issue of greenbacks that were legal tender for all debts, this hybrid currency could not perform all the functions of money and, as was anticipated, it depreciated.

This abandonment of a currency having all the power of a legal tender for a bastard that had a promise on its face and repudiation on its back marks one of the most spirited contests in our history between the House and Senate. A compromise grew out of this contest which gave the holder of these notes the privilege of converting them into United States interest-bearing bonds. It was argued that this would assist in maintaining the notes at par. But after $450,000,000 of these notes were issued and paid the soldier, this privilege was withdrawn, another pledge was followed by repudiation, and the soldier's money was fast turning to ashes in his hands. Again Mr. Sherman said, December 12, 1867: "The bonds could not be negotiated, and it became necessary to depreciate the notes in order to make a market for the bonds."

Spaulding, in his "History of the Currency," says: "It never seemed quite right to take away this important privilege,

while the notes were outstanding with this endorsement upon them."

Ingenious ignominy. While the soldier was too busy fighting, and the citizens too earnest in their support of the government, these defenders of the nation's credit and honor proceeded to a systematic depreciation of the currency by violation of pledges and dishonorable discrimination. If "the worst of all governments have been those that corrupt and debase the money of the realm," do not such deliberate acts answer your question in the affirmative?

All the legislation on the subject of finance from 1862 to 1869 is in strict conformity to the plan outlined by Hazzard's circular. Bonds must be issued for a banking basis. All non-interest-bearing obligations of the government must be converted into interest-bearing bonds. This was carried out. The currency of the country being mercilessly depreciated and gold appreciated, enabling the gamblers that made merchandise of the misfortunes of the people to secure $2.85 in currency with one dollar in gold, and then secure a bond with the depreciated currency, dollar for dollar, and the foundation for the national banking system was complete.

After the country was saved it was soon discovered that its redeemers (the bond-holders) were suffering from the evils of a depreciated currency. The soldier was now the taxpayer, and when he endeavored to discharge his obligation to the government with the same kind of money he received for his services, then the cry was raised for "honest money." The money sent to the trenches was not good enough to send to Wall Street. To pay the bond-holder according to the contract "nominated in the bond" would be a stain upon our national honor. Our "credit" would be impaired, notwithstanding the fact that credit is strengthened by fulfilling the contract.

U. S. Grant called our currency "rag-baby." Henry Ward Beecher called it "rotten money." Influential newspapers, great bankers, and profound statesmen, politicians, and preachers, in one chorus cried out "dishonest money," "fiat money." Yet not one of these cried out against the national

bank note, a banker's debt that costs us a double usury, that came to displace the greenback, that cost us nothing. For a people to circulate their own debt for their own benefit was "dishonest"; but to circulate a banker's debt for the banker's benefit was the best system ever devised.

Accordingly, Congress responded in 1869, making the bonds payable in coin. Another link was forged in the chain encircling a too confiding people. Rag-money to the patriots but coin to the plotters. This was a bold and hazardous move and Congress did not act until after the elections.

As the question was agitated somewhat warmly, both parties in the contest of 1868 refused to espouse the cause of the bond-holder. Throughout the majority of the states the Republican platforms read similar to this plank from Indiana, viz.: "The public debt made necessary by the Rebellion should be honestly paid in legal tenders, commonly called greenbacks, except where by express terms they provide otherwise." The national Democratic platform for the same year had the following plank: "*Resolved*, When the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right to be paid in the lawful money of the United States."

The election being over, the plotters resumed their head-quarters at the nation's capital. A bill was introduced making the bonds payable in coin notwithstanding the attitude of both political parties during the campaign. But the tiger changed his stripes and the serpent sloughed his skin. That justice would not be violated in paying the bonds in greenbacks is admitted by Senator Sherman in a letter dated March 30, 1868, saying: "I think the bond-holder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the bonds. . . . He is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave."

As Senator Sherman stands at the head of the forces that have wrought such havoc in our finances, I gladly point to such virtues and verities as he may emit.

The bill became a law. A government that would complacently thrust myriads of men into the jaws of Cold Harbor and Gettysburg did not hesitate to vote millions into the coffers of the bond-holders. Surely the "moral side" was overlooked here.

Having forged another link in the chain, the next effort was made to destroy half the coin by demonetizing silver, thereby enhancing the value of the remaining half. As Ricardo says, and he voices the opinion of all economists worth naming, "By limiting the quantity of money it can be raised to any conceivable value." We have here the secret of increasing the purchasing power of the dollar, which has the same effect in measuring values as "lengthening the yard-stick" would have in measuring distance. While contracting the volume, the units increase in value, and with inflation of the volume the units contract. As there is a strong aversion to inflating the currency, and "silverites" are often called "inflationists," it is well to bear in mind that an addition of gold will produce an inflation as well as silver or paper.

To secure this next step it must be necessary to avoid discussion. To agitate the matter would wreck their sinister designs. In 1873 the standard silver dollar was surreptitiously stricken from the list of coins to be issued by the mint. It was accomplished by the fraud and forgery of a conference committee. It was not generally known until 1876, when, during a debate, Senator Conkling asked Senator Sherman, "Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar?" Being answered in the affirmative the country became aroused.

From the foundation of the government the silver dollar was the unit of value, and at the time of its rejection by the mints in 1873 it commanded a premium of three per cent over gold. If "the standard cannot be too high for us," surely Mr. Hume cannot claim that this changing of the standards at this time was in the interest of the "high standard"; nor were the methods employed a strict adherence to the "moral side" of the question.

We are informed that several counties and commonwealths

that are raising their voice for a rehabilitation of silver show no disposition to pay their obligations. Yet it is very clear that the object and aim of the legislation of the federal government have been to avoid the payment of its obligations when due. After limiting the metallic money, the money of redemption, and its bonds payable in coin, its ability to pay the maturing bonds was effected. In 1880 and 1881 bonds to the amount of $782,000,000 became due. Gold had been accumulating in the treasury, and the people looked forward to the payment of a large portion of the debt. But they were doomed to disappointment. To avoid this payment the government sold $522,000,000 at public auction in the markets of this country and Europe. After the Resumption Act was passed, January 14, 1875, the records show that $40,000,000 was sold, and then the treasury immediately turned around and under the Resumption Act sold bonds to buy that gold back again. Here, surely, is a precedent for Secretary Carlisle.

Had the government desired to bring its depreciated currency up to par, it could have done so by redeeming with its gold the greenbacks still outstanding. It refused to redeem, and also to pay its debts, and refunding followed.

Under the administration of the rascals at Washington the country suffered the severest panic in our history. In a speech Col. R. G. Ingersoll said: "No man can imagine, all the languages of the world cannot express, what the people of the United States suffered from 1873 to 1879." To make amends for past offenses Congress passed the Bland Bill. As the bonds were payable in "coin" the question arose, what kind of coin? As the rulings of the secretary of the treasury were invariably against the people and in favor of the jobbers—and furthermore where the law is uncertain there is no law—to settle this important point Stanley Matthews introduced in the Senate a joint resolution declaring that all bonds of the United States, issued or authorized to be issued, by the various acts of Congress, could be paid and were payable in silver dollars containing 412½ grains standard silver, and that to restore the coinage of such silver dollars as a legal tender in payment of such bonds,

principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith, nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditors. This resolution secured an overwhelming majority and passed both Houses in 1878.

The adoption of this resolution certainly brushes away all the ambiguity clinging to the word "coin." Congress now spoke to be understood. The duty of the executive was now made plain. The government enjoyed the option of paying its obligations in either gold or silver coin. There is now no obligation of the government that cannot be legally and morally fulfilled with silver coin, excepting gold certificates.

Yet in spite of all this we read that "the sentiment underlying the attempted restoration of silver is sectional, selfish, and dishonest." The silver dollar is stigmatized as a "fifty-cent dollar," a "dishonest" dollar. Right here let me ask, what is an "honest" dollar? *It is the dollar of the contract.* We insist that our government shall pay its debts according to the letter and spirit of the laws under which they were created, and thus hold the scales of justice even between debtor and creditor.

The claim that the silver dollar is worth but fifty cents can be met with the counter-claim that the gold dollar is worth 150 cents. It is a contradiction of terms. May as well speak of a "white blackbird" or a "square circle." Congress has decreed each one to be a dollar of 100 cents, and for anybody to declare that the silver dollar is a "fifty-cent dollar," is to accuse the government of lying and cheating, and that he recognizes bankers as a higher authority than the American Congress. It is as distinctly an act of treason to discredit the money of the government as to dishonor its flag.

When the New York Clearing House resolved not to take the standard silver dollars, it resolved to rebel against the government of the country. It was guilty of nullification as much as was South Carolina during Jackson's term.

The dishonest money was the money paid the soldier. They were dishonored and discredited by the power that issued them, and their money function partially destroyed by law.

The Bland Act brought relief, but, as Plutarch says,

"tyranny never sleeps." The hand that gave had claws that soon drew it all back. This law was repealed and the Sherman Law substituted in 1890, which made of the government a purchaser of silver by issuing silver certificates, better known as "treasury notes."

These notes and the remaining greenbacks it is claimed are the cause of all our financial woes at the present time; they rob the treasury of its gold and spread panic and disaster over the land. The cry is again raised for "sound money."

History is a continuous repetition, and one generation is a plagiarism of another. To bring these notes into disfavor the executive branch of the government violates the law it swore to enforce when taking the oath of office. Upon the face of every treasury note it is plainly stated that "silver dollars" are placed in the treasury for their redemption. The law reads as follows: "Sec. 3. * * * * He [the secretary of the treasury] shall coin of the silver dollar purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary *for the redemption of the treasury notes* herein provided for."

While a discretionary power is granted the secretary to sustain "the policy of the government of maintaining the two *metals* on a parity with each other at the present legal ratio," it is to be noted that this power has been used to attain the opposite result, as the disparity of the two metals never was greater than of recent years. Yet in defiance of this law the executive pays out gold and then issues bonds to get the gold back again under the plea of maintaining a gold reserve, when there is no law authorizing such a reserve. Furthermore the time of redemption of the greenback is optional with the government and not with the holder.

But, it is said, and this in the face of the Matthews' resolution, that our obligations must be paid in gold to maintain our credit abroad. There is no law in France calling for gold redemption. Their bonds are redeemable, principal and interest, in silver and are quoted as high as ours in the London markets.

But there is method in such madness. These crimes are sanctioned when they take grand names. Behind this mask is

the hideous profile of the national bank. It has been the power behind the throne that molds the law, and tramples upon the laws it cannot revoke. It has accomplished that masterly blending of slavery with liberty, of patriotism with public plunder. Ever since the foundation of the government this institution has, under different names, endeavored to control our finances, well knowing that to control the money of a country is to control its commerce, its industry, and its legislation. The demands of President Cleveland for the destruction of the greenbacks and treasury notes and the recommendation by Secretary Carlisle show plainly whither we are drifting. The banks wish to usurp the prerogative of a sovereign power. It is an element of monarchy injected into our republic. It is a feudalism in finance, that will soon forge the last link in the chain to complete the circle making a chain-gang of the nation. The national bank note is not a legal tender and in its last analysis rests upon the credit of the government. For the railroads to give brokers the privilege of issuing the tickets and charging usury on them would be no more irrational or wrong than for the government to allow banks to loan its credit for usury. Nothing can work such great inequalities in human conditions, for, as Bacon says, "The usurer trading upon a certainty, and all other men upon uncertainties, in the end of the game all the money will be in the box."

Such is the brigandage of the present age. Thus is the destiny of the great republic obscured, and the luster fading from its banner. After one century of self-government, the soil, the free gift of nature, the Census Bureau informs us, is mortgaged to the extent of $6,000,000,000, and nearly all incurred during the last three decades.

No people can sustain a financial system that costs them a double usury. The wreck of nations is the work of usurers, as Rollin testifies in his "Ancient History."

The Roman civilization grew and developed with an increasing currency that kept pace with the increasing population and industry. Besides its coin it had "fiat" money issued by the government. By systematic efforts this "fiat" money was

destroyed, her mines of precious metals were failing, and the final extinction of the free Roman citizen began.

The circulating medium, suffering loss by abrasion and exportation, dwindled from $2,000,000,000 to $200,000,000 in the time of Diocletian, and with it men failed and died out of her cities, till, as Gibbon says, wild beasts came back into them, and the long night of the dark ages settled down upon the world. If we would avoid such a fate, we will heed the testimony of the tombs. If we would remain independent we must have a financial system distinctively American, as Pitt prophesied. Let us not bow subserviently to the more ingenious tyranny of an advanced civilization.

If by international agreement an international monetary system be established, it will surely result disastrously for us. A dollar will naturally flow to the market where it will command the most labor or products of labor. The more extended its recognition as money, the more extended its market becomes. It will desert the country of high wages and seek the country of the poorest paid labor. It will drag the former down and build the latter up, and like the waves of the sea will flow, to and fro, establishing and maintaining an equilibrium. In a word, the highest bidders for money will ever be those whose necessities are the greatest, and international money tends to equalize prices and wages and therefore social and political conditions.

The virtues of a republic are rooted in its people. They are the cultivators and pruners; they build the trellises, and guide the creeping vines from the soil to the summit of their grandeur. This toiling multitude is honest and earnest, and woe to the rascal that embezzles the forbidden fruit. No, Mr. Hume, we are not dishonest. We plead for constitutional government. We demand the reign of law, the enforcement of the contract. We blame the government if it is saturated with intrigue; we protest against its subterranean counterstrokes against the law, and our protest has been translated into dishonesty. With Victor Hugo we say, "The protest of right against misdeeds persists forever, the high acts of swell-mobbism have no future."

JOSEPH OKER.

THE ETHICS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

BY GEORGE BERNARD.

IT is only too probable that to the greater number of the readers of this journal the title which I have placed at the head of this article will seem self-contradictory and absurd. For we are so persistently told that the "single tax" is the embodiment, not only of all that is economically unsound, but also of all that is dishonest and mean, that most of us would expect an essay on "The Ethics of the Single Tax" to rival in shortness and conciseness the famous chapter on Irish snakes.

But while this view of the matter does not lack the support of some plausible arguments, it appears to me to arise from a somewhat superficial consideration of the question. Very few men examine a matter of this kind for themselves; they are content to take on trust whatever may happen to be the prevailing popular opinion. And when an attack is made upon ancient wrongs and powerful vested interests, it is certain that the chorus of denunciation from platform and press will at first be practically unanimous.

The reception given to the single tax proposition has been no exception to this rule, but rather a conspicuous illustration of it. Flouted by politicians, ridiculed by smart journalists, anathematized by teachers of religion, "refuted" by economists, and misrepresented by all, it may indeed serve as a warning to all advocates of reform.

But in spite of all this, I think it may be possible to say something on the other side, to show that the single tax, when judged from the ethical standpoint, is not altogether as black as it is painted, and that we who support it have at any rate an arguable case.

I do not propose to enter into any economic questions; the practical working of the single tax, its feasibility, its merits

when considered simply as a system of taxation are not subjects for discussion here. I shall confine myself as strictly as possible to the consideration of the one question—"Is the single tax in principle right and just?" For this is indeed the touchstone by which all proposed reforms should be tested—the final court to which they must all appeal. If the decision here be not in their favor, they are, *ipso facto*, condemned. All other considerations are as nothing beside the crucial question, "Is it right?"

In the case of the single tax it is especially important that a clear and decided answer should be given. It proposes to interfere to a considerable extent with what are known as "vested interests," and if not in itself right it will do a great wrong. And such radical changes in the conditions which surround and fashion human life would be involved in its adoption that it is not too much to say that the whole character of the community of the future would depend upon it. And as a nation lives and thrives only by justice it behooves us who upon the foundations of the past are raising the structure of the future to be quite sure that we are making our building four-square. As we sow, our children will reap; upon the use we make of our time of power depend the happiness and welfare of children yet unborn. Great is our shame if we do not fully accept our responsibility.

What we have then to determine is not whether the single tax would be for the apparent good of the community, taken as a whole, but whether it would be just toward each individual member of the community. For no amount of advantage to the state can justify us in doing a wrong to even the humblest of its citizens. If the good of all be not based upon the rights of each, it can never stand. That which was supposed to be a blessing will prove a curse, and, now as ever, the attempt to make expediency run counter to justice can end in nothing but disaster.

Widely as men have differed in its application, the principle of justice is everywhere the same. As said the Stoics long ago, "Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi," and this is to-day, as then, the simplest, the most

comprehensive, and the truest definition of justice. By the light then of this principle our examination into the single tax will be guided.

As a preliminary, let me state briefly what the single tax proposition really is. Put as concisely as possible, it is this: "To substitute for all existing taxation, direct or indirect, a 'single tax' upon land values (not land area) taking ultimately the whole annual value of the land, as nearly as may be practicable, for the use of the state."

The term "land" as thus used includes every kind of land, whether city, farming, or mining land, and all natural opportunities. It excludes all buildings and other improvements resulting from the application of labor and capital to the land. The value to be taken is what is sometimes known as "site value," the value of the bare land, apart from all improvements on it.

The land belonging, as we hold, equally to all, its value should be used for the good of all. The improvements belong to the man who made them, and should be left to him, free from all taxation, until the income arising from the common heritage is found insufficient.

Now the proposition to take all land values by taxation is merely the practical embodiment of a great principle, by which it must stand or fall. If a better means of reaching the same end can be devised, we shall be glad to support it. The principle is this: "That every man has rights in the earth equal to those of every other man; that these rights begin at birth and end at death; that they are inalienable; any laws, customs, or traditions which may assume to deprive any man of his equal rights being, *de jure*, utterly null and void."

This again rests upon what may be called our first principle: "That all men are born with equal rights to life; that each man owns himself and his faculties; that he has the right to use those faculties in his own way, provided always that he injures no one, and does not infringe upon the equal rights of others; that what he produces by the use of his faculties is his, no one else having the shadow of a title to it."

Most of us, I think, will give a general assent to such a doctrine. Very few will now be found to maintain the negative—to assert that some men have at birth rights to life superior to those possessed by other men, and that the former have rights to themselves and to the use of their faculties which override any rights possessed by the latter. For the unending controversy as to the equality of men would appear to justify specially the maxim that all disputes arise from the disputants misunderstanding each other's position. That equality which is postulated by the single tax is an equality of rights only. When we say that all men are born equal, we are not guilty of the absurdity of supposing that all men are at birth equally endowed with the various mental, moral, and physical characteristics. We recognize as fully as may be the fact that there are great natural inequalities in human powers; what we assert is equality in the right to use these powers.*

It is probably unnecessary to make any formal defense of this principle of equality of rights to life. The great majority, at all events, will admit it, but should it be seriously attacked, I will do my best to uphold it. Granted, then, that each man has, equally with every other man, rights to life and to the use of his faculties, it follows with all the certitude of a geometrical demonstration that he has equal rights to the use of the earth. For, clearly, equal rights to life imply equal rights to the use of those natural opportunities by which alone life can be maintained.

Here, on the one hand, are men with equal rights to life; here, on the other, is a vast storehouse of raw material, sufficient for all, accessible to all, by the use of which all can support life, and without which none can live. And it is not merely the only means by which they can live, but it is the condition precedent of their very existence. Of it they are formed, on it they must live, and to it their material elements must some day return. Take away the earth, and where is your man? He has vanished, he is simply non-existent.

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* It may be well to observe that this doctrine can hardly be applied in its entirety to children, or to races in a state of barbarism.

How shall a man who has no rights to the earth retain the right to himself and to the use of his faculties? Where shall he exist, where use those faculties if not on the land? If his rights in the earth are not equal to those of every other man, then his rights to life are not equal to those of every other man. If he has *no* rights in the land, he has no right to be here at all. His right to life is no longer a right; it is a privilege, a concession granted by those who are in possession of the means of sustaining life.

If you allow equal rights to life you must necessarily allow equal rights to the only means by which it is possible to live. Those who deny this must show in what other way equal rights to life can be maintained.

But while many are ready to admit, in the abstract, this doctrine of equal rights in the land, they meet any attempt to give it practical application with some very serious objections. "Here," they say, "is a society in which private ownership of land has existed from time immemorial, and where it forms indeed the base upon which the whole social structure rests. The state has guaranteed in every possible way that private property in land should be not only as secure as, but even more secure than, private property in the results of labor. Under that guarantee the wealth of the capitalist, the savings of the laborer, and the trust funds of the widow and the orphan have been invested in it. Surely no one but a preacher of unrighteousness would advocate the taking of all the value of land in taxation, and that, too, without giving any compensation to existing owners. That would indeed be too gigantic a villainy to be ever seriously contemplated."

The first fallacy to be noted here is that this reading of history is altogether modern. If we are to appeal to antiquity, to antiquity let us go. If precedent is to bind us, let us not rest content with invoking the example of the last few generations, who, *ex hypothesi*, were themselves bound by the acts of preceding generations. Let us begin at the beginning.

If this be done, it will be found that history is on our side, that private property in land, as we know it, is entirely a

modern innovation, and that those titles which run back to the beginnings of our civilization are very far from being historically legitimate, but have their origin, as Herbert Spencer puts it, either in force or in fraud.

But granted, if you will, that individual ownership of land has an antiquity which cannot be questioned, and that it was in the first place deliberately adopted as the result of a profound conviction that both in justice to the individual and in advantage to the community it was the best system that could be devised; granted, too, that the original distribution was made with the most exact justice, and that the state formally granted to the first owners a title in perpetuity—granted all this (which is far more than its strongest upholders would venture to assert), what then?

"The land belongs in usufruct to the living, the dead have neither part nor lot in it." Our ancestors in their time had control of the land, and did with it what seemed to them good. Their time has passed, and with it their power; upon us now falls not only the right, but the duty, to do with the land what seems to us just, regardless of any conclusions which they may have reached. Did the land belong to them in any greater measure than it now belongs to us; were their rights superior to ours? Neither one man nor any number of men can rightfully dispose of that which belongs to another: how then could our predecessors sell our rights? "If the present generation, or any other, are disposed to be slaves, it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generation to be free: wrongs cannot have a legal descent."*

As we can give no right or title to individual ownership of land in the future, so we can recognize none given in the past. A man's rights to life and to the means of sustaining life rest upon his existence, and end with that existence. The earth belongs not to one generation in fee simple, but to all generations in usufruct. No generation can give a title which shall be good against succeeding generations. "A certain former generation made a will to take away the rights of the commencing genera-

* Paine, "Rights of Man."

tion and all future ones, and convey those rights to a third person, who afterwards comes forward, and tells them . . . that they have no rights, that their rights are already bequeathed to him. . . . From such principles, and such ignorance, good Lord, deliver the world."*

The whole of the historical argument which assumes to uphold private property in land is based upon the preposterous assumption that a man may sell or bequeath that which is not his, and that a title which was invalid in the first place becomes valid by transfer.

We are not concerned with what took place in the past, what we have to do with is private property in land here and now. Does it, or does it not, conflict with the equal rights to life possessed by the people now living; is it, or is it not just? If it is, it needs no help from history; if it is not, of what use is historical sanction?

If it be wrong, then a wrong is now being done, day by day and every day, to those who are deprived of their inheritance. It is none the less a wrong because this generation is not primarily responsible for it, and it is none the less our duty to strive by every means in our power to end it.

But although it is thus clear that appeals to the actions of our ancestors are entirely irrelevant, it is none the less true that the question of how best to deal with the "vested interests" which they created is perhaps the most serious problem that we have to face. What are we to do with the present landowners? They are not the persons who by force or fraud originally robbed the human race of its inheritance. In one way or another they have come legally and peaceably into the possession of the lands they now hold, and they have no more responsibility for the laws under which they acquired possession than have the rest of us; why should they be made the scapegoats?

The whole question turns upon the original one—To whom does the land of right belong? If to the landlords, we have no right to it, whether with compensation or without. So long as those who are in possession of it do not actively injure us we

* "Rights of Man."

may not interfere with it or with any use they may make of it, and we can only be thankful to the owners of our country if they will allow us to live and work in it on their own terms.

But if, on the other hand, it belongs of right to the people at large, if we all have equal rights in it, where is either logic or justice in asking us to buy that which is already our own? If the land belongs to the people it is theirs, without money and without price.

The fact that the large majority of modern landowners are innocent possessors of that to which they are not morally entitled gives them no claim either to continued possession or to compensation for disturbance. If A suddenly discovers that he has for years been innocently enjoying that which rightfully belongs to B, is he justified in continuing the wrong, or, as the alternative, has he a good claim on B for compensation? But that is the landowner's case at its best.

The question of compensation can only arise when the state takes that which is admittedly the property of the person from whom it is taken. If, in a crowded city, my house stands in the way of some public improvement, and has to be pulled down, I have a clear right to full compensation. No one doubts my right to the house; compensation is given because it is beyond question mine, because that which rightfully belongs to one man is being taken for the benefit of others. Compensation to the houseowner is given for the discontinuance of a right; to the landowner it would be for the discontinuance of a wrong.

The fact that England considered it necessary to compensate the West Indian slave-owners for the loss of their slaves is often used as an argument in favor of compensating landowners. Now I, for one, do not admit the slave-holder's claims, but let that pass. The two cases are not analogous.

When England forced abolition on the slave-owners, she did not ask the slaves to buy their freedom, but paid for it herself. This, if it pleased England, could not be called unjust to the slaves. So, too, if the single tax should be imposed on us from outside, we could raise no valid objection to the payment of compensation to the landowners by those who compelled the

change. But current argument holds that those who have been robbed for years and are still being robbed are *themselves* morally bound to buy off those who (innocently and legally, no doubt) have been, and still are, robbing them. It is as if it had been enacted that a slave should be free as soon as he himself could pay his market value to his owner.

Suppose that the matter had been settled solely between the slaves and their owners, that the former had refused to work any longer except for their own benefit, and that they had successfully resisted all attempts to keep them in slavery. Shall we be told that they would have been morally bound to give compensation for the loss of such future produce of their labor as their owners had expected to appropriate? Surely not!

But that is what we are told now. Our proposal is that we should refuse to work any longer for the benefit of the landowners, but we find that if we do so refuse we are expected to pay them for the loss of whatever they had expected our labor to produce for them in the future. When we scout such an absurd idea, no epithet is too harsh for us.

And not only does justice not require compensation, but she sternly forbids it. What indeed would it be but payment of the annual tribute in another form—paying landowners for the right to discontinue paying them? For full compensation would necessitate the payment or promise of payment (in government bonds, or the like) of an amount which would secure to the landowners an income at least equal to that which they now draw from their lands. And this income, like the present one, would come from the earnings of the community, so that instead of having abolished a wrong, we should have strengthened and perpetuated it.

The injustice of obliging a man to pay for that which is already his own, to buy off those who are robbing him, is so monstrous, so glaring, that it is hard to understand how any one can be found to support it. Let us by all means be solicitous for the rights, the genuine rights, of the landlords, but let us also remember the rights of the landless. For many a long year these have been deprived of their own, and in various

ways have been forced to pay for the privilege of living in their native land; now, when it is proposed to disallow the tribute and to restore the lost rights, they are asked to "compensate" those who have profited by the wrong. Is not this the veriest caricature of justice? That landowners should ask that bygones be bygones is intelligible, though not exactly equitable, but that they should demand payment for ceasing to take that which is not theirs is absurd.

Compensation, yes, by all means, if you wish it, compensation in full, but for the man who has been deprived of his rights, not for him who has been enjoying the rights of others.

> "Pay ransom to the owner
> And fill the bag to the brim.
> Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
> And ever was. Pay him."

If then landowners are wise, they will not ask for compensation, lest the cry be taken up in earnest by those whose rights to it are beyond question. But if they do, they will have to be shown that there are debits as well as credits in their account, and that if they insist upon the balance being struck the settlement will not be in their favor.

Do not let me be misunderstood. My quarrel is with private property in land as an institution, not with the particular men who may profit by it. While I believe that the "single tax" would reduce scarcely a landowner to actual poverty, it might possibly have that effect with a few, and if in righting a great wrong these had to suffer, no one would regret it more than myself. And personally, I would have the community deal liberally (as a matter of grace) with any to whom the adoption of the "single tax" brought real suffering. I would not have a single landowner reduced to the condition in which countless thousands of the landless are to be found to-day.

But at the same time we must not allow our sympathy for landlords to warp our judgment or to lead us into injustice. We cannot allow a wrong to continue because those who have derived advantage from it will suffer when it is brought to an end. The fact is that long usage has blinded us as to what is

right and just, has dulled our perception, and confused our understanding. We think that whatever exists is necessarily right, and woe betide him who tries to change it.

We who uphold the single tax are endeavoring to prevent stealing; we hear that we have erased the eighth commandment from our tables; we who are the strongest, the most clear, and the most logical defenders of property are denounced as its destroyers; we who would have our social institutions rest on the firm base of equal rights to all are told that we wish to overturn society.

W. H. Mallock somewhere tells us how he divided life into happiness, misery, and justice. "Then," he says, "I at once discovered that the rich represented all the happiness of which we are now capable, and the poor all the misery, while justice was that which set this state of things going, and enabled it to continue." I fear that the justice thus ironically described is worshiped in solemn earnest by many to-day. Learned professors support it, articles in our leading newspapers uphold it, and the words of the Just One are wrested from their plain and literal meaning to buttress it up.

But we of the single tax will have none of it. Far off, it may be, long after we, dead and forgotten, have been given a resting place in that earth to which our rights during life are denied, we see the coming of a "strange, new, wonderful justice," a justice under which it shall be so ordered that

"Men in that time a' coming shall work and have no fear
For to-morrow's lack of earning, and the hunger wolf anear!
I tell you this for a wonder, that no man then shall be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap, to snatch at the work he had.
For that which the worker winneth shall then be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing by him that soweth no seed!

. . . . . .

"Why then, and for what are we waiting, while our brothers drop and die,
And on every wind of the heavens a wasted life goes by?
They are gone; there is none can undo it, nor save our souls from the curse!
But many a million cometh! And shall they be better? or worse?
Come, then, let us cast off fooling, and put by ease and rest:
For the cause alone is worthy, till the good days bring the best!
Ah, come! cast off all fooling! for this at least we know
That the dawn of the day is coming, and forth the banners go!"

GEORGE BERNARD.

NEW COMMERCIAL ALLIANCES.

BY JULIAN R. ELKINS.

THE United States is again to be commercial mistress of the high seas. This may seem to be a broad statement, but nevertheless it is true. All signs of the times point to the fulfillment of this prophecy.

Venezuela has declared a boycott on England and all that is English, and says that in the future she intends to do all her trading with the great United States. Why has she done this? Partly because she has come to see the superiority of our goods over those of any other country or nation, and partly because of the great Monroe Doctrine of the United States and the protection it promises to Venezuela and the other countries of South America against the encroachments of the grasping powers of Europe.

France is going to lessen the duties on manufactured articles from the United States. Why this move on the part of France? Because she too wants the best that money can buy.

Japan, the "Yankeedom of Asia," is turning the vast volume of her trade to the greatest and grandest nation which God ever permitted to exist, the United States of America.

Other countries are fast awakening to the superiority of the goods made in the United States over those of any other manufacturing country in the field of commerce, and to-day, if the United States had the necessary shipping facilities she could dominate the commerce of the world.

Prior to 1857 we held the proud title of mistress—commercially—of the high seas, but avaricious England wrested it from us, and indeed the greed of the British seems to be increasing instead of diminishing. For an example take the late trouble between England and Venezuela. A trifle of gold was discovered in Venezuela very near the territory owned by

England, and as is always the case with England when a little gold is at stake, the British lion commenced to roar and England tells weak little Venezuela that she must give the territory in which the gold is discovered to her (England), and as a just consequence England not only loses the territory in which the gold is located but loses something of vastly more importance, the trade of Venezuela.

At the Pan-American Congress held a few years ago, figures were presented which showed that we were sadly at fault as to our trade with South America. At that time Venezuela imported yearly from England goods to the amount of nearly $1,535,000, and from us she only took $498,000 worth of goods. The trade of Venezuela now amounts to $2,000,000 or more, which is (or rather was) mostly with England, while our country, to whom the trade of all South America should belong, has not, until very lately, increased her trade with Venezuela to any great extent.

The Argentine Republic has a yearly commerce of nearly $350,000,000, about two thirds of which is imports. About one third of these imports come from England. France furnishes about 25 per cent, and the now greatest manufacturing country of the world—the United States—furnishes about 8 per cent. In return England buys about 7 per cent of Argentine's exports, which is the smallest amount of exports sold to any country by the Argentine Republic. While we have no direct communication with Argentine, Italy, France, Germany, and England together furnish from 14 to 18 steamships weekly, which ply between the ports of the Argentine Republic and the ports of their respective countries.

The commerce of Brazil amounts to about $260,000,000 each year, about equally divided between imports and exports. England furnishes one half of the imports, we furnish one eighteenth, and Germany, France, and Spain furnish the balance, while we take about one half of her exports. We buy the greater part of Brazil's chief product, coffee. We have less than 5 steamers entering Brazilian ports while England has from 60 to 75 making regular trips, France 25, and Germany 20.

The Chileans, called the "Yankees of South America," buy annually from foreign countries about $75,000,000 worth of goods. They get from England about 45 per cent of their imports, about 25 per cent comes from Germany and France, and we furnish about nine per cent. England, Germany, and France have regular subsidized lines of steamers entering Chilean ports and we have none.

We furnish Peru with one fifth of her imports, and take one fortieth of her exports; while England and France supply her with four fifths of her imports and take less of her exports than we do.

While our trade with South America is on the increase, other countries are beginning to look to us as the greatest manufacturing country and are turning their trade to us. Japan has a high reverence for the true American and all his ways, and she is to-day granting the United States more rights and privileges in her country than any other nation or country has ever enjoyed in Japan. The trade of the United States with Japan now amounts to millions of dollars and bids fair to steadily increase until Japan will do all her trading with us. Australia, although under the rule of Britain, has a commerce or trade with the United States which amounts to millions of dollars annually. France has had very heavy duties upon American goods, raw and manufactured, but she too has come to the conclusion that we can manufacture a higher grade of goods than is possible in any other country, so she intends to lessen the duties to such an extent that the manufacturers of the United States can put their goods into her country, and if she does this it will increase our trade and commerce to a still greater extent. Russia, the best friend that the United States has to-day, despite the blood, marriage, and monetary relations existing between England and us, is granting our people and our manufactured goods more prestige each year. Russia is even now buying the armor-plate for her navy from us, and this alone means a great deal to us, as the iron and steel industry is a very large factor in our trade. Almost all of the small islands of the Atlantic and Pacific, which are in close proximity to the United States, do their trading

with us. If the government should purchase Cuba from Spain (which she should do) another great avenue of trade will be opened up. The United States should own Cuba, and the rest of the West India Islands and the Sandwich Islands. These islands are rich in mineral and other resources, and on account of their geographical position should belong to the United States.

The great possibilities of the South and West in the manufacturing and in the agricultural lines are but faintly seen to-day. Immense iron and steel mills and factories for the manufacture of every article of trade are being erected in the South and West; but these are but faint prophecies of what will be in the South and West in years to come.

With our southern manufactories we could supply Central and South America; with our western factories we could supply Japan and the countries of Asia who would do their trading with us; while from our eastern and northern manufacturing districts we could supply Canada, France, and last, but not least, Russia.

Foreign countries have tried to keep pace with us in the different manufacturing lines, but, failing in this, two countries, England and Germany, recognizing the superiority of our goods and knowing that they could not sell their goods if they were put up beside ours, have resorted to underhanded means and deception in keeping up their trade with those countries favoring American-made goods. It has been discovered that these two countries have been stealing our trade-marks on various goods and putting them on goods made by themselves, and in this way they have made the people think that they were getting American goods.

The example set by Venezuela will, in the course of time, be followed by other South American countries, which will mean advantages to them of far more value than could possibly be attained by commercial alliances between them and hostile foreign powers, which are in alliance with South America purely and simply for the dollars there is in the alliance, and not for any good which they could do for South America. An alliance be-

tween the United States and South and Central America will be of far more value to the United States than a casual observation of the question will show. Besides having a commercial value amounting to millions of dollars annually, it would have a political value to the three Americas of more magnitude than is at first apparent.

One thing that we should see to is the establishment of a fine line to ply between our principal seaports and those of all the different countries of Central and South America, so that our passengers, our freights, and our mails will not have to go by way of English ports and English vessels, as is now the case, but will be carried direct from this country to Central and South America in American vessels. We can build as fine and good vessels as any nation on the globe, and instead of paying millions of dollars to foreign powers to do our commerce carrying, let our government help build steamers to do this work and put this money into American pockets, and then go out after the trade which belongs and should come to us. The millions and millions of dollars paid by South America to the countries across the waters should in virtue come to us, but we have a part to perform before this will be done, as well as South America. Yankee brains and Yankee hustle are securing a strong foothold in South America, and are doing a world of good for that country in developing the resources and in the upbuilding of the country.

South America needs and should be in close touch with the United States. She is rich in resources of all kinds, and she needs the enterprising Yankee to help her to develop her greatness to a greater extent than he is doing to-day.

Let all Americans who are true to the very core of their heart to this great and grand country of ours stand by the doctrine laid down to us by one who had the true spirit of Americanism —Monroe—and exercise a lawful protectorship over the weaker South American countries, looking to that great and grand union of North and South America when we can say to the grasping powers from over the seas, "America for Americans."

JULIAN R. ELKINS.

QUALIFICATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP.

BY M. B. C. TRUE, ESQ.

ABOUT a year ago Judge C. R. Scott, of the district bench of Nebraska, at Omaha, revised the rules of his court concerning naturalization. Among the provisions was one under which it was necessary for applicants for naturalization to be able to read the Constitution of the United States, and to prove that they had read it with a fair understanding of its terms. There was also a provision to the effect that the applicant should be able to use and understand fairly well the English language. These rules of court attracted some attention in that state at the time, and called down upon the head of Judge Scott an avalanche of abuse and contumely from a certain class of papers and of politicians. In THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS for March last, on page 335, are published remarks by Judge Roger A. Pryor, of New York City, announcing substantially the same rules for use in his court. As Judge Scott is an ardent Republican and Judge Pryor is a Democrat, there would seem to be no political coincidence in the matter.

Before condemning the attitude of the two judges, let us see what the statute says: "It shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the court admitting such alien, that he has resided within the United States five years at least, and within the state or territory where such court is at the time held, one year at least; that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character; attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same." At the time of his admittance to citizenship he must "declare on oath that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject."

We must remember, in this connection, that here every citizen is a sovereign ; that he assists in the election of officers and in the enactment of the laws. It need not be more than stated that a fairly satisfactory discharge of the duties of citizenship requires intelligence and education ; requires an acquaintance with the form of the governing machinery of state, with the functions of the several departments thereof, with the laws already in existence, and requires, above all, an appreciation of the spirit of the government, the principles of its organization and of its proper administration. It must also be remembered that naturalization is intended as a life condition, that citizenship once conferred cannot be withdrawn. We should not forget either that homogeneity of its citizens is essential to the permanency of a government. The aim of the naturalization laws is to make American citizens. It is no part of our policy to create such financial, social, and political conditions that subjects of other nations shall find it to their advantage to come here to better their condition. We open the gates to immigrants for our own advantage, not for theirs. We offer citizenship to foreigners in order that they may strengthen us, not that it may help them. Conditions are imposed upon naturalization for our protection, not for theirs.

We have stated in the provisions of the statute that we want no citizens who are not of good moral character, who are not attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and who are not well disposed to the good order and happiness of the people. The question is, How are the courts to be satisfied that the applicants have the qualifications for citizenship prescribed by statute? A man presents himself before the court and asks to be invested with citizenship. He cannot read nor speak the language in which the laws are printed and administered, in which business is done—the language which nearly all the citizens of the nation speak. By his application for naturalization he announces that he has lived in the United States during the five years last passed, and thereby confesses that he has not been attached to the principles of the Constitution sufficiently to be induced to read it, that he is not

sufficiently well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States or of its people to take the trouble to learn the language of those whom he desires to claim as fellow-citizens.

Are the two judges named above quixotic when they decide that an applicant for conferred citizenship, who cannot speak the language of the country, who has not read the Constitution of the United States, fails to furnish satisfactory proof of an attachment to the Constitution and of a satisfactory disposition to the good order and happiness of the nation?

In one of his delightful and interesting volumes on language, in one of his "Chips from a German Workshop," I think, Max Müller sneers at the idea of race qualities, and affirms that the only difference between people exists in the language which they use. He alleges that a man is an Englishman only when he uses and thinks in the English language—that he is a Frenchman if he thinks in the French language—a German if he thinks in the German language, and so on. One need not join Max Müller in his denial of race qualities, in order to recognize much stern truth in the proposition which he advances as to a man's relations with the language which he continually uses and in which he habitually thinks. No student of race or language can fail to note the correctness of Max Müller's position on that point. When we apply this to the subject under discussion, it does not require an argument to convince any one that no man can be a good citizen of a country unless he uses the language of that country—unless he has so far allied himself with the history and the thought of the people as to think the thoughts which they think, in the language which they use.

The two judges have set an example in this interpretation of the law that invites the considerate attention of all.

M. B. C. TRUE.

TRUE INDIVIDUALISM.

BY W. E. BROKAW.

IN his article on "Progressive Individualism" in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, some months ago, Prof. John R. Commons, after giving a good description of the German communist society in Iowa, says: "If I understand the present-day socialists they would make the nation and the world one universal Amana Society. Now, I have no fault to find with the genuine socialists nor the Amana communists, if they enjoy their kind of life. In the words of Abraham Lincoln, 'If a man likes that sort of a thing that would be the sort of a thing he would like.'" Professor Commons then gives reasons why "that sort of a thing" would not do for a nation and concludes that "socialism, as a universal or national project, is out of the question."

He then takes up the definition of socialism thus: "But there are certain projects before the modern world which are called socialistic. How are we to determine whether they are so or not, and to judge them upon their ultimate merits? In the first place, you and I are at liberty to call anything socialistic which we please. The word has as yet no accepted meaning. . . . How then shall we define the word? I should say to make a project socialistic two features are necessary: (1) It must substitute governmental ownership and regulation for private ownership and free competition. (2) It must tend in the long run to stifle the private energy and enterprise of the people. These two features are necessary." When he says that "the word has as yet no accepted meaning" I am reminded of what William Lloyd Garrison said in his address at Chickering Hall, New York City, last January: "Socialism has another advantage. You cannot define it. Every defender has his pet idea of the theory. What one considers meat the next calls

poison. Focus your understanding on the subject, venture an argument against it, and you are assured that you have mistaken the target. What you fired at was only your crude conception of it." But it is necessary to have *some* definition in order to discuss the subject intelligently. It seems to me that the word has a sufficiently accepted definition in the "plank 10" that was rejected by the Denver Federation of Labor Convention, which was this: "The collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution."

But Professor Commons contents himself with defining features he considers socialistic. Perhaps no two persons would agree in detail in an attempt to apply his test regarding the two features he mentions. If Professor Commons had understood the subject thoroughly he would have given us a better way of determining socialistic tendencies.

Where is the dividing line between socialism and individualism? How are we to find it? The law of equal freedom, that every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other, I take to be the goal of the individualist, while the above mentioned "plank 10" is most generally understood to be the aim of the socialist. Then whatever tends toward the former is individualistic and whatever tends toward the latter is socialistic. But when this is admitted, the question arises, How are we to agree as to what tends this way or that? To answer this question correctly we must have a firm grasp of economic questions—must understand the mainspring of men's actions and the forces that govern them. Of these Professor Commons has yet more to learn. Perhaps he could get an idea of what I mean by reference to my article on "The Law of Service," which appeared in the October, 1894, number of this magazine.

Professor Commons asks: "Are free public schools socialistic?" Here is his answer: "Free schools raise up armies of men and women into the ranks of competitive life when without education they would be crushed below. Competition is increased and intensified rather than stifled. The same is true of compulsory education, free text-books, and even free meals.

By these means children whose poverty would keep them for life below the competitive level are placed above that level where they struggle on equal terms with their wealthier but no better equipped fellow-citizens."

Had he understood just why there are such "children whose poverty would keep them for life below the competitive level" he would have preferred to remove the cause of that poverty before advising "compulsory education, free text-books," etc., all of which *are* socialistic. Would men under free conditions need to be compelled to educate their children? Do not the children of poor men love to learn? The true individualist seeks to free men by securing equity, not to secure equality by compulsion.

Again Professor Commons speaks of four classes of legislation: "First are the so-called factory acts, limiting the hours of labor, the employment of women and children, enforcing sanitary shops, prohibiting sweating. These are sometimes called socialistic. But their tendency is the opposite. Competition is by no means stopped—the *level of competition* is raised. Children who would be put in factories at an early age are taken out, are put in school, and are transferred in so far from the degrading competition of ignorance and weakness to the fair and free competition of intelligence and ability." And again I say that such legislation would not seem necessary if the cause of poverty were first removed; hence its tendency *is* socialistic, for it seeks to remedy the evils of restriction by still further restriction. It is a well-known fact that such laws are evaded by false oaths regarding ages, and by other means, which simply shows that poverty knows no other law than necessity. Henry George has clearly shown, in the twenty-fifth chapter of "Protection or Free Trade?" that the *all-sufficient* cause of poverty is the system of land tenure which allows ground rent to flow into private coffers and thus produces a brood of evils, to contend with which a vast government machine is forced to heavily tax industry.

Again Professor Commons says: "Falling prices and cornered currency injure the wage classes most of all. They are thrown

out of employment. They compete with each other for the mere permission to work. This is the lowest depth of that unfair competition which socialists would abolish. But how would they abolish it? Not by reforming the currency. That is mere patchwork. Socialism needs no currency. Every man will have book credits and labor checks. Opposed to this view I maintain that private property, free competition, and individual enterprise, if they are to survive, must be furnished first and foremost with an honest currency." Professor Commons is mistaken. Before men need a currency they need a chance to produce something to exchange, and the "first and foremost" thing to do is to secure for all men access to natural opportunities on equal terms. In other words, begin at the base, not at the apex of the industrial pyramid.

He continues: "Next to the currency, the most threatening danger for private enterprise in America is our systems of communication under private irresponsible control." And again he errs. Highways are next in importance to opportunities to produce; for men have exchanged and can exchange by barter, but before they can use currency they must have access to each other. So that the second thing to do is to secure to all men access to each other on equal terms.

The fourth class of legislation he mentions is in matters of taxation. He says: "Is the protective tariff socialistic? It interferes with private business, but so does every tax. The question is, Does it suppress private enterprise? No; it simply directs the channels of that enterprise. And, properly levied, it may be a powerful agency in stimulating invention, diversifying industry, and thus furnishing the most varied outlet for the varied abilities and capacities of all individuals." When Professor Commons says that "every tax" "interferes with private business" he shows that he does not yet understand the only just method of taxation. When he speaks of a "properly levied" protective tariff he speaks of impossibilities—that is, unless "properly" means something else than just.

He commends income and inheritance taxes, as tending to "diffuse property or to check its concentration," in a way that

shows his need of deeper study, till he discovers the true basis of property rights. He says that "in this way competition becomes equal, free, and intense"—the falsity of which will be apparent to those who once understand the single tax, to which he next turns his attention. Here is an illustration he gives which proves what single taxers always contend, that the tendency of a tax on land values is to lessen such values by eliminating the speculative element. "In the city of Detroit for several years the board of assessors has been increasing the valuations of speculative holdings in the suburbs. Large tracts of land owned by estates and not yet cut into lots had formerly been appraised as only so much farm land. The new assessors began to value them on the basis of their speculative figures. As a result, hundreds of acres have been thrown upon the market," etc.

But Professor Commons says: "A tax reform of this kind is far from being socialistic, though it is often described as such. Yet, like the income or inheritance taxes, it may be carried so far as to become confiscatory. Then, of course, it depresses industry. This is the main criticism on the doctrine of the single tax as presented by Mr. Henry George and others. With them it is a substitute for all taxes. But, in my opinion, if the land-value tax be adopted as a scheme solely for local taxation, leaving taxes on corporations, inheritances, incomes, and imports for state and federal purposes, then the tax would not confiscate and would at the same time bring about the good results its advocates predict." He would have been wiser to have studied the subject a little deeper before expressing an opinion, for he has but aired his ignorance. "Confiscate" what? Landowners now confiscate rent; to tax it back into the public treasury would be, not confiscation, but restoration. The dogmatic assertion that the single tax would depress industry is without shadow of foundation. Under what condition does industry prosper most? Under free conditions. The single tax will free industry by placing all taxes, not on industry as now, but upon monopoly. The tendency of a tax is this: When placed upon anything the supply of which can be

increased or decreased by man it tends to check its production, thus limiting the supply (depressing industry) and increasing its price. When placed on anything the supply of which cannot be changed by man—natural opportunities—it tends to make it unprofitable to hold such out of use (encourages industry) and thereby decreases its price. This is the incidence of taxation, of which Professor Commons seems to be in ignorance. Hence he does not see that a 100 per cent tax upon land values will not depress industry—unless he is thinking of the "vacant lot industry" or the industry of landlordism. A 100 per cent tax on land values will not lessen in the least the amount of land in the world. But it will make it impossible for any one to find any reason for holding more land than he can put to its best use. How that would depress industry, Professor Commons will find it difficult to explain. The single tax, at the same time that it removes all taxes from industry, establishes a just land tenure system. When ground rent is taken for public expenses, no other tax will be necessary, and unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. The value of one location is measured by its advantages over other locations. Under the single tax, locations for which there is no competition—which are only desired by one person—will have no value and will not be taxed. The taxed locations will consequently have values over the untaxed locations, which express the advantages attaching thereto by means of government—for government secures to possessors exclusive possession, by means of which all advantages are reaped.

Professor Commons seems to see in the single tax only a scheme of taxation. He does not know that it is a great moral reform with a fiscal name. The aim of single taxers is not merely to reform taxation—to establish a good revenue system—that is but incidental. Their object is to secure equal freedom in the use of the earth, upon which freedom, *all* real freedom, rests, and without which all our efforts for equity are futile.

And this brings me to the kernel of the question—that part of it which is still beyond Professor Commons' ken. He has not

cracked the nut yet, so his opinion of the kernel is crude. Exclusive possession of locations is necessary to the progress of man in all stages above the nomadic. But nature gives no man any right to exclude any of his fellows at any time—for might is not right. Hence, whenever more than one person desire exclusive possession of the same location at the same time, both can be *equally free* only when the one who obtains such possession gives the excluded an equivalent. Single taxers stand or fall by that test. The more there are who desire the exclusive possession of a given location, the greater is the value of that location. Hence, if each one securing such possession pays to all who are excluded therefrom the full annual value of such location, he gives an equivalent for his privilege and access to natural opportunities, on equal terms, is secured. I challenge Professor Commons to show anything unjust about such a proposal, or to show any other method of securing equal freedom in the use of the earth, where land is held in exclusive possession.

The starting point is the right of a man to himself, which right is manifest in the ownership of the results of his own efforts. As man can live only on and from the land his right to himself and to life involves his right to use the earth. If every man has this right, then all men's rights to these are equal. The essence of slavery is not in the title to slaves, but in the power to appropriate the results of their labor. Hence, in so far as that power is exercised slavery exists. Thus all true titles to property are based on the right of a man to himself as expressed in the ownership of the fruit of his own labor. Land is not the result of labor, hence ownership of it involves ownership of those who must use it and denies to them the full fruit of their labor. Socialists do not see this and so they have no clear idea of the true basis of property rights. That is why they favor all the varieties and degrees of legislation which deny individuals the right to do as they please with their own so long as they infringe not the equal freedom of others.

The ideal government is that which secures to each member thereof equal freedom—and maintains that condition. To do

either *more* or *less* is to secure—and maintain *unequal* freedom—is to secure to some greater freedom than others can have. That is the essence of injustice—of immorality. This is the bull's eye at which all reform in government should be directed. That reformer is no true reformer—is a demagogue—who seeks either more or less than equity. The adoption of the single tax will secure that ideal equity as to the use of those portions of the earth held in exclusive possession. And as the benefits of improvement in all other directions but tend to enhance the value—add to the advantage—of locations, real equity can be secured in nothing else until we get the single tax. It deserves a much closer study than Professor Commons has yet given it.

But when this is secured, then equity as to highways—those portions of the earth that must be used in common—must be secured. Then the government must provide a money system by which to administer those functions. The true solution of the two latter—transportation and money—will spring naturally out of conditions the single tax will inaugurate. Until then there can exist no conditions favorable to the permanent solution of either the transportation or money questions. When these three things—land, transportation, money—are properly attended to there will be found little, if anything, else left for government to do. Restrictive laws—such as Professor Commons advocates—will then no longer seem necessary. Then, and not till then, will the dream of his closing sentence find chance for realization.

W. E. BROKAW.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

NEW YORK: *Albany.*—The New York State Municipal Leagues sent delegates to Albany, March 25, for the purpose of urging the passage of bills pending in the legislature calculated to insure the best results in the administration of city affairs.

Those present were: Rev. H. T. McEwen, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), of the City Vigilance League of New York: Edwin A. King, Henry Burden, and Seymour Van Santford, of the city club of Troy; James M. Pryor, New York, secretary of the state league; Montgomery Stuart, of Rochester; F. M. Loomis, of the city club of Buffalo, and Melvil Dewey, of the Civic League of Albany.

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Rochester.—The great change that has come over the people of this city as to what constitutes fitness for municipal service since the advent of the good government administration is shown by the results of the series of civil service examinations just brought to a close. During the three years preceding the election of Mayor Warner only 350 persons presented themselves for examination to the Civil Service Commission. The reason for this small number was the well-known fact that however good an examination a man might pass, he could not get an appointment without the approval of the chairman of the executive board and the boss of the Republican party of the city. During the period of less than three months that Mayor Warner has been in office more than 700 persons have presented themselves for examination. Now there exists a genuine eligible list for every municipal office that comes under the operation of the civil service law.

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Syracuse.—The Good Government Club held a meeting March 18, when Prof. E. W. Bemis spoke upon problems of municipal government. Rev. George B. Spalding made the opening address.

Professor E. W. Bemis (A. I. C.), the speaker of the evening, dwelt upon the condition of American cities and of European cities, the present administration of Glasgow, Toronto, Detroit, and New York. Cities in America, he said, are generally poorly governed, and that chiefly because we don't prize good government enough to pay for it.

Brooklyn.—Rev. James Reed, of Boston, March 22 gave one of a course of addresses on "Civic Affairs"—similar in character to the course now being given at Plymouth Church in the same city, on the subject of "Good Government." He claimed it to be a fundamental truth that all good government must proceed from above and not from below, and that the attitude of a nation is good or otherwise according as it looks upward or downward for inspiration and guidance, and he deprecated in strong language the apparent absence of this method in our own country, showing that the present tendency on the part of those in authority is to listen only to popular clamor, and not to give heed to the higher and eternal principles which represent the voice of God.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The only remedy for existing troubles was shown to be in the creation of a healthy public sentiment. No change of constitution or laws will do any good, but it rests on every citizen to use all the influence he possesses in favor of electing to public office only men of honor and integrity, wisdom and experience, who are worthy of confidence, and then to give them the confidence to which they are entitled.

Speaking on this subject before the Civitas (ladies') Club of Brooklyn, Dr. H. C. Swenzel says:

"Her sphere is not limited by Christ to the kitchen, laundry, bringing up and spanking of children. Its most imperative place is home." The family needs reformation more than political and social status, and women should strive to overcome those great evils striking at the root of civilization—divorce and divorce courts—but her sphere might properly extend beyond these things.

"We look too much to Albany and the city hall for regeneration. Acts of assembly cannot reach the roots of matters, and the political aspect of the evolution of women misses its point here. Too much is expected of full political rights for women, whose influence could reach a deeper field in public opinion. The tendency of the age is to overrate reforms."

Dr. Lyman Abbott said his first advice to the Civitas members was to be something and develop the personality which would bring them quickly in touch with humanity; second, do the work found in their own homes, the work of developing morality, beauty, and refinement; third, the recognition and fulfilment of the duty to the church, and after all these were attended to, to look outside and beyond. There was much danger, he said, in making too much of machines. The greatest gifts in woman's hands were faith, hope, and love, the greatest of these being love.

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

ITS MEMBERS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES.—Prof. E. W. Bemis, of the Institute's Lecture Corps, delivered an address upon "Labor Organizations" at the Wells Memorial Building in Boston, April 5, in which he said:

"The burden of proof is upon those who would declare that organization is not profitable and beneficial among laboring men.

"Labor organizations are not only accumulating funds, furnishing intelligent leadership, and enabling the laboring man to make better bargains with his employer, but it is paying sick, death, superannuate, and unemployed benefits. These features represent what is called 'the old trades unionism,' but they have been gradually adopted by nearly all the organizations. It is a significant fact that only those organizations have passed through the recent period of depression uninjured which have adopted benefit features.

"Labor organizations have done a vast deal for the promotion of factory legislation, especially in states other than Massachusetts. So it is with the agitation for the suppression of the sweat-shops, for the employers' liability acts, the attempt to secure a shorter work day for official employment, and in other directions. Labor organizations have promoted temperance, intelligence, and the spirit of coöperation. The stronger and larger the union the more opportunity there is to make yearly contracts and secure other advantages, for securing peace, conciliation, and eventually arbitration."

Robert Treat Paine, A. I. C., presided at the meeting.

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R. HEBER HOLBROOK, Ph.D., of the State Normal School, Clarion, Pa., is editor of the *Normal Exponent*, a bright little weekly which may be depended upon to enforce the necessity of proper attention to civics as a part of normal school work.

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CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, of the A. I. C. Board of Trustees and Lecture Corps, spoke before the South Branch Y. M. C. A., of Philadelphia, April 2, on "Practical Politics." "Government," he said, "will not be any better than the governed. If the officials are bad or unfaithful in the execution of the trusts committed to them it will be either because the people themselves are bad or criminally neglectful or careless in the exercise of suffrage. The cry of the partisan is measures, measures. But the demand of the voter should be—men; bold, fearless, honest men. Bad laws in the hands of good men are better than good laws in the hands of bad men. Look beyond party organization and party measures and see if there is an honest man in the person of the candidate who can stand when the testing time comes, and who will faithfully execute the trust that may be committed to him. In municipal affairs, divide on matters of local policy rather than on national issues. Individuals are powerful factors in the attainment of good government, and the question will be practically solved when any considerable numbers of young men make energetic and intelligent effort in this direction." Mr. Rogers is delivering in the same place a course of four lectures on "Civil Government."

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JUDGE WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME, in a recent lecture on "Criminals in New York," says:

"There is a strong philanthropic side to this question, and I have great respect for the people who are studying that view, but I am going to show it to you from the financial side. The yearly revenues of this city are enormous. The whole budget of Denmark for army, navy, and government is only thirty-five per cent of that of New York City. The budget of Sweden for 1895 was twenty-six and a half millions, while ours was forty-four millions. Of these enormous sums more than fifteen per cent is spent on crime. It is the largest item on the budget. We spend just about the same amount on the police force as we spend on education, and still Mr. Roosevelt tells us the police force is not nearly large enough. If this amount is not enough for the police surely it is not enough for the schools.

"Now the question comes up whether all this mass of crime with which we have to deal is preventable. After ten years of constant study of criminals I am not very optimistic about them personally. They are, as a rule, a worthless lot, who would be better off out of the way. They don't deserve much consideration, and it is from the point of view of protection for the rest of the community that I am looking.

"My own opinion is that crime may be stamped out by rational means, just as smallpox and fevers, which were considered necessary evils years ago, are now practically unknown in civilized countries. The power that is going to stamp it out is education and occupation. It is not by shielding a boy from temptation and bolstering him along that you are going to make a good man of him; it is by filling his mind so full of good, pure thoughts that he has no time or inclination to be bad.

"If there is one disgrace on the face of the civilized earth it is the condition of the Tombs. It is about as barbaric an institution as there is in the country. Inasmuch as women have done so much in getting the streets cleaned, I think they might use their abilities to irritate the powers that be into improving the Tombs somewhat. If the calendars of the district attorney's office are full, men who are awaiting trial are often kept a year, and sometimes more, waiting their turn, when they are perhaps innocent. I know of one man who, after two years in the Tombs, was tried and acquitted.

"This brings me to the question of the district attorney. It is hard for outsiders to appreciate the importance of his position. The Lexow investigation was very expensive, both in money and in the shaking of our confidence in everything. If we had had the right kind of a district attorney he could have done the whole thing better and with less fuss. The vast system of blackmail in this city is known by every one, but the district attorneys have never done anything to root it out. When you have in this position a man who is aggressively honest, and does not sit and wait for crime to rub against him, you may look for revelations and reforms where you little think it now."

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REV. FRED B. ALLEN addressed the Municipal League of Boston

March 25 on "A Single Legislative Chamber," presenting a feasible argument in support of its advantages.

"The single chamber made the municipal functions clear and intelligible. The common council was, and had been for ten years, a costly superfluity. Its powers were so circumscribed that the ablest men in the community would not accept positions in it. One chamber of twenty-seven members would exert legislative power effectively, and it could be held up to a publicity which was impossible where there were two legislative bodies. The second chamber only affords a horde of claimants for the treasury. Outside of New England the single chamber prevails. It is the system in use in New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, San Francisco, Detroit, and most of the other large cities of the country. The whole trend of American progress is in this direction. There are a number of cities in this state under the single chamber system.

"For such a system the consensus of opinion is unanimous. The single chamber rules in most of the cities on the continent and in England, and the result is such that Americans are filled with envy. It is from the cities across the water that Boston must take her standard. Birmingham gets six times more for the money expended in municipal affairs than Boston, and the cost of living here is only fifteen per cent more than there. It is only through a single chamber that the body representing the people can have power in fact as well as in name and render disinterested service."

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REV. C. H. PARKHURST, D.D., recently delivered the eighth of a series of week-day addresses on civic affairs in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Speaking on "The New Civic Spirit," he said:

"The present situation of our government is so deplorable as to be prolific of the prospect of betterment. Things are so bad as to be delightfully encouraging. The reform movement at this day is well-nigh embarrassed with assets. We might as well start out with this keynote of pleasant expectancy. The world will never be saved by the men who pout and whine. We never know things in politics until we experience them, any more than we do in religion. We are all getting experience now at a very rapid rate. The world owes a great deal to the devil. There is something cheerful in this to people living in New York and Brooklyn. It was the seeming helplessness of the situation in New York a year ago that gave us the opportunity to better it. Yet our present position is one of incalculable peril. I am not an alarmist, but I believe there are few who appreciate the virulence of the evil which is operating to undermine our civic character and for the overthrow of our civic institutions. We had better quit Fourth of July celebrating and come down to the hard facts in the case. What any nation has to fear most is not foreign invasion but internal rot. Our cities are hot-beds of every specimen of individual, social, and economic depravity.

"What we have unearthed in New York is only a sample of what

distinguishes our cities generally; and I would like to say right here that the disclosures already made in New York upon certain lines have not worked nearly as great a revolution as would be wrought if investigation were prosecuted along other lines that have not been touched but only hinted at. The stability of our institutions depends upon the respect felt and shown for established authority. Viewed from that standpoint, the outlook is not stimulating. We do not mean that everybody is a law-breaker, but we mean that there is not that sensitiveness that makes the public feel that there is a good deal of law-breaking going on.

"You have a law here that provides, that the saloons shall not be open on Sunday. They are open, I believe. (Laughter.) Nay, there is nothing amusing about this. The thing is awfully, terrifically sad. How much sleep do the rank and file of Brooklyn citizens lose on account of this fact? I am not arguing from the standpoint of a temperance man, but from the standpoint of a man who knows that observance of law is directly related to the permanence of government. Side-door liquor-selling is just as criminal as front-door, and a mighty sight meaner. I am not a Prohibitionist, but whatever law is enacted should be stood up to.

"This is not a plea for a more stringent excise law. I want as stringent a law as can be enforced, and anything more is a menace to publi integrity. If I was mayor of Brooklyn, and the law provided that liquor should not be sold on Sunday, and if that law was the recognized will of the commonwealth, I would bring to its enforcement every ounce of the administrative power available. I would do it if it made Brooklyn so hot that it was uncomfortable to live here, if I had to go out after dark with an escort."

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THOMAS WARD WHITE, New Birmingham, Texas, is an active and useful member of the A. I. C. He writes that the charcoal burners in the coast country of Texas, chiefly immigrants, represent a large class who gain a precarious living by hard toil, are very poor, very ignorant, and can well say, "No man cares for my soul." He thinks the best way to make them good citizens is to bring them under religious influences; and asks those who agree with him to help him erect a cheap building which can be used for this and other "good citizenship" purposes. We are not advised as to Mr. White's religious connections. Under the name of any sect, or no sect, his purpose is a worthy one. And a dollar—as to usefulness—applied as proposed, may have cart-wheel dimensions in this and many another place of like character.

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HORACE F. CUTTER, of San Francisco, in a recent issue of *Leslie's Weekly*, forcibly urges the need of jury reform.

"For many years past," he says, "one of the most stinging of the reproaches that have been cast at us by foreigners has been that we allow and even encourage lynch law, and in California were compelled to form vigilance committees so as to obtain justice and enforce the

punishment of criminals. This especial reproach is rightfully to be attributed to our obstinate and perverse adhesion to the system of unanimous verdicts.

"Outside of England there is not another civilized nation which permits this absurdity to be practiced. The criminal law of France provides that a majority of the twelve jurors may find a verdict. In Russia it is the same as in France. In Germany two thirds may find a verdict. In our military trials a majority determines the fate of the accused. Even in the Supreme Court itself, the highest tribunal, the majority rules the case always, invariably.

"The fearful power that the present practice gives to unscrupulous lawyers is too well known to dwell upon, for while, from a sense of personal honor, they might shrink from actual bribery to clear their clients, they do not hesitate to secure for professional purposes the aid of such foolish or stubborn jurors as might be persuaded by their specious eloquence, and if they can win but one of them the labor and earnestness of the other eleven are entirely futile and of no avail. In the case of the innocent person under trial the condition is in one sense more deplorable, it being in the power of one malignant person to prevent an acquittal, and thus leave an eternal stigma on the unfortunate.

"There has recently been started a movement, which is rapidly growing in importance and activity, to change the present jury system. Already California has adopted, with great success, the three fourths verdict for civil cases, and a bill providing for a verdict of five sixths in criminal cases passed one branch of the legislature during the last session. Other states are meditating the same change, and the constitution of the new state of Utah has a provision to this very effect.

"In the present Congress, in both Senate and House of Representatives, bills are now before the judiciary committees, with provisions to change the practice of the federal courts so that in civil cases three fourths, and in criminal cases five sixths, may determine verdicts, and also providing that in cases of minor offenses a smaller number than twelve may be allowable.

"Wherever the proposed reform is adopted there will be at once a great and encouraging change regarding the willingness of business men to serve upon juries, since they will then cease to be at the mercy of one obstinate or foolish person. And, taking the great mass of the people, it is probable that only the criminals and their friends, the criminal lawyers, will be found to object to the change."

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CIVICS IN GENERAL.

NEW YORK'S NEW EXCISE LAWS.—In response to the inquiry of A. T. R., Hartford, Conn., as to the provisions of the Raines Bill, we quote the following statement from *Christian Work*:

"It grants local option to towns, but not to cities.

"It abolishes all excise boards on April 30.

"It prohibits the establishment of a saloon within two hundred feet of a dwelling house without the consent of the owner.

"It devotes one third of the money received for the tax to the state and two thirds to the municipality in which it is collected.

"It provides for the refusal of a license to any one who has been convicted of crime.

"It makes no distinction between licenses for the sale of distilled and of malt liquors.

"It provides that the annual tax for an ordinary saloon in New York shall be $800; in Brooklyn, $650; in cities having a population between 500,000 and 50,000, $500; between 50,000 and 10,000, $350; between 10,000 and 5,000, $300; between 5,000 and 1,200, $200; in all other places, $100.

"For trafficking in liquors in quantities of less than five gallons, not to be drunk on the premises [groceries, etc.], the tax is $500, $400, $300, $200, $100, $75, and $50 respectively.

"For pharmacists, to be sold on prescription only, $100, $75, $50, $30, $20, $15, $10.

"For each car, steamboat, or vessel licensed the tax is $200.

"It is further provided that during hours when it is illegal to have saloons open there must be no blind, screen, opaque, or colored glass to intercept the view from the street into the place where liquor is sold. Free lunches are also prohibited.

"The bill creates a State Department of Excise—which is denounced by the opponents of the bill as 'a great political machine'—under which the liquor traffic is to be controlled, by providing for the appointment of many officers who will draw salaries aggregating about $250,000. All employees are to be 'confidential,' and hence, not subject to civil service regulations."

It may be added that all signs now point to the use of this law for the promotion of the sinister political schemes which will be the result of its execution under the control of machine politicians.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.—Clinton Rogers Woodruff (A. I. C.), secretary, announces that the fourth National Conference for Good City Government will be held in Baltimore, May 6, 7, and 8, 1896, in conjunction with, and under the auspices of the second annual meeting of the National Municipal League. No effort will be spared on the part of the local and general committees to make the conference the most successful and interesting thus far held. Distinguished speakers will be present and speak upon important phases of the subject. A program of the meetings can be had upon application to the secretary.

The consideration of the municipal condition of leading cities will be continued, especial attention being given to southern cities. Practical questions, such as whether municipal legislators should be paid, ought there to be one or two chambers in the municipal legislature, and the municipal ownership and control of railroads and other public franchises, will be discussed.

All interested in the welfare of our American cities are cordially

invited to attend. The Trunk Line Association has granted a reduction of railroad rates, upon certain conditions, which will be furnished upon application to Mr. Rogers, 514 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS has again suffered defeat. The House rejected, 81 to 104, April 8, the bill giving women qualified to vote for school committee the right to vote on the question of granting liquor licenses. The bill granting municipal suffrage to women was next in the calendar, on third reading, and was promptly rejected by an overwhelming vote.

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MOB MASSACRES.—There is nothing, says the *Boston Home Journal*, so intolerant, so irresponsible, so dangerous, and so inexcusable as a mob, whether it be a Khoordish horde which, impelled by religious hatred and the desire to plunder and destroy, wreaks its fury upon the unarmed and unoffending Armenians, or a company of lynchers on the frontier who hang a suspected horse thief to the nearest tree, or a relentless mob that burns at the stake the first unfortunate who is even suspected of having committed a dreadful crime. Any company of men that without authority, and in violation of the law, assumes to administer justice is guilty of the grossest injustice and should be made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law it defies. The *Basis* for February gives some startling facts derived from its own mob record, supplemented by that of the *Chicago Tribune*, in regard to the mob massacres authentically reported as having taken place in the United States during 1895. From the figures given it appears that during the year two hundred and seventy-two persons were put to death by mobs, some of them being hanged, some shot, some whipped to death, and no less than nine burned alive. Of the victims one hundred and sixty-nine were colored and eighty-one white, one hundred and fifty-four were men and the rest women and children. Besides those who were put to death in the single month of March, 1895, seventeen persons were seriously injured and seven women outraged by mobs. Other details equally revolting might be quoted, but enough has already been given to show that in Christian America there are communities where lawlessness reigns and cruelties are practiced which in character are only too similar to those ghastly crimes which the Mohammedan sultan so piously winks at. That colorphobia is in part responsible for these American atrocities may be fairly inferred from the fact that while the colored population of the country is only one tenth as numerous as the white, two black men are lynched for every white one who suffers a similar fate. A man's chance of being murdered by a mob is therefore twenty times as great if he is of African descent as it would be if only Caucasian blood coursed in his veins. Again, it must be conceded that the lax enforcement of law, the tardy processes of the courts, and the frequent abuse of the pardoning power afford a pretext to the irresponsible to resort to such measures as render the escape of supposed criminals impossible. If mobs

were confined to states where the negro population is for the most part illiterate and degraded, and far outnumbers the white, we of the North might perhaps comfort ourselves with the assurance that we are not as other men, viz., our southern brethren. Statistics, however, show that mobs are not unknown in more favored parts of the Union. It therefore behooves all good citizens, north, south, east, and west, to combine for the final overthrow of mob law. The press of the country can do much toward the accomplishment of this reform by building up a public sentiment that, while venerating established law, shall insist upon the prompt and impartial enforcement of all laws and such administration of authority that no law-breaker shall be allowed to escape conviction when his guilt can possibly be proved, and that no one who has been duly convicted shall have occasion to hope for a pardon until the claims of justice have been fully satisfied.

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ETHICS OF WEALTH.—Miss Lucia Ames, in the *Cambridge* (Mass.) *Magazine*, discusses the question of the right of those who possess wealth to use it in the way of ostentatious and extravagant display, as at some recent "society functions," notably in New York. She submits the following thoughts:

"1. When the common remark is made that 'every one has a right to spend his money as he pleases,' the speaker generally does not stop to think what he means, and is embarrassed if you say 'which kind of a right.' He has confounded legal rights and moral rights, and has not realized that what may be right legally may be wholly wrong morally. Slaves were once legally held. Much immorality may still be indulged in and be perfectly legal. Selfishness, meanness, idleness, are not punishable by the courts except in very extreme cases. But no man has a moral right to spend his money in such ways as shall injure the community in its material or spiritual life.

"To set an extravagant standard of living, to encourage ostentation, and to excite an undue interest in the affairs of unimportant private persons on the sole ground that they have money, is to inflict a moral injury on the community.

"2. No man is a wholly self-made man. Man alone, without the help of the accumulated wisdom of the race, is a wild man of the woods, without language, naked, defenseless, and without property. Mr. ——'s money, although honorably gained through performing a great service to the community, could never have been gained if he had lived in Greenland or the Feejee Islands, or if he had lived one hundred years ago.

"The people, the times, and the government coöperated with him to make his wealth possible. Therefore the community, having shared in the getting of the wealth, are not impertinent if they criticise an unwise expenditure of it."

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THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE meets this year at Buffalo during the middle week of August. The

departments which deal with human activities, anthropology, and sociology have recently been recast so as to embrace not merely the ethnology, archæology, and evolution of mankind, but also the modern psychology, social and industrial progress, finance, government, education, polity, manners, ethics, and statistics of humane interest.

This is not in unfriendly competition with the various local associations for the study of social science, political economics, and high finance, but supplementary to them. The A. A. A. S. is something more than national in its scope; it is continental, and membership with the opportunity of presenting papers for consideration is open to Canadians, Mexicans, and, indeed, to all Americans. There is thus a yearly occasion for offering and comparing the new views of able men in every branch of science, in the company of peers. The printed proceedings are exchanged with similar learned societies in Europe.

The permanent secretary of the association, Prof. F. W. Putnam of Harvard, makes special request that papers pertaining to Section 1, Social and Economic Science, be forwarded to the vice-president, Prof. William R. Lazonby, of the Ohio State University, Columbus, O., as soon as practicable, so that they may be, after acceptance, published in the program of proceedings distributed at least thirty days prior to the opening session.

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PENNSYLVANIA: *Pittsburg.*—A municipal government department of the Civic Club was organized March 22 by the election of the following officers: E. L. Smith, president; Dr. Francis Henry Wade, first vice-president; Col. E. J. Allen, second vice-president. On taking the chair Mr. Smith briefly outlined the good work which the municipal department of the Civic Club hopes to accomplish and the lines upon which it proposes to conduct that work.

An executive committee of five to supervise and direct the work of the department in Allegheny and one of like number for Pittsburg were appointed.

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"A NAME OF HORROR" SUBSCRIBED TO NOBLE UTTERANCES.—Hear, and then—if need be—condemn. This is a safe and just rule, and one which THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS puts into practice. Its general application would lead to a better understanding of the real character and opinions of those who look upon the vexing problems of the day from opposite points of view, and would greatly lessen the difficulties attending their solution. In this connection we present the following paragraph from a valued exchange:

"We give in another place in this issue of *City and State* the concluding article in the February number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, which is so excellent in both the spirit and substance of it that we present it on that simple ground alone, unaccompanied by the name of the author, which is literally, we may say, a name of horror to the public, made so by the representations concerning him which have invariably been dealt out by the 'great newspapers' of the

country. There is truth in the words of the man, and it is undeniably well-put truth. That the writer is sincere in uttering it cannot easily be questioned. It is not at all necessary to approve of the course taken by him, holding a high official position, but that he is or has been the monster and entirely worthless demagogue some of the aforesaid 'great newspapers' have so persistently tried to make out is not a thing which it is wise or worth while altogether to believe. This is an age great in intelligence, but it is also an age peculiarly great in the perversion of intelligence. It is not well to forget this fact. At all events we commend the article, 'The Country's Welfare,' just as it stands to the thoughtful consideration of the honest reader. We may give the name of the writer hereafter."

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TRUE SOCIALISM.—"True socialism means coördination of individualism and collectivism into what may be termed social service, a service which every man owes to his community, and when that service is rendered honestly and faithfully, you have taken all that there is useful in socialism." So said Carroll D. Wright, of Washington, in a recent address in this city on "The Real Labor Question." There are not a few who will be disposed to wonder what more there can be in the relation considered, actual or conceivable, that can be expected to be "useful." If that is socialism, then very certainly socialism is not only a good thing, but absolutely the very best thing of its kind. Mr. Commissioner Wright, going further, is reported also to have said :

"The true remedy of present evils consists in the practical application of the highest ethical principles, and these are perhaps best found in the Christian religion." And why "perhaps," we may ask? If there are any "ethical principles" not found in the Christian religion, rightly conceived and rightly taught, that are found somewhere else, it would be an excellent piece of work for somebody to point them out. —*City and State.*

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RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.—The *Home Journal*, of Boston, comments favorably on Senator Lodge's speech in support of a bill intended to prevent the immigration of not only such undesirable people as paupers, diseased persons, convicts, and contract laborers, but also the totally ignorant. At present the first four classes are excluded, but not the last. The bill is excellent in that it is extremely simple. In the first section it provides for the barring out of immigrants who cannot read or write either their own or some other language; while the second section mentions a simple test for determining whether or not the applicant for residence can read or write. The test is one which will not exclude any desirable future citizens from the country, although it will keep out many Italians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, and Asiatics. It will scarcely affect English-speaking immigrants, Swedes, Germans, or the French. It will, in fact, exclude the races that have come to this country in enormous numbers during the last twenty years, yet who have never assimilated with the English-

speaking people, and who are to-day the most dangerous of all elements in the country, because of remaining aliens, living their own lives in their own way, and being still as "foreign" as when they landed on our shores. Immigrants from the United Kingdom, and from other countries that furnish us with material for good citizens if not in the first generation at least in the second, will be affected hardly at all by the test.

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MUNICIPAL REFORM PUBLICATIONS.—The proceedings of the Minneapolis and Cleveland conferences for good city government have been published in a single volume of 546 pages, by the National Municipal League. They form a most substantial addition to the discussion of Municipal Reform. The municipal condition of leading American cities, and the various phases of the reform movement receiving consideration from distinguished men. The book contains papers by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., James C. Carter, Prof. E. J. James, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, William G. Low, ex-Judge E. J. Blandin, Lucius B. Swift, Prof. E. W. Bemis, Charles Richardson, Dr. John S. Billings, Mayors Wm. M. Kennedy, George W. Ochs, and Prof. Albion W. Small.

Among the subjects treated are: The Elements of a Model City Charter, Uniform Legislation for Ohio Cities, The Granting of Municipal Franchises, Good City Government from the Physician's Standpoint and from Woman's, Good Government Clubs, Municipal Leagues, Law Enforcement Societies, Civic Federations, Temporary Movements, Proportional Representation, Municipal Government by National Parties, Civic Religion.

The price of the book is $1.50 cloth, $1.25 paper. Orders may be sent to Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 514 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

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DEGENERATION OF LEGISLATURES.—In an able editorial, the Philadelphia *Telegraph* says:

"We have watched a shocking degeneration take place in our representative legislatures. We are unwilling longer to grant, indeed, that our legislatures are representative. We scarcely think that the people, too, have drifted into such an unfortunate condition, and we therefore say that we are ourselves better than our legislatures. We are certain that some way will be found to correct these malignant evils which have developed in our American lawmaking bodies. The system is not altogether wrong. Wise men, if they put their minds to this work, can bring about such reforms as will put our representative system on a much firmer basis. Our legislatures must, at any rate, be as good as the people. They must not be worse. Ye are they not worse to-day? Is it not a fact that the tendency toward the referendum in this country is fostered by a general conviction that the people as a whole, when they vote upon a measure, are a more efficient determining body than a state legislature or a city council?

"Ultimately we will be brought to the point, of course, when we

will realize that the people themselves are a deficient body, that they are far from being wise enough to be intrusted in any too general a way with the responsible duties of government. They must be educated and must be led up to higher intellectual standards so that they may be better able to choose proper representatives and to discuss and judge of political and social questions. It is surely one of the ends of government to make men strong, capable, self-sustaining. It is a prime object to develop in them the ability to cope with the conditions which surround them, so that they may be able to progress. A certain modicum of political and social liberty is an aid to this end, and though we grant that our legislatures are in a degenerate state, we are not going to abolish them altogether, but we are going to try to modify the system so that we will get better results."

These strong and true statements illustrate the imperative need of the nation-wide work to which the Institute of Civics is devoted.

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HABEAS CORPUS.—Remember *lettres de cachet* in France, with the horrors of the sudden and mysterious disappearance into the living sepulchers in the Bastile, and then recall, if you can, without a thrill of pride and joy the long contest which preceded and has accompanied that simple legal form, which is the protection of the unjustly imprisoned, in which the justice says to the officer, "Do thou have his body before me, to show cause why he should be detained a prisoner!" Where is there a nobler battle-monument to victories won for liberty than in the Latin phrase so heedlessly on our lips, the right of *habeas corpus?—President M. E. Gates.*

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CIVICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.—C. R. Henderson, Ph.D., associate member of the faculty of the American Institute of Civics, furnishes the following information as to instruction in civics in the University of Chicago, where he occupies a chair:

"The University of Chicago teaches the public in three ways: by its resident work, its publications, and by its Extension Division. The institution is open all the year, and the attendance of college and high school teachers in the summer quarter is very encouraging. Ample opportunities are given for advanced specialists. Lines of study are laid out which lead up naturally to diplomacy, journalism, political life, and law. In the Divinity School special provision is made for candidates and pastors who wish to study modern social questions.

"Liberal provision is made for studies fundamental in civics, as psychology, ethics, and history. The courses which bear more directly upon citizenship are adapted to the needs of the undergraduate and graduate students in all directions. In the Department of History an able corps of instructors devote much attention in lectures and seminars to political and constitutional development. Elementary, advanced, and highly specialized courses are offered in the Department of Political Economy, in the principles of the science, in economic history, statistics, socialism, finance, banking, railways, and agricul-

ture. The Department of Political Science offers courses in American state governments, municipal government, international and administrative law, jurisprudence, constitutional law, corporation politics, and Roman law. The Department of Sociology offers courses both in the philosophy of society and in concrete social institutions and movements for amelioration; in charities, criminology, programs of reform, modern cities, and social movements of rural communities.

"The university publishes the *Journal of Political Economy* and the *American Journal of Sociology*, and the *American Journal of Theology* will give space to practical church work.

"The University Extension Division provides courses in each department mentioned above, and it has three methods of instruction: by lectures, by class work, and by correspondence. It may be added that women are admitted to all the work and honors of the university on equal terms with men, without special favors and without patronage."

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VARIOUS MATTERS.

CENTENARY OF THE FAREWELL ADDRESS.—Members of the American Institute of Civics, and all readers of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS are urged to coöperate in arrangements for the suitable commemoration of the issue of Washington's Farewell Address. It is entirely practicable to carry into effect, in the smallest communities, some of the proposals made in the article on this subject in the April issue of this magazine. The officers of the Institute will be glad to correspond with any who may be disposed to assist in arrangements for local observances.

C. F. A. Zimmerman, principal of one of the public schools in Milwaukee, is among the first to announce his intention of thus cooperating. On Memorial Day, Flag Day, and on September 15, the occasion will be commemorated in his school.

At a well-attended meeting of a general committee of citizens of New York, composed of A. I. C. councilors, held April 8, a special committee was appointed to arrange for observances in New York City, with members as follows: Gilbert Ray Hawes, Edward Hageman Hall, E. E. Hitchcock, James Cruikshank, LL.D., William Abbott, A. B. Woodford, Ph.D., and Henry Randall Waite, Ph.D.

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THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.—Andrew D. White, ex-president of Cornell, and ex-minister to Germany and Russia, is probably as well posted in regard to the foreign diplomatic service of the United States as any one in the country He believes that Great Britain's success in foreign lands and her preëminence among European nations is due as much as anything to the fact of her having trained diplomats and men who understood their business at every point where English interests are involved. Dr. White in his address at the Johns Hopkins University banquet at Baltimore remarked: "What is it that we need? Is it a man to be sought and selected and passed upon and haggled with and sent across the ocean to see if perhaps he can mitigate serious and even disastrous

international trouble after it has got under full headway? Is it not rather to have a thoroughly trained man on the spot, who shall foresee trouble, prevent it, attenuate it, disperse it, be acquainted with the right men, know the right means, speak the right word at the right moment in the right quarter?"

Regarding war with Great Britain, Dr. White then said: "For all calamities to the world which one can imagine there could hardly be anything more fearful than a war between the two great English-speaking nations. Nothing should be spared to avert such a war, save international righteousness, the just position of our country."

Dr. White believes that American diplomats should be better paid, in order that more respectable establishments may be maintained abroad. He wants the merit system adopted for all the minor positions, and the system placed under civil service rules. He would not make a foreign consulate the reward for political services, and claims that many foreign countries imbibe very poor opinions of the power and greatness of the United States through our poorly paid and often inefficient representatives in the seaport cities.

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AN INDISPENSABLE PUBLICATION.—The *Jewish Messenger* in a recent number says: "At a time like the present, when the public mind is agitated by questions of vital public concern, a publication like THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS is almost indispensable to the intelligent American citizen." Sincere and encouraging words like these are an inspiration to efforts calculated to make this magazine even more deserving of them.

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GOOD READING FOR CONVICTS.—Some time ago the American Institute of Civics asked the coöperation of the readers of these pages in efforts to provide wholesome literature for the multitudes confined in American jails and penitentiaries. It offered to furnish the addresses of prison officials and others to whom prepaid packages may be sent, and who will be glad to see that their contents are made use of to the best possible advantage.

Good results have already followed this proposal, as indicated by the following letter:

THE INSTITUTE'S GOOD WORK.

The appeal in behalf of the convicts laboring on Col. T. L. Fairris's farm, Alto, Cherokee Co., Texas, has met with an almost phenomenal response. Books, papers, magazines, money, and other things have been sent. The object of this note is to solicit additional and continued effort along the same line. Address all articles "For Convict Farm."

THOS. WARD WHITE, A. I. C.

New Birmingham, Texas.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

JUNE, 1896.

WHY THE FARMER DOES NOT GET RICH.

BY NELSON BALDWIN.

HOWEVER much the American people may differ as to the causes of the depressed condition of agriculture, there is substantial agreement as to the existence of the fact itself. It appears to be conceded, with practical unanimity, that the American farmer has "a hard row to hoe"; that he has had little to encourage him for the past ten or fifteen years, and that there is not a promising prospect of a change for the better in the near future. The farmer is loud in his complaint that he is not fairly compensated for his labor, to say nothing of the lack of dividends on his invested capital, and the press and public have settled down to the conclusion that his complaint is well-founded.

I concur in the general sentiment, with perhaps some reservations. I am inclined to the belief that while the American farmers as a class do not receive as great a reward as they are fairly entitled to, that which they do receive does not fall so much below the general average as is popularly supposed. Farmers, mechanics, merchants, professional and business men, are all alike in one respect: a very large majority of them have an exaggerated idea as to the amount they would have if they were to secure all that justly belongs to them in the distribution of the aggregate wealth produced by the whole body of producers in a given period of time.

The fact has often been stated that it is a very rare occurrence for a farmer to get rich. But failure to acquire riches is the

fate of a vast majority of mankind. I believe the most reliable estimates of the proportion of merchants who go into bankruptcy at some period in the course of their business careers place it at not less than ninety-five per cent of the whole number. Manufacturers do better, but of them it is the few and not the many who accumulate wealth. Well-to-do, and even wealthy farmers are to be found in the country to-day, but none of them ever became rich from their own labor. One may have been enriched by an increase in the value of his land, resulting from the rapid growth of the adjoining city; another by the construction of a railroad through his property; another by the discovery on his farm of mineral wealth. The farmer, like other fortunate people, owes his wealth, when he has it, to what is termed in modern political economy the "unearned increment"; and if men of wealth are less numerous among the agricultural class than among persons of other callings, it is because agriculture affords fewer opportunities for getting possession of and enjoying a share of this "unearned increment," without which little more than a comfortable living, with possibly a modest sum laid by for old age, can be secured by the most industrious citizen.

The census statistics furnish the most reliable information as to the condition of American agriculture, and I think a study of them will show, with a reasonable approach to accuracy, what is the American farmer's share of the yearly increase of wealth; will show whether he is getting his share, and if not, will give us some idea as to how much he falls short of it.

The increase of wealth in this country during the decade from 1880 to 1890 is stated by the census to have been about twenty-one billions of dollars. The figures are so vast that the mind cannot comprehend them; yet stupendously large as was the increase of our aggregate wealth, it represented an addition to the wealth of 1880 equivalent to only four per cent per annum, compound interest. The fact should not be overlooked in our calculations—because it has a bearing on the question of each individual's share of the increase—that during the same period of time our population increased twenty-four per cent. A part of that increase of wealth represented the earning capacity of an

increased number of producers. The increase in per capita wealth during the ten years was only $168 (from $870 to $1,038) —a yearly increase of less than two per cent. No one will dispute the fact that the increase of population is a large factor in the creation of wealth. This is especially true in the addition of value to city and suburban real estate. The nation would, however, have grown richer had the population remained stationary, but how much richer? Taking into consideration the increased aggregate earning capacity resulting from the addition to the army of workers, and the increased value which the mere fact of an addition to population gives to land, I regard three per cent of the value of all property as a fair estimate of the actual yearly earning capacity (in excess of consumption) of the existing population at a given period of time. The average per capita yearly addition to the wealth of the nation, as the result of labor, is much less than the majority of people imagine.

Does the tiller of the soil get a fair proportion of this small increase? Let us take the case of the average farmer with a family of five, about the average number. In 1880 the average farmer's possessions (his land, buildings, fences, implements, stock, etc.) were valued at $3,019. If the year's addition to the national wealth (exclusive of the part which was due to the growth of population) had been divided pro rata among those who were already possessors of property, the average farmer's share would have been $90.57. But the distribution of wealth is not made on such a basis, and the fact that it is not enables us to make a little better showing for the farmer. It is divided between capital and labor—exactly in what proportion we do not know, but we shall not be far out of the way if we assume that capital secures half of it. This would have given the average farmer about $45 for his share as a capitalist; then if the other half had been divided per capita (which is about as liberal a distribution of it as we can make) our average farmer would get about $15 additional for each member of his family—a total, say, of about $120. He would have been entitled to a good living for himself and family, good schooling for his children, a moderate share of the luxuries of life, and been enabled to "lay

by" $120 for a "rainy day"; and that is the best that could have been done for him if he had been given all that he could reasonably have expected.

Judging from my own observation, I believe that occasionally a farmer out of debt and worth $3,000, who clears $120 per year, can be found. He will not, however, be satisfied. He will complain that $120 per year above living expenses is not enough compared with what other men make on the same investment of capital. Yet if he can make that he will secure his full share of the year's aggregate product of wealth. What right has he to expect more? The trouble with all of us is that we want more than our share, but only a few of us can have our wish gratified.

Now let us consider the case of the tenant tiller of the average farm. His rent should be about $150 per year. His full share of the wealth created in a twelvemonth would fall $30 short of paying his rent. As everybody knows, the tenant farmer ekes out a miserable existence. He and his family can indulge in no luxuries. To them all times are hard times and life is a continual privation. The American tenant farmer of to-day is little, if any, better off than the serf of the Middle Ages. He is certainly no better off than the modern European peasant. And when his condition is looked at from an economic standpoint, it will be seen that he has no right to expect anything better. Only in rare and exceptional cases is profitable farming on rented land a possibility; it must be an impossibility so long as the aggregate increase of the wealth of a community—the amount produced by a given population in excess of that consumed—is only three per cent per annum, and rents are from six to ten per cent of the value of the property.

A few words here with reference to the comparative condition of the American and British agriculturist will not be out of place. Our farmers are often counseled to take comfort from the reflection that their condition is not so bad as is that of the tillers of the soil on the other side of the Atlantic. But when this fact is stated the cause for it should be stated also. The British farmer gets a higher price than does the American

farmer for every product common to the two countries, and the former produces very much more from the same acreage. Taking into consideration only the size of his crops and the prices received for his products, it would seem that the British farmer ought to enjoy a high degree of prosperity. On the contrary, it is almost impossible for him to "make both ends meet." The sole cause of British agricultural distress is the fact that practically all of the British farmers are tenants. The wealth which they are able to produce, in excess of the amount consumed, is not enough to pay the rent of the land they till. American agriculturists are better off than their British brethren to the extent only that the former are landowners. There is reason to believe that our tenant farmers are in a worse condition than is the same class in England. The growth of the landlord evil, in its relation to agriculture in this country, is not only deplorable, but almost startling. In the beginning of our history every American farmer was the owner of the soil which he cultivated, but in 1890, as shown by the census, thirty-four per cent of our farmers were renters. To more than one third of our agricultural population, therefore, prosperity is not within the limits of possibility.

There is another class whose condition is not much better than that of the renters—namely, the farmers who are in debt. The census statistics show that nineteen per cent of the farmers of this country are paying interest on mortgages. The average debt is $1,224, and the average interest rate is seven per cent. Assuming that the average farmer of this class, if he received his full share of a year's production of wealth, would get only $120 in excess of his living expenses, he could pay his interest and have $34.32 to apply on the principal of his debt, which would enable him to pay off the mortgage in fifteen or twenty years. But in view of the fact that the farmer seldom secures his full share, it is not difficult to understand why, when he is in debt, he is in most cases unable to lift the burden; it is not strange that after a while he should become discouraged and demoralized, should fail to keep up his interest payments, and let his farm go into the hands of the sheriff. It is economically im-

possible for the farmer, as it is for the business man, to pay seven per cent interest out of three per cent profits and prosper.

Absolute accuracy in determining the actual aggregate earning capacity of the people is scarcely possible, and other estimates may differ from mine, but I believe the differences would be too slight to affect conclusions materially. Of course aggregate earnings would be larger and average individual shares greater if there were not so many non-producers.

It is evident that to fifty-three per cent of our agricultural population hard times must be chronic. For them farming is a business which does not pay; and, looking at it from an economic standpoint, they never had any reasonable ground for the hope that it would pay.

The facts revealed by the census do not, however, warrant the assumption that farming under proper conditions is actually unprofitable. As a matter of fact, only forty-seven per cent of our farmers have a right to expect to make more than a living, and doubtless that is about the proportion of the whole number who do have something on the profit side of the ledger as the result of a year's toil. Some of them certainly have made money, but that they have not secured their full share of the annual increase of wealth is evident from the fact that while the wealth of the nation increased about forty-eight per cent from 1880 to 1890 the value of farm property increased only thirty-two per cent. This does not, of course, represent a per capita increase of agricultural wealth, for there was an increase of twenty-four per cent in the number of farmers during the decade. The farm population increased in number by almost exactly the same percentage that the general population increased. The per capita increase of farmers' wealth should, therefore, have been equal to the increase in the per capita wealth of the whole people. It is perfectly clear that the farmer did not get his share, but exactly how much he fell short it would be difficult to determine. If the "average" farmer of 1880—one whose farm property was worth $3,019—received his full share of the national increase of wealth during the decade, and invested the money in improving his property, buying more stock, etc., he would have been worth in

1890 about $4,400. Exactly how much he was worth in the census year we do not know, for he may have had outside investments; but this we do learn from the census, that the average value of farms increased from $3,019 in 1880 to $3,501 in 1890, a gain of only sixteen per cent, or less than one and one half per cent per annum, compound interest.

Having reached the conclusion that the landowning farmer who is not in debt does make more than a living, but falls short of getting his full share of the wealth which he aids in creating, the question arises, Why does he not get it?

There could be no very rich class in this country unless certain persons enjoyed the privilege of exacting tribute from their fellow-citizens. In order that a few shall receive large profits on their investments the many must receive small profits or perhaps none at all, and the laborer must be poorly compensated for his toil. It cannot be otherwise. If in the distribution of a three per cent increase of national wealth you give one man thirty per cent, it "stands to reason" that a large number of other people must be deprived of any share whatever in the dividend. Of course, there are some who, because of the possession of exceptional business or professional talent, deserve much more than a pro rata share of the annual increment of wealth, but in most cases those who secure large profits on invested capital get it because of the power, as stated above, to exact a sort of forced tribute from the general public. The farmer does not, and cannot, enjoy any such power. That which he produces for sale he has to dispose of at a price fixed by competition in the markets of the world. He cannot force anybody to pay a higher price than that fixed by the natural laws of trade. If he could buy under exactly the same conditions he would secure exactly his pro rata share of the increase of wealth. But very many of the things which he buys are not regulated in price by free competition. He does not possess the power, except by the resort to tricks which might send him to the penitentiary, to victimize anybody; but to the extent that he is compelled to buy things the prices of which are not fixed by free competition, he is the victim of the possessors of monopolistic

privilege. This fact is the sole cause of the small profits of farming. The agriculturist cannot secure his share of the aggregate increase of wealth because men in other businesses demand and have the power to exact more than their share. It is often said, as an illustration of conditions in human society, that the big fish live by feeding on the little ones. The farmer ought not, perhaps, to be considered one of the small fish, but he is certainly one of the unprotected denizens of the national fish-pond. He is even more at the mercy of the exacter of tribute than is the city laborer, for the latter can unite with his fellows in a strike when injustice is done him, while the farmer has thus far done absolutely nothing in his own defense.

The farmer is to a large extent responsible for the evil of which he complains, for he has deliberately aided in his own spoliation. Exactly to what extent the farmer has been robbed by the tariff is not easily ascertained, but that he has suffered severely from its operation can hardly be doubted. It is a remarkable fact that the protective system, which never did and never will do American agriculture any good, has been time after time saved by the votes of the farmers when a majority of the other voters of the country had condemned it. The blindness of the agricultural voter in this respect is one of the marvels in our political history. The farmers were induced to give their consent to the protective system by the promise that they should have a full share in its benefits; that their products, as well as manufacturers, should be protected. The fact that it is not possible to protect all interests to the same extent, that some things cannot be protected at all, the farmer seems not to have taken into consideration. The object of a protective duty on an article is to increase the price of it to the consumer. When it does not have this effect it is a dead failure as to its purpose; and it is quite often a failure for the reason that the effect of a tariff duty on different articles varies as the conditions vary under which they are produced and marketed. If the article for the protection of which a duty is imposed be subject to foreign competition in the home market, the duty will increase the price; it will be a tax which the consumer will

pay, and he will pay it just the same whether he buy the imported or domestic article. But if the article alleged to be protected be something that meets with no foreign competition in the home market—if it be something produced in excess of our own needs, the surplus of which we export, thus finding its only competition in the foreign market—in that case the alleged protective duty is virtually a dead letter. Included in this class are the pretended protective duties on nearly all farm products. The duties on wheat, corn, tobacco, live stock, meats, fruits, and dairy products, for example, do not benefit the American farmers to the slightest extent, for all of these things we produce a surplus of, which is exported. The American farmer meets practically no competition in the whole market; what little he meets is so slight that it can have no appreciable effect.

I believe that a careful examination of the various tariff schedules in their relation to American agriculture will convince any fair-minded man that from the inauguration of the protective system until to-day only two farm products have ever been increased in price as a result of protective duties—namely, sugar and wool. The first of these being almost exclusively a southern product, it may be excluded in considering the interests of the northern farmer. For him there has never been any benefit whatever in protection except in the tariff on a single article. Now let us see how much benefit it has been to him. The census of 1890 showed that the average number of sheep to a farm was about $7\frac{2}{3}$, and that the average wool clip to each farm was $36\frac{1}{4}$ pounds. At ten cents per pound, if the sheep were equally distributed, the average farmer's benefit from the wool tax was $\$3.62\frac{1}{2}$, and this was all he had to compensate him for the taxes he paid on the goods he had to buy. As a matter of fact, however, no farmer keeps so few as seven or eight sheep. The "average" farmer keeps none at all, and got no benefit from the wool tariff when it existed. Only a few are sheep-raisers, and the benefit they realized came in large part out of the pockets of other farmers. The great majority of them have never received any benefit whatever.

The argument once advanced to win the farmers' support to

protection, that this country could consume all of its own products, has not been heard in recent years. In should never have deceived any intelligent person. Every nation on the face of the globe produces more of some things than it needs for its own use, and the surplus it must either destroy or exchange for the products of other nations. Our country produces from $750,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 per year in excess of its own needs, and five sevenths of this surplus consists of agricultural products. Twenty per cent of our farm products have to be marketed abroad. It will be seen that the farmers have a much greater interest than have all other producers combined in the problems connected with our foreign trade. Our trade with other nations will be found, when analyzed, to be nothing but barter. We exchange the things we don't want for the things we do want. If the trade is free both parties to it are benefited. Each party gets what it wants, and the goods it receives are worth more to it than the goods it parts with. This fact would be readily understood if the exchanges were between the actual producers. As an illustration, let us suppose that a party of farmers charter a vessel, load it with their surplus products, and send it to Europe. It should require no argument to prove that their chances of a profitable trading voyage would be much better if they could freely exchange their products for anything they pleased than if they had to pay a fine if they received and brought home certain goods in exchange for their own surplus. If they have entire freedom of choice in selecting what they will take in exchange it is practically certain that they will get more value than if they are restricted to a few commodities. The greater the restrictions put upon them the less likely are they to make a profitable trade ; in other words, the harder will it be for them to find a foreign market for their surplus, and in proportion as this difficulty increases the greater will be the depression of prices in the home market. It is because of the complex nature of trade that these simple facts are not patent to everybody ; but they are facts just the same, when the goods go through many hands before the exchange is completed, as they would be if the exchange were a direct barter between producers.

Reduced to the last analysis, trade between nations, as between individuals, is merely an exchange of labor. It amounts to what the farmers call "changing work." The objection of the protectionists to free trade is that when we work one day for the foreigner he wants to repay us by working two days for us. Therefore we must tax away half of the value of his labor in order that we may not get any more in return than we give. The utter absurdity of this objection would be seen at a glance if the exchange were direct. Let us suppose the case of a farmer living near the eastern boundary of Maine, who "changes work" with his New Brunswick neighbor. The former helps the latter dig potatoes, the labor to be repaid by the New Brunswicker helping the American husk corn. If the Yankee could get two days' work by giving only one, how idiotic he would be to refuse to accept it, and to secure the passage of a law to prevent him from taking all he could get from the foreigner as compensation for his own labor! Yet that is virtually what he did when he inaugurated the protective tariff system; it was his vote that did it.

If there be any man in this country who is producing goods in excess of the home demand who does not find it to his interest to favor a system of trade under which he will have entire freedom to exchange his surplus sent abroad for anything he pleases, and take as much for it as he can get, it is because his industry is controlled by a trust or other combination, organized to defeat the operations of the natural laws of trade, and to force the domestic consumer to pay more than the foreign consumer pays for the same article. The nature of the farming business is such that it cannot be put into a trust. The farmers cannot combine for the purpose of extorting exorbitant profits from consumers, but most other producers can, and that is one of the reasons why the farmer can get no benefit out of protective duties himself and is the victim of those for whose benefit the system is maintained. He never will get any benefit from it; for if at some time in the far distant future the agricultural products of the country should be insufficient, on account of the growth of population, to feed the people, thus necessitating food imports,

the tax (now virtually a dead letter) which then made bread and meat dear, would be abolished as quickly as the masses could get a chance to vote it out of existence. The people will give the farmer all the fictitious protection he wants, but the real article he can never have.

The farmer pays a tax on almost every article that he buys except tea and coffee. He cannot exempt himself from taxation by buying only domestic goods. When he purchases a pound of American nails he pays just as stiff a tax on them as he would pay on imported nails, the only difference being that in the former case he pays the tax to the nail trust and in the latter to the government. It is no refutation of this statement to say that nails are cheaper than they were thirty years ago. They have not fallen nearly so much in price as they would if they were not protected by the tariff and their price fixed by a trust. An article has not fallen enough in price if it sells at a profit to the manufacturer of twenty-five or fifty per cent, as many trust-controlled articles do, when the average individual earning capacity of the people, relative to existing wealth, is only three per cent per annum.

The growth of the trust evil is simply appalling, and the farmer suffers most from the trust's shameless extortions. He suffers in two ways: he is not only victimized on almost everything that he buys, but the demand for his own products is lessened. Monopolistic combinations, which restrict production for the purpose of making exorbitant profits, continually keep many thousands of men idle. If every monopoly were broken, and honest competition in serving the public instead of collusion in robbing the public were the rule, there would be work for every man in this country now idle; the farmer would then find more buyers for his products and there would be fewer tramps to despoil his hen-roosts.

The average farm family's tariff tax for the support of the general government should be about $15. The amount it is taxed for the benefit of monopoly must be largely a matter of conjecture, but that the illegitimate is many times the legitimate tax can hardly be doubted. Taking into consideration the

total agricultural production of the country and the proportion consumed on the farm, I estimate the yearly surplus which the average farmer has to dispose of to be worth about $375, and if he exchange the whole of this for other things—for such provisions as he must have for household necessities or luxuries, clothing, material for repairs, tools, machinery, etc.—I firmly believe that the tariff for revenue, protective taxes, and trust extortions combined will take fully twenty-five per cent of it, or between $90 and $100. I have ignored the tax on whisky and tobacco, as the amount of the farmer's payment of this tax, except for spirits used in medicine, is within his own control.

To sum up: Agriculture is not an occupation for one who hopes to acquire riches in a few years, but it is not actually unprofitable. There is more than a living in it for the man who owns, free of incumbrance, the land that he tills, but he does not get his full share of the yearly increment of wealth. The reason he does not get it is because there are others who get more than their share at the expense of those who are defenseless, and under existing laws the farmer is utterly without protection. He is the victim of every monopoly, and especially of the tariff and the trusts. The tariff restricts the market for his products abroad and the trust lessens the demand for them at home. Each aids in curtailing his income, and together they rob him by making him pay more for the things he is compelled to buy than they are worth.

Farmers who hope to be benefited by schemes of currency inflation or a change in the standard of value from gold to silver are pinning their faith to a delusion. They cannot get a larger share in the distribution of wealth by simply getting an inflated price for their products, for when there is an advance from such a cause it runs along the whole line of production. In such a case the exchange value of farm products (which is their real value) would be no greater than before. The tenant would be as bad off as ever, for an increase of land values carries with it an increase of rent. Only a small proportion, if any, of the nineteen per cent who are in debt would be benefited by a descent to the silver standard.

The condition of the landowning farmers of the United States will improve when they shall have emancipated themselves from the protective tariff superstition and destroyed the fetish which they have worshiped blindfolded while the high priests of protection have gone through their pockets. Its downfall will kill most of the trusts (the latter in most cases being the progeny of the former), but there are some that more drastic measures would be needed to destroy. The farmer's attitude should be one of relentless hostility to every form of private monopoly; he will not secure full justice until the whole brood shall have been exterminated.

The class above referred to have a right to enjoy a greater degree of prosperity, and they can do much for themselves if they will make a judicious use of the ballot. The condition of the tenant of to-day is, however, practically hopeless. A gradual change for the better in future may perhaps be effected by a governmental policy which will discourage land-grabbing by capitalists, the holding of large tracts out of use for speculative purposes, and make it easy for men of limited means to acquire small areas for cultivation. The Almighty never intended that the tiller of the soil should pay tribute to his fellow-man for the privilege of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow.

The large increase in recent years in the number of tenant farmers is undoubtedly due in great measure to the inability of debtors to pay their debts and the consequent foreclosure of mortgages. There is a lesson in it which should be taken to heart by every farmer—namely, never to run in debt for a large amount if it can possibly be avoided, no matter how alluring may be the prospect of a profitable use of the money. The fact should be kept in mind that average interest is greater than average net earnings when monopoly is not one of the factors which go to make the latter. The fairly well-to-do farmer, who, not content to let well enough alone, deliberately joins the ranks of the debtor class, should do so with a full realization that when he enters the door of the money-lender's office he leaves hope behind.

NELSON BALDWIN.

A GERMAN VIEW OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.*

BY PROF. LUDWIG VON BAR GÖTTINGEN.

THE message sent by Mr. Cleveland to the Congress of the United States has moved the celebrated Monroe Doctrine once more into the foreground of political discussion. This doctrine, enunciated in President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, originated from two entirely different causes, and consists, therefore, of two parts, which ought to be separately considered. The one part was caused by the position taken by the powers of the European continent toward the Declarations of Independence of the Spanish colonies in America at the beginning of the twentieth year of the century. This was the time when Europe considered itself called upon to interfere, if necessary in a forcible way, with the internal affairs of other states, on the ground that the states had adopted dangerous constitutional principles (that is to say, principles favorable to political freedom), or were in the effort to adopt such principles. It was the time in which patriarchal, religiously-colored, absolute monarchism celebrated its triumphs in the congresses of Laibach, Troppau, and Verona, under the Ægis of Metternich, immediately after the Vienna Congress and the establishment of the so-called Holy Alliance.

It is a matter easily to be understood that these movements for independence on the part of the Spanish colonies could not escape the attention of such European diplomats as were controlled by similar ideas. The more since the Bourbon monarchy which had been established in France set all its wits to work to gain at least in these Spanish colonies a few royal thrones for princes of the Bourbon House. And also on the other hand since the Spanish power soon proved entirely inadequate to maintain the colonies in independence. Coöperation,

* From article in *Cosmopolis*.

especially on the part of France and Spain, against the then South American republics appeared as the probability lying nearest. Against this the one part of the Monroe Doctrine is directed, resting as it does upon previous communications with the English cabinet, which, after the Liberal Canning had entered the foreign office in place of Castlereaghs in 1822, faced about against this odd policy of intervention with growing energy. This part of the message, though the expression may not be quite correct, yet in its intent coincides with the now generally acknowledged principles of the rights of the people. It declares that as the United States purposely avoids interfering with European affairs, so it should view each attempt of European powers to extend their system (their constitution and governmental principles) into any part of America as dangerous to the peace and security of the United States, and further it is said that any interference on the part of a European power, which has for its purpose to bring into dependence any American states, which have declared and maintained their independence, and whose independence had been recognized by the United States according to right principles, would be considered as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. Indeed, when certain states undertake to impose their governmental and constitutional doctrines upon other states forcibly, and in violation of the sovereign rights of these other states—when they, slighting the will of the people, wish to reduce these states into dependence upon other states, then do they violate international right, and other states appear entitled to other rights.

Naturally too wide a use can be made of a sentence which in itself is quite true, but we are not at present interested in investigating whether this has been the practice of the foreign office of the United States in isolated cases. It is quite otherwise with the other part of the Monroe Doctrine. This was not a result of the principles of the common rights of the people, or a special application of these rights; it appears to have been an arbitrarily invented principle to fit some particular case, and it has therefore proven absolutely worthless hitherto.

It was there maintained that the American continents (North and South America) could no longer be, according to this measure of their free and independent condition, henceforth an object of future colonization for a European power. Thereby Russia was to be prevented from extending the borders of her possessions in North America further, and a better position might be attained for the boundary litigations at that time pending between Russia, England, and the United States. Now it is evident that the dominions which belong to the independent and free commonwealth of America cannot be taken possession of with the European power in the way of colonization.

But it is irrational and entirely against the principles of the rights of the people, except in the event of actual danger to the safety of a territory, to wish to prevent other states therein to take possession of the vacant territories, and to make such useful to mankind, and at the same time it is almost impossible to prevent the slow and peaceful advance of the boundary of another state when this advance involves the occupation of territory which belongs to no one, or perhaps only to wholly uncivilized, nomadic races. For, as Geffeken* very tritely remarked, this part of the Monroe Doctrine has not prevented England from extending the Dominion of Canada to the Pacific Ocean, and indeed this arbitrary theory has brought no results which were not immediately attacked by England and Russia, and later by the more creditable authorities on the rights of the people, and has even been repudiated by authorities of the United States. As Calhoun has remarked, it is virtually only a work of Adams, at that time state secretary, and moreover has not once been laid before the president's cabinet, and Woolsey† speaks of it in the following manner: " . . . The other principle of prohibiting European colonization was vague, and if intended to prevent Russia from extending her borders on the Pacific further to the south, went far beyond any limit of interference that hitherto had been set up. What right had the United States to control Russia in gaining territory on the Pacific, or planting colonies,

* Holtzendorff's "Handbook of the Rights of the People," Vol. IV., 156.

† "Introduction to the Study of International Law."

when they had neither territory nor colony to be endangered within thousands of miles?" And further, "To lay down the principle that the acquisition of territory on this continent by any European power cannot be allowed by the United States, would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power."

It is unnecessary here to elaborate the fact how an application of the Monroe Doctrine to a boundary litigation between England and Venezuela, a territory which lies further away from the United States than the north coast of the Pacific Ocean, or even Yucatan, is to be made. Especially since in this latter a rather unfortunate attempt at the application of the Monroe Doctrine was made in the year 1848. The Monroe Doctrine in this application amounts virtually to nothing less than the usurpation of an arbiter in all boundary litigations, which may possibly arise between a European power possessing land in America and an American state. And since such contentions can arise as well without as with foundation there finally lies in such a position the bare pretension that the limits of each and every lawful American land-holding of a European power depends solely on the judgment of the United States. Such a pretension is judged by itself; it is inconsistent with the undisputed principles of the modern rights of the people, to the improvement and advance of which a most important and useful share is adjudged to the United States itself.

The fact that Congress decreed upon the reading of Cleveland's message that a Commission of Inquiry should be appointed does not alter the case. From the point of view of international rights the official report of such a commission which has attained legitimacy solely from a power which has taken sides with one of the contending parties after a flagrant threat to the other party, would not have the least formal authority, and it would be scarcely probable that any other uninvolved government (for instance, the government of the Netherlands, from which England once gained Guiana) would be found ready to aid such a commission in its investigations through the communications of a document or the opening of their archives.

Such aid on their part toward a commission not appointed upon the grounds of arbitration or by both of the contending parties would seem to be rather a questionable, one might say an unheard of, piece of gratuitousness, which in all probability would tend to make matters worse. But so long as a foreign government makes no advance toward such an acknowledgment of the Commission of Inquiry, or so long as the foreign office in Washington did not formally indicate the existence of this commission to the English government, this commission and its labors, together with the president's message, may be ignored by the English government as an exercise of a purely internal authority on the part of the United States, although useful information may come to the North American people (expenses to be defrayed by the private purse of Uncle Sam); a matter which might be of interest also to the members of the commission itself. Moreover, Woolsey is also of the opinion that even for the United States the Monroe Doctrine in so far as it fails to agree with the common rights of the people lacks binding strength and formal authority. Adams, the author of the Monroe Doctrine and later, in 1825, president, certainly did refer in a later message to the Monroe Doctrine in order to make that doctrine apply to matters considered in the Panama Congress, 1826, in connection with Mexico and the South American republics. But the House of Representatives at that time rejected the Monroe Doctrine distinctly. And as Woolsey then said, not unjustly: "On the whole, the doctrine is not a national one." Did the government in Washington really believe in these weeks that reference could be had to some previous national authority of any binding nature in the making of such a resolution, when such authority scarcely comports with tradition and the principles of international rights?

It is evident that the question of the application of the Monroe Doctrine has nothing to do with the question, whether in the boundary litigation between England and Venezuela, the English or the Venezuelans have the right on their side. But assumed—we cannot enter that part of the discussion here—that the government of Venezuela is found to be in the right,

should that country not hesitate to obtain the powerful assistance of the United States, for the price of the recognition of an erroneous and arbitrary principle? May it not be possible that if such arbitrary and lame theories* devised in Washington claim international value to-day, the future may bring into play other theories which might not be as agreeable to the republic of Venezuela? More applicable than an application of the Monroe Doctrine the following arrangement might be. If a stronger state had a dispute with a considerably weaker state, it finally would appear most just that both parts officially prove their claims before the public and indeed by the publication of the documents. Should the result be that the stronger state is evidently in the wrong (and in order to obtain conviction on that part experts and public opinion must be given time and opportunity), then a third equally strong state may, if in its judgment such be the right step, undertake to protect that weaker state from violence. But should it be found after such publication that considerable doubt exists as to who is in the right, it would be a matter of honor for the stronger state not to object to a court of arbitration.

But until now such an officially published statement of the English-Venezuelan imbroglio has not been made even on the part of the Venezuelan government.

LUDWIG VON BAR GÖTTINGEN.

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* In regard to the Monroe Doctrine compare the already cited works of Beach Lawrence, "Commentaire sur les éléments du droit international" by Henry Wheaton, II., p. 304 *ff.*; Calvo, "Le droit international," 4th edition, I., §§ 149-167; and especially the historical representation of the matter in Wheaton's "Digest of the International Law of the United States," Vol. I., Washington, 1886, p. 57.

THE NEW SUPERSTITION.

BY J. W. MASON, ESQ.

ONE who has carefully watched the course and tone of the free silver discussion must have observed a constant reversion, as the evolutionist would say, to earlier forms of belief. The study of demonology shows how evils of former times were attributed to the agency of a devil. Diseases, accident, epidemics, loss in battle, failure in the chase, idiocy, insanity, plague, flood, famine, and every calamity which befell the race or its individuals, were assigned to one sole cause—a demon. That agency was, to the mind of benighted man, an adequate cause for every disaster. The benighted mind in modern times and in our own country has changed the form of the demon, but not its efficiency. Every known or imaginary evil which now makes itself felt in the political and industrial world is, by the so-called bimetallist, attributed to the demonetization of silver. That, to his mind, is a veritable demon, and directly responsible for poverty, stagnation in business, and decline in the price of commodities. In the frenzy of his denunciation, many of the things which are really blessings to the great majority of people, he characterizes as absolutely disastrous, and all due to the demon demonetization.

The principles of political economy; history, strewn with the wrecks of bimetallic experiments; the law of supply and demand, and the law of human nature itself, are all ignored and passed over to make room for the demoniac solution of all these questions. He thinks to exorcise this devil by making a great noise with the mouth, as his prototype in reason sought to drive away the eclipse by making a great noise with the tom-tom.

It matters not now how easily an undesirable economic fact may be explained by natural causes and conditions, it is never accounted for on any such ground. It is due solely, the advocate

of free silver tells us, to the "crime of 1873." One may look in vain through the arguments of the cheap money advocates for mention of recent economic changes as bearing upon the question of the fall of prices, or the effect on prices which has resulted, or might be expected to result, from the means and methods of doing the world's work, introduced within the last fifty years. Mr. Harvey, the chief exponent of financial vagaries, denies that improved facilities of manufacture lower the price of products. To such, the age of chemistry, as some writer has designated the last half of the present century, is a fact utterly devoid of significance in the industrial conditions of the present. The rise or fall of prices can be explained by natural law of supply and demand, coupled intimately with the industrial changes of recent years.

Take, for example, the manufacture of pins. It will disprove as well as any item the falsity of the claim that improved facilities for manufacture do not lower the price of products. In early times every pin represented a long day's work of an adult. In those days pins, like many other articles of constant and daily use now, were luxuries, enjoyed only by the rich. Means and methods for the manufacture were gradually improved until 1776, when ten men in a day of twelve to fourteen hours long could produce 48,000 completed pins. Such output in the days of Adam Smith was considered by that great political economist little less than marvelous. Now, by use of machinery, three men in ten hours can turn out 7,500,000 pins. This means that one man, by modern methods, can now make in one day what, by the older method, it took 500 men to make in the same time.

Supply and demand are as intimately linked as cause and effect. They certainly affect the price of commodities, but such improved facility of manufacture alone makes the adequate supply possible, and its effect upon the price, as in the case of pins, is self-evident.

Immediately upon the introduction of the new machinery for making pins the price fell, and this was shortly after the demonetization of silver by England in 1816. It would be just as reasonable to claim that such demonetization caused this

decline as many claims now made as resulting from the action in 1873.

Every improved industrial appliance, whether it be for making pins, wire nails, or steel railroad rails; shoes, watches, or matches; plows, reapers, or wagons; and, in fact, any necessary or luxury for the use of man, cheapens the price of the product. During all these "years of depression" the volume of business has greatly increased, while the relative profits on the amount done has decreased.

There are but few facts in history which cannot be ignored by the free silver advocate, and those which he cannot ignore he is quite liable to distort. None are told oftener than the farmers of the West that the low price of wheat is caused by the demonetization of silver. Possibly the constant repetition of that assertion has made the free silver advocate believe it. He might devote a small part of his time to certain facts which do have a bearing upon the subject.

The census statistics for several decades show that a greater proportion of the increased population of this country has sought the cities. Their growth has been out of all balance with the agricultural districts, and shows a large gain of consumers over producers. Did the farm products keep pace with the number engaged in farming pursuits, we might expect an increase in the price of such products. In 1849 there was raised in this country $4\frac{1}{3}$ bushels of wheat for every individual of our population; in 1859, $5\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; in 1869, $7\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; in 1879, $9\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. In later years this increase has been much greater, owing to the opening up and development of the Northwest through transportation facilities. For thirty years prior to 1884 the population of this country increased 141 per cent, while the wheat product increased 410 per cent. These figures relate to this country alone. The construction of railroads into extensive territory of other countries has resulted in enormous wheat yield from theretofore virgin soil, which, owing to cheap and ready transportation, comes directly into competition with wheat of the American farmer. In 1894, the United States, Argentine Republic, India, Australia, Chili, Canada, Hungary,

Russia, and Balkan States exported over 400,000,000 bushels of wheat. It seems as though these facts account for the low price of wheat much more reasonably than the demonetization of silver, or any resolutions of a political convention.

Too great fluency is often disastrous to logic. If the denouncers of the "crime of 1873" would insist on a closer acquaintance between their premises and conclusions they might maintain a greater consistency. Statements standing alone often appear differently when placed side by side.

They tell us that the price of wheat in this country is governed by the market price of Liverpool. They also say that the free coinage of silver would greatly raise the price of wheat. If both statements are true, then those who assert them assert that the free coinage of silver here will result in raising the price of products in England.

Again, we are told that free coinage will make money plenty among the people. That free coinage will bring the silver dollar equal in value to the gold dollar. They do not take the trouble to explain how, if silver becomes as valuable as gold, it is going to be any easier to get a silver dollar than it is to get a gold one, or how it will be easier to pay debts with it.

Let us see if it is fair to say that the free silver advocates ignore or distort the facts of history. They say that the Latin Union was formed for the maintenance of the parity between gold and silver; and Mr. Harvey says that it did so maintain silver at a premium for forty years. The Latin Union was formed in 1865, to continue fifteen years; and prior to the expiration of its term two of the countries, Switzerland and Belgium, ceased to coin silver, and France followed suit in 1876. Just how the Latin Union maintained silver at a premium for forty years under this state of facts would be interesting to know. But that misstatement is not so material as another which is made in reference to that union. We are told that it was formed for the purpose of maintaining a bimetallic system, when the truth is, it was formed as a defense against such system. The commission which formed it declared: "This convention places in the front rank gold money, and reduces the

pieces of silver two francs less to the rôle of token money. It therefore definitely determines the ascendancy of the gold francs and solves practical difficulties arising from the double standard."

Under this union there was free coinage of gold in any form, and free coinage of silver to individuals into five franc pieces only, while the mintage of silver by each state for national purposes was limited to six francs per capita. The union was unable to maintain the price of silver, which fell, from 1865 to 1876, sixteen cents per ounce, when France closed its mints to that metal, and they have been so closed ever since.

We are told that the United States stood in the way of an international, bimetallic agreement at the Brussels Conference. Mr. Harvey quotes France as saying at that conference: "We are here to hear your proposition, and are ready to accede to it. Name it." Such statements are worse than folly when quoted as facts. Many people do not stop to think of the inherent absurdity of France at that conference, agreeing in advance to a bimetallic proposition of which she was ignorant. France at the Brussels Conference, like other nations, spoke through her representatives, one of whom, M. Tirard, minister of finance, declared that his country "had an enormous quantity of silver, which imposed upon her the greatest prudence, and that she would not accept any proposal unless upon the condition that the stock of depreciated metal should not be increased. . . . France has no cause to complain of her present monetary system and she does not complain. She ceased to coin silver because she was confronted with an ever-increasing volume of that metal, and I think our country was perfectly right. . . . We have heard the minister of Germany, the minister of Austria-Hungary, and Sir Rivers Wilson declare that their countries had no intention of modifying their monetary systems, with which they declare themselves satisfied. Hence the question of free coinage is decided so far as France is concerned."

A distortion of history and a violation of common sense, combined, is the constant assertion and assumption that government, by the passage of a law, can create value. They assert that the

remonetization of silver will make it equal in value to gold at a ratio of 16 to 1. That gold, by virtue of currency laws alone, is enhanced in value the difference between 16 to 1 and the market value of silver, which is about 31 to 1. That is, that if it were not for the coinage law sixteen ounces of silver would be worth one ounce of gold. The history of currency disproves this completely. Gold is the standard of value desired by the commercial world, and just so long as that preference exists, coinage laws cannot materially affect its value. Gold gained its present position by force of this preference, and in spite of legal tender acts. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of gold and silver in France. It was with extreme reluctance that French legislators abandoned the silver standard. They were driven to the first step toward that abandonment in 1873, when they first realized that within one year there had been deposited at their mints over 153,000,000 francs' worth of cheapened silver as against 5,000,000 francs' worth the two previous years.

The value of gold does not depend upon the government stamp. Private parties could take gold bullion, stamp it with its weight and fineness, and it would pass anywhere in the commercial world for its full value, wherever people had confidence in the truthfulness of such stamp mark. There is no assumption about this. It has been done. Decrees forbidding the tender or receipt of gold in payment, backed by most cruel penalties, were powerless to effect, in the slightest degree, the value of the metal money. The mint stamp upon a United States twenty-dollar gold piece, or the law making it a legal tender, adds no value to the coin. It is only legal tender in this country, but it will pass current at its face value the world over. Such stamp declares its weight and fineness and that is all that is required.

To change all this, presuppose a change in the desires of man to so use it. When an act of Congress can alter such desire—reconstruct and remodel human nature—then, and not till then, can it materially and permanently change the value of gold and silver. These facts seem trite, and the only excuse for their

statement is to meet constant reiteration of false and contrary assertions on the part of free silver advocates.

It may be unfortunate—it is certainly true—that men who advocate the free coinage of silver by this country alone are looked upon as in straitened financial circumstances, interested in silver production, or bidding for votes. Similar distrust arises as to communities or states where the free coinage sentiment is rampant. I can call to mind a city of my own state, as remarkable for its promised future as it is for the collapse of a colossal boom. Its champion of free silver in Congress has done more to advertise the latter and make it known as a city of blasted hopes and shrunken values than all other causes combined. Such notoriety only makes it the more difficult for it to arise from the ruins of reckless speculation and inflated values. The hope seems to be in such cases to create a new boom by a cheap currency, when the experienced ones can unload on a set of fresh victims, who in the end will surely have to bear the burdens of an inevitable collapse. A short time since I was talking with a resident of Montana. He is an intelligent professional man, and was returning from an extended business trip East. He stated that he was convinced from careful study and observation that Montana was, according to her population, as prosperous a state as there is in the Union. That all kinds of business, farming, mining, and manufacturing, was good, work plenty, and wages excellent. That he had discovered that a contrary belief was prevalent outside of the state, and that, in his opinion, it arose from Montana's attitude on the question of free coinage. That the silver mining interest there had dominated opinion till people came to forget that there was any other interest in the state, while people elsewhere had largely adopted like views.

Anything which injures credit is hurtful to prosperity.

Those who most excite the disinterested solicitude of the free silverite are those he terms the "debtor class." One might think from his statements that people are divided by a well-defined line, on one side of which all are creditors and on the other side all debtors; that the creditors are all rich and the debtors all poor. People cannot be so divided. Nearly every man is both

a creditor and a debtor, and the greatest debtors are wealthy men and corporations of the country. Every merchant, manufacturer, banks of all kinds, trusts, loaning and railroad companies are great debtors, and most frequently the ultimate creditor of such is a poor man; and the poor man, more than any other, is most vitally interested in cheap products and a stable dollar. History shows that always in times of inflation and cheap money the rise in wages never keeps pace with the rise in price of products necessary to sustain life. Authentic statistics are abundant to prove this. Compare the amount of necessary commodities that a laborer can now buy for his day's earnings with what he could procure with a day's work in 1865, or any other period which is instanced as of the "good old times." We must deal with facts as they exist, and it is a fact that labor is the commodity which the poor man has to sell. He sells it for gold or its equivalent now. If the calamity of a depreciated currency ever overtakes him, he must sell it for that, with its diminished purchasing power.

They talk much of the debt contracted in 1873, to pay which it will now take double the amount of wheat that it would at that time. They fail to state that while the average reduction in price of products farmers raise to sell has been about twenty-five per cent since 1873, that the average reduction in price of commodities which farmers have to buy has been over fifty-five per cent.

Not only this, farmers and other people in general do not now owe debts contracted in 1873. Present debts were contracted upon the gold basis. If such basis enhanced the value of money, the debtor, when his debt was contracted, received value in such enhanced currency, and it is a peculiar mind that can discover the immorality or injustice of requiring a debtor to discharge his obligations in money equally as good as that he received. For every debt there is a credit, and any legislation which would enable the debtor to discharge his obligations with a depreciated currency injures the creditor to an amount just equal to the so-called benefit to the debtor. It has been truthfully said that the hardest way to pay debts is by repudiation. What the West

needs more than any other one thing, to say nothing of the whole country, is a strengthening of credit and not a distrust born of repudiation schemes. If the debtors were to receive a benefit by the free coinage of silver, then the very ones which would reap the greatest good will be the greatest debtors. These are not the ones which the free silverite is clamoring to aid. Savings banks, all banks of deposit, life insurance companies, and other corporations would be the great gainers by a scheme enabling them to discharge liabilities with cheap money, while their innumerable creditors would suffer a corresponding loss.

The new political party, advocating free coinage of silver as one of its chief principles and panaceas, is founded upon the assumption that all men are rascals. That all branches of government, from the executive down, are rotten and corrupt. That all business and official affairs are products of a miasmatic moral soil. The platform of that party declares: "We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized." The proposed remedy for all this evil is legislation. They propose to gather figs from thistles; to raise the fountain higher than its source; to construct an honest government out of individual rascals. Such a platform of principles will not support a great party or a great cause. They are discredited and distrusted already; and the invitation to the people of this country to a financial debauch, where the problems of the future may be forgotten in the orgies of the feast, is being emphatically declined every day, where ready acceptance was most confidently expected.

J. W. MASON.

NATIONAL CURRENCY AND HARD TIMES.

BY HON. H. H. TRIMBLE.

II.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

CAN we get relief by currency legislation? If so, what kind of legislation? Will free and unlimited coinage of silver, 16 to 1, restore prosperity? Free and unlimited coinage of silver means that the standard silver dollar shall stand on its own merits; that it shall not depend on the government to keep it on a par with the standard gold dollar. The most ardent friends of free coinage do not propose that when free coinage is established the government shall maintain the parity of the two metals by standing ready to exchange the standard gold for the standard silver dollar. The more honorable and fair-minded of them, however, claim that the rehabilitation of silver will at once enhance its value, and make the proposed standard silver dollar equal in commercial value to the standard gold dollar.

Is such a result certain? Is it even probable? *If it is not certain*, then nothing short of an economic necessity should induce us to make the experiment. If the standard silver dollar should—contrary to the claims of the friends of free coinage—fail to become commercially worth as much as the standard gold dollar, the immediate consequences would be disastrous. It is difficult to predict all the evils that might be entailed by such a measure. It is evident that it would seriously impair public credit for the time being.

It would at once drive out of circulation all our gold, amounting now to about $626,000,000 including the government reserve. This would prove a serious calamity. As soon as gold went out of circulation and became a commodity in the United States, as it was from 1863 to 1879, it would become an inter-

esting subject for the manipulation of the "bulls and bears." Black Friday, with its bold and reckless gambling and robbery, would be repeated as often as the circumstances of business created a large demand for gold in business transactions. Other evils equally detrimental would almost certainly follow.

Such a sudden and vast contraction of the currency would be certain to create great financial disturbances, destroy credit, reduce prices, and embarrass all business enterprises. Every creditor—domestic as well as foreign—fearing he might be compelled to receive payment in cheap money if he waited, would in anticipation of such free coinage press immediate payment. All bank depositors would immediately withdraw their deposits. Most banks would be compelled to suspend or to enforce payment by their customers. These customers are nearly always business men, who conduct the great business enterprises of the country, employ labor, and keep the wheels of industry in motion.

Such a contraction of the currency means a renewal of the evils of 1893 intensified. Capitalists would refuse to loan money, failures in business and bank suspensions would follow. Industrial enterprises would at once come to a standstill, and a vast army of workingmen would be thrown out of employment. There would be a general paralysis of business. These are some of the evils that would follow free and unlimited coinage of silver, 16 to 1, if the standard silver dollar failed to become at once equal in commercial value to the standard gold dollar.

What assurances have we that the establishment of such free coinage would restore silver to its ancient value and make the silver dollar as good as the gold dollar? In the investigation of this question a pertinent inquiry is, *What caused silver to depreciate?* The friends of free silver coinage say it was caused by the demonetization of silver in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and other nations of Europe, and by the United States.

This was, no doubt, a potent if not the most potent cause. As each of the nations referred to demonetized silver, the demand for it decreased and silver, obeying a universal law of trade, commenced declining in value. Not only this, but each

of these nations when it demonetized silver adopted gold as the only standard money of the nation. This act increased the demand for gold, and gold, obeying the same universal law, commenced appreciating. So the value of the two metals parted, one going down and the other up. Obeying these divergent forces, the breach widened rapidly. Until the cause of this breach is removed, the breach itself will continue. Can the United States alone, without the coöperation of these other governments, remove it?

Intelligent friends of free coinage will hardly contend that it can. It is possible that if the precious metals were never used for any purpose other than money, free coinage by the United States alone might restore silver to a parity with gold at the ratio proposed by the friends of free coinage. But while both metals are used very largely for other purposes, they will, like other articles of commerce, obey the law of supply and demand. It is believed by many that if all the nations of Europe and the United States should unite in restoring silver as a part of the standard money of the world, at a ratio to be agreed upon, such measure would raise silver to a parity with gold at such ratio. But denouncing the nations of Europe for demonetizing silver will not have such an effect. It may be unfortunate for us that these nations have the right to determine what shall constitute their standard money, and that we have no power to compel them to change it. The claim that such demonetization was the result of conspiracy among capitalists and gold-bugs will not have the slightest tendency to remove the cause. Nothing short of the actual restoration of silver by these nations, acting in conjunction with the United States, can remove it. Until this is done, it is folly to expect that silver will appreciate to a parity with gold at the old ratio of 16 to 1. Even then, silver might not be restored to its ancient value.

There is another fact that may have been a potent cause of the decline in the value of silver. The production of silver has recently greatly increased as compared with the production of gold. It is obvious that increased production of the precious metals affects their value in the markets of the world, just as

an increase in the production of any other article of commerce. So long as the precious metals are extensively used for purposes other than money, they are subject to the law of supply and demand. The friends of free coinage of silver 16 to 1 do not seem to understand fully this proposition. If they have studied it at all, they have done so within narrow limits. Their investigations seem to have been confined to the use of these metals as a currency, and to such use only as comes within their observation in business transactions in this country. They know that the silver dollar buys as much as the gold dollar; that it pays debts as well; that it circulates side by side with gold, and performs all the functions of money the same as gold. They seem to think it will do the same thing after free coinage is established. They overlook the fact that a silver dollar under our present system of currency performs all the functions of gold because the government stands ready, upon demand, to exchange the gold for it. The law, as it now stands, makes it the duty of the treasury to do this, and requires the treasury to keep a hundred millions of dollars of gold in reserve to enable it to make such exchange. The law also makes gold the standard, hence each gold dollar is worth one hundred cents. The metal in the silver dollar is worth now about fifty cents, as measured by this standard gold dollar, but it passes for one hundred cents—not because of its commercial value, but because the government, in obedience to the requirements of this law, stands ready to exchange gold for it.

What free coinage men, at the ratio of 16 to 1, propose is to abrogate this law, to revolutionize the present currency system, make the silver dollar a standard of value, open our mints to the world, compel the government to coin all silver that may be tendered it for coinage, and deliver the coin to the owners of the silver to be put into general circulation as a part of the standard money of the nation.

Will silver, *under these greatly changed conditions*, continue to circulate side by side with gold? This is the vital question. What the friends of sound money maintain is that so long as we continue international trade, and so long as gold and silver are

used for a great variety of purposes other than money, the law of supply and demand will govern their commercial value despite governmental regulation; that the value of both silver and gold will depend upon their relative purchasing power in the markets of the world; that American coins, when offered in exchange in commercial transactions, or payment of debts in foreign countries, are treated as bullion and go only at their bullion value, that the law of supply and demand is inevitable, and applies to gold and silver the same as to other commodities. The friends of free coinage do not seem to realize fully that we have vast international trade, and that while such trade is maintained, and while the precious metals are used for numerous purposes other than money, they must depend for their value upon the markets of the world; that no kind of coinage system, or law—whether federal or slate—however explicit, however vigorously or skilfully worded, can abrogate the laws of trade, or give to gold or silver a fictitious value that has any effect outside of the United States; that whenever the commercial value of a silver dollar is less than the commercial value of the gold dollar, gold will go out of circulation. All debts will be paid in silver. The debtor does not do this now because the government, as already suggested, maintains the parity of the two metals. Whenever we have free coinage the government will cease to do this. Each metal must then stand on its own merits. Of course silver will continue to circulate; it will pay debts, but if it has a less commercial value than gold, it will not circulate side by side with gold, for the simple reason that the *gold will not circulate at all.* I have already suggested that one of the causes that probably contributed to the fall in the value of silver was its increased production. The following table will show the world's production of gold and silver during the periods named:

Time.	*Gold.*	*Silver, Coining Value.*	*Ratio.*
1841-1850	$ 364,000,000	$ 324,000,000	15.83
1851-1860	1,333,000,000	372,000,000	15.29
1861-1870	1,263,000,000	507,000,000	15.56
1871-1880	1,151,000,000	919,000,000	18.05
1881-1890	1,060,000,000	1,299,000,000	19.76
1891	131,000,000	177,000,000	20.02
1892	146,000,000	198,000,000	23.73
1893	156,000,000	208,000,000	26.49

It will be seen that from 1841 to 1850 the world's production of gold was 364 million dollars; of silver, 324 millions. From 1851 to 1860 the production of gold was 1,333 millions; of silver, 507 millions. From 1871 to 1880 the production of gold was 1,151 millions; of silver, 919 millions. From 1881 to 1890 the production of gold amounted to 1,060 millions; of silver to 1,299 millions. In 1891 the gold produced was 131 millions, and the silver product, 177 millions. In 1892 the gold product was 146 million dollars; the silver product, 198 millions. In 1893 the gold product was 156 millions, and the silver product 208 millions.

The world's production of gold from 1851 to 1860 was nearly four times as great as that of silver, but the production of silver kept gaining from 1860 until 1893, when the production of silver was twenty-five per cent greater than that of gold. This certainly has been a potent cause in the decline in the value of silver, and like the other cause heretofore discussed, is one that cannot be removed by any law or any act of the United States. Until these causes can be removed it is folly to expect that the restoration of free coinage by the United States alone will restore the ancient value of silver. It is possible that if we built a wall around the United States, and wholly ceased all international trade, the free coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 would bring them to a parity and keep them there, but this is not probable so long as these metals are used for purposes other than money. It would seem certain that while we keep up a vast international trade, and while gold and silver are used for many purposes, such result cannot follow from free coinage of silver. In fact, a large per cent of the advocates of free coinage do not pretend that silver will advance in value to an equality with gold, if coined at the proposed ratio. They openly avow that their purpose in advocating free coinage is to get cheap money to pay debts. They do not stop to inquire whether the result of their proposed remedy will be to drive out gold, and thus suddenly and greatly contract our circulating medium, nor do they stop to consider what effect such contraction may have on the business interests of the country. They want cheap

money, and they propose to get it without considering consequences. They seem, however, to realize that they must have some equitable ground for advocating such a radical, sweeping, and questionable change in the currency system. So they complain that the demonetization of silver had the effect to reduce greatly the prices of all the products of industry, without reducing, correspondingly, the size of existing debts, thus compelling debtors to make greater sacrifices of labor and property in order to pay debts.

If this claim was founded on fact, there would be equity in it, and if these gentlemen could secure a change in the currency system that would remove this unjust burden without precipitating a crisis and involving the country in commercial and industrial ruin, they would have justifiable grounds upon which to proceed. But this claim is wholly false. The act demonetizing silver was passed in 1873, more than twenty-two years ago. All individual debts in existence then have long since ceased to exist. The very debts which these gentlemen desire to pay off in cheap money are debts that have been contracted under the present system of currency. To revolutionize this system in order to get cheap money to pay debts now existing would be robbery. To make this revolution suddenly, in the manner proposed by the friends of free silver coinage, and thus precipitate another crisis, would be folly.

It is conceded that the present system of currency is imperfect and changes ought to be made, but in making such changes great care should be taken not to adopt measures that may suddenly greatly contract the volume of currency, destroy public credit, bring on a crisis, and paralyze business. Care should also be taken to give us a currency sound to the core. A serious objection to the present system of currency is that there is not a sufficient basis of standard money. The foundation of the system is too narrow for the superstructure.

Under the present system of currency, the government has undertaken to supply—directly and indirectly—the entire circulating medium, and has undertaken to preserve all on a par with the standard. One feature of the law creating this system

provides that the government shall keep a hundred million dollars of gold in reserve for the purpose of preserving such parity, and the burden of such preservation is on the government and not on business interests.

We now have a circulation of something over 1,600 millions. Of this about a thousand millions—including silver—is credit money. Its purchasing power and its ability to perform the functions of money depend on the ability of the government to keep it on a parity with gold. The balance of the circulating medium is gold and it is the standard. Such a system, under existing conditions, imposes on the government a burdensome and embarrassing, not to say dangerous, task. The nation is heavily in debt. The government itself is in debt. So with many states, cities, and other municipalities, corporations, and individuals. The securities representing these debts are largely held in Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, and other European states where gold is the only standard money. When a serious stringency occurs, from any cause, in any of these foreign states, and a demand arises for an unusual amount of money, these securities are sent to the United States for payment or discount. This creates a drain upon our gold. This drain is almost sure to reach the national treasury.

All prudent banks aim to keep their reserves in gold. If they discount such securities or pay gold for them, they at once take measures to replenish their reserve. This may be and often is done by taking some of our credit money and making a demand on the government for gold. The government has recently had some embarrassing experience in transactions of this character. Whenever the gold reserve commences to shrink there are always plenty of people to sound a note of alarm. The newspapers take up and repeat the alarm. This creates doubt as to whether the government will be able to maintain our credit money on a parity with gold. All holders of American securities—domestic as well as foreign—in order to save themselves make an assault on the government reserve. A general scramble takes place, a panic ensues, more gold is withdrawn, and the government is compelled to loan its

credit in order to save the credit of the nation and avoid a crisis.

Since the demonetization of silver in Europe there has been a large increase in the demand for gold to take its place. This tends to embarrass the government in its efforts to keep a sufficient gold reserve. Perhaps 626 millions of gold would be a respectable basis for a thousand millions of credit money, but the government has only 100 millions of this 626 millions. The balance is in the hands of private owners. These private owners take very little pains to help the government in its embarrassment. They are generous enough with their gold, if the government is ready to exchange government bonds for it. In fact, strong grounds exist for believing that combinations have been organized to create a drain of the gold reserve and thus compel the government to sell bonds. A system of currency that can be thus manipulated in order to embarrass the government, or without manipulation is liable to result in such embarrassment, is weak, burdensome, and dangerous, and ought to be changed. Any system of currency that does not command the confidence of the nation is unworthy of enlightened people.

What shall be substituted for this system? This is a grave and difficult question. What we need is a currency that will at all times be safe and sound beyond question and under all conditions. While we trade with the world, we must have the world's money. We must have the same kind of money that the nations with which we trade use. We must have gold when we trade with Europe. That is where we do most of our trading and is, beyond question, the great market for American products, especially agricultural products. *If we cannot secure an international agreement for a double standard, then what are we to do?*

It is evident that until such agreement is made, we must make gold the standard, unless some inventive genius can devise some scheme whereby the United States government can coin and circulate gold and silver side by side so that each metal can stand on its own merits and be maintained on a parity each with the other. Coining the two metals on the basis of their commercial value will do for to-day, but how about the future?

Any scheme contemplating a double standard must be such that the value of the two metals shall remain at a parity in the future. Nobody has as yet suggested such a scheme. The nearest approach to it is the scheme suggested by Mr. Windom, when secretary of the treasury, but his plan did not contemplate making silver a *standard* money. It contemplated giving us a silver dollar that would at all times be of equal commercial value with the gold dollar, but not standard. His plan was to issue silver certificates to all persons who presented silver to the treasury for the amount of silver presented, measuring it at its gold value; such certificates redeemable on demand in silver, measuring the value in gold on the day of demand. This would make the silver certificate dollar of the same commercial value at all times as the gold dollar, but it would not be a standard dollar. It would, however, add a gold dollar's worth of silver to our currency for every silver certificate issued.

If such a measure could be adopted, and all the greenbacks, so-called, also all other certificates now outstanding, for which the government has undertaken to exchange gold on demand, could be retired and such silver certificates substituted, the government would be relieved of its obligation to pay out gold for credit money. It would be relieved of a burdensome and dangerous obligation. These silver certificates of the character described would be a part of the credit money of the country, but would be as good as gold. If all the credit money of the nation were converted into such silver certificates, not only would the government be relieved of the embarrassment caused by runs on its gold reserve, but the foundation of our currency would be widened and strengthened by a large addition of metal money.

It is possible that such a scheme would not be practicable for the reason that holders of silver would not deposit silver on such conditions. This is not probable. Silver owners did not hesitate to sell silver under the Sherman Law at its own gold value.

The scheme above suggested would give us, practically, all the advantages of free coinage of silver—not at a ratio that would

force into circulation a fifty-cent doller. It would give us a hundred-cent dollar. Every such silver certificate for a dollar would represent 100 cents' worth of silver at all times. It would be self-adjusting. The substitution of such a currency for the present credit currency would be an improvement on our system.

Another scheme has been suggested by bankers and other financiers. That is, that all paper money issued by the government shall be retired and bank paper issued instead thereof, thus throwing upon the business interests of the country the duty of maintaining our credit money at a parity with gold. This scheme could no doubt be made practicable, and might be wise if there were abundant safeguards for the solvency of the bills to be issued by the banks. The serious objection to this scheme is that such bank paper might not prove solvent when great crises overtake the country. Almost any kind of money will do fairly well in prosperous times. It is only when a crisis comes that the solvency of the circulating medium is tested, and it is then that we are most in need of solvent money. It is very doubtful whether any banking scheme has yet been suggested that has ample safeguards to secure the solvency of the bank paper. Any system of bank paper the solvency of which was secured beyond question would be preferable to the present system, but it is doubtful whether the nation will ever be satisfied with any system of banking that does not give us assurance of an absolutely solvent currency, and a currency good anywhere in America.

It is submitted whether the silver certificate scheme would not be preferable to any banking scheme that left the slightest doubt as to the solvency of the paper to be issued by the banks.

All paper money is based on credit, on confidence, and hence subject to distrust. This distrust is sure to come when there is a stringency. Even the government of the United States, with its magnificent credit and its unquestioned power to command all the marvelous resources of the nation to aid in meeting its obligations, and with an executive whose convictions, courage, and firmness were not called in question by its bitterest foes, was distrusted in the late crisis. Has any system of bank paper

been suggested that could command the confidence of the nation like the government has done and could do? Nothing short of a system that has the government credit behind it, just as our present national banks have, will probably be able to command implicit public confidence.

In conclusion: Herbert Spencer says there is a vestige of truth in every belief that has become general among large masses of mankind.

No doubt there is a vestige of truth in the complaints made by the advocates of free silver coinage. It is probable that the demonetization of silver by European nations produced serious financial evils. It increased the demand for gold and caused a struggle among these nations for its acquisition to take the place of discarded silver. It contracted the volume of the world's currency and increased the purchasing power of gold; it decreased the price of the products of industry without a corresponding decrease in the amount of existing indebtedness. It, by contracting the volume of currency, afforded greater facilities to financial schemers to manipulate the money market, and no doubt has been one of the causes of the financial stringency that has for years afflicted Europe.

America has not wholly escaped its baleful effects. As a nation we are heavily in debt. The stringency in Europe, the increased demand for gold, and failures in Australia and South America created active efforts on the part of European holders of American securities to convert them into gold. This effort was estimated by the fear that our government might not be able to keep our credit money on a par with gold, or that it might determine, if the drain of gold increased and became persistent, to pay our coin obligations in silver—a measure which would have reduced us at once to a silver basis.

To add to our misfortunes, the extravagant habits of our people led us to buy more than we sold, causing a balance of trade against us. There were also vast sums of money spent by Americans traveling in Europe. The result was a heavy and persistent drain of gold such as to embarrass the government, weaken confidence, and intensify hard times.

These are serious evils, evils that may have been brought about by a conspiracy among capitalists and gold-bugs. How can we remedy the evil? It does not follow that the United States should, without reference to existing conditions, and without the coöperation of Europe, restore free coinage of silver 16 to 1. Nor would the fact that Congress in demonetizing silver in 1873 may have been influenced by sinister motives justify such a measure. It might gratify feeling to reverse their action, but this is not a question of feeling. Had the free coinage statutes not been repealed, and had no provision been made for maintaining the parity of standard gold and silver, we no doubt would to-day be on a silver basis, standing side by side with Mexico. When we needed gold for foreign exchange or to pay gold debts, we would be compelled to buy it, probably paying two dollars of silver for one of gold. It is a significant fact that the enlightened nations of the world have the gold standard. Can America afford to use inferior money for its standard? Are we not able to have just as good money as other enlightened nations, or shall we allow England and Germany to monopolize the gold, while we find ourselves reduced to a silver basis? No doubt these great nations would be glad to have us adopt such a policy. It would place us at a disadvantage in the commercial world, and at the same time give them a good chance to get some of our present gold supply.

Assuming that our currency needs reform, free coinage 16 to 1 would not under existing conditions be reform, but revolution. In the discussion of reform measures, all present conditions must be clearly apprehended and firmly held in mind. To justify the measure proposed by the 16 to 1 advocates, they must be able to demonstrate that their proposed silver dollar will circulate side by side with the gold dollar. It will require a great change to restore silver to its former value, and thus assure such result. What power can be invoked to achieve this result? Will the legal tender quality of the silver dollar possess the power? This quality does not attach beyond our own territory.

Is there some magic power in the ratio of 16 to 1? If so, what is it? What is the purpose of a ratio where a double

standard is established? It is to make the standard silver and the standard gold dollar each equal in commercial value to the other and thus secure their circulation together. If there was no difference in the commercial value of the two metals, no ratio would be needed. If it made no difference as to the value of the metal in each of these standard dollars, no ratio would be needed. The sole purpose of a ratio is to equalize the commercial value of these dollars. Without such equality there can be no double standard in actual operation.

When, in the past, Congress undertook to establish a double standard, the important thing was to fix a ratio; that is, to determine how much metal should be put into each dollar—gold and silver. On what basis was the ratio fixed? Commercial value, nothing else. The inquiry was, What is the relative commercial value of the two metals? Having ascertained that sixteen ounces of silver were worth one of gold, the ratio was fixed 16 to 1.

It is now proposed to again establish a double standard. What shall the ratio be? Unprejudiced people would suppose that there could be no discussion as to the basis of this ratio. That the only inquiry should be, what is the relative commercial value of the two metals, and then fix the ratio accordingly. But the friends of free silver coinage say, "No! fix the old ratio, 16 to 1."

They ignore all change in conditions, all facts however patent, and proceed on abstract theories that find their only support in mere sentiment. A double standard on such a basis would be inevitable failure signalized by disaster.

May we expect the statute which establishes free silver coinage to develop a power that will restore silver to its ancient value? If the statute develops a power that can raise a half dollar's worth of silver, measured by the gold standard, to a dollar's worth, why not raise twenty-five cents' worth to a dollar's worth? And if the object is to have cheap money to pay debts, why not get abundance of it when it is so easy to get?

Will the increased demand for silver caused by free coinage

have the effect to raise silver to its ancient value? If *demand* is the thing needed, then the causes of increase in demand must be coextensive with the causes of former decline. Such causes will revive and be operated when the nations of Europe that discarded it restore it, and when silver production falls back to its former status as compared with gold.

The nation is not ready to adopt free coinage on the basis proposed until these assurances can be given. Mere assertion will not satisfy it. Reference to the workings of a double standard under conditions wholly different will not satisfy it. Denunciation of gold gamblers will not satisfy it. There must be a demonstration, a deduction of plain, cold logic, uninfluenced by sentiment, prejudice, or feeling. If the currency system was now in such desperate condition that a change could not make it worse, then revolutionary measures would be justified, but it is not.

Those who propose sudden and radical changes must be able to demonstrate that their remedy will improve and not imperil the financial situation. Till then let us make haste slowly.

H. H. TRIMBLE.

THE BENEFIT TO WOMEN OF SUFFRAGE RIGHTS.

VARIOUS OPINIONS.

THE question is exceedingly hard to answer. When we see the illiterate foreigner voting upon measures which he cannot possibly understand, yet which woman, without the right of suffrage, is taxed to support; when we consider the grave moral wrongs (as the age of consent and kindred evils) which her right to vote would surely correct, it seems as though a woman could give but one answer to this question; yet in view of the single phase which your inquiry emphasizes, truth compels me to reply in the negative. Woman's finer and truer sense of honor must necessarily become blunted by constant contact and consequent familiarity with the methods employed in modern politics, and in this she does but follow an inevitable law. Woman, where she has attained supremacy in savage nations, has not shown those traits of character so justly considered her pride and ornament among civilized and Christian peoples; in other words, she is largely what occupation and circumstances make her. Darwin in his fascinating study of secondary characteristics shows how the male bird in certain families has obtained his brighter plumage, greater courage, etc., solely through intensity of desire and constant exercise of these qualifications as they gradually came to him—this is but the history of the human race; man intensifies the traits he brings into prominence, while unused characteristics weaken and languish. How can we, as women, escape this general law? No doubt our presence at the polls would benefit politics—for a time, but what would the end be?

HARRIET A. MARSH,
Principal Hancock School, Detroit.

THE exercise of suffrage by woman will make her a better

member of society by affording (*a*) new educational opportunities by opening a field, now closed to her, which is supposed to demand the deepest and best thought; (*b*) the enjoyment of a moral and political right at present denied to her; (*c*) an opportunity of doing good by improving the morals and manners of political life; (*d*) by abolishing a distinction which makes the lowest and most depraved man the political superior of the highest and noblest woman; (*e*) by increasing her self-respect, self-control, self-reliance, and independence; and (*f*) by giving her all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and thereby the power to oppose and even redress public wrongs and evils.

It will make her a better wife, mother, and home-keeper by enabling her (*a*) to talk and act intelligently with her husband, sons, and grandsons upon affairs of city, state, and nation, thus making the home and not the club or bar-room the source of political feeling and action, and (*b*) to teach her children their political duties, to explain unto them the meaning of parties and legislation, to show them the moral principles which underlie all politics and government, and to make them public spirited, patriotic, and accomplished citizens.

It will elevate her character and augment the sum total of uplifting tendencies, by (*a*) broadening her knowledge and enlarging her privileges, (*b*) extending her duties, (*c*) opening new fields for her moral activities, and (*d*) increasing her adaptation to the environment of her daily life.

MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM,
Editor Woman's Department New York Mail and Express.

IF we accept the scriptural account of woman's position at the fall of our first parents, all arguments upon the equality of the sexes are fruitless. If we believe in the theory of evolution, it must be admitted that in the progress of civilization, except in sporadic cases, and at long intervals of time, woman has advanced normally in her natural position as mother and home-maker.

But within the last quarter of a century, in place of evolution has come revolution. A most unphilosophical discontent

has arisen among women that they are women. They deny that their interest in home and children is lessened by the desire to assume the duties hitherto borne by men; but statistics show that of 1,486 graduates of English colleges for women, only 280, or a little more than one seventh, have married.

The "new woman," having found her wings, uses them in new fields, forgetting that the function of maternity cannot be relegated. As a recent writer has tersely said, "Women are not and never can be free. They are all under bonds to the new generation."

Whatever tends to the reversal of the order of nature will cause degeneracy in the home and in society. Whatever lessens the nobility of motherhood is a step backward in the progress of all that is for the betterment of mankind.

DEMIES T. S. DENISON,
Member Patria Club, New York.

I DO not feel sufficiently sure of my convictions to put anything in shape, but a strong feeling possesses me that the tender, womanly qualities are not conserved when one must of necessity assume sometimes an aggressive attitude in the world. If all women could study the philosophy of Froebel and become absorbed in work for children, I think full scope would be offered for all activities and for the development of the *ewige weiblich.*

LUCY WHEELOCK, *Boston.*

THIS question has been asked, but it seems to me hardly pertinent to the issue. The right of women to vote, from my standpoint, is one of common justice. Woman has an interest in, and an inherent right to, the ballot, because by it men are elected to office who make the laws which she must obey. They make public improvements and vote taxes on her property, which she must pay, without any voice therein. They can declare war and force her husband and sons into the army and her protest avails nothing. She may become widowed and motherless at the fiat of laws which she had no part in framing and have no redress.

Woman has a natural right to the enjoyment of her own earnings, yet in the District of Columbia, and in many of the states, the law takes it from her and gives it to her husband; and in the event that her husband dies before her, it may go to her husband's heirs if she has no issue by him, and leave her in want. This is also true of the common property earned by mutual toil in those states where there are no homestead rights.

Woman is the natural guardian of her children, but her husband may will them away from her, and the law may deprive her of them even while in tender years. As the laws are now in force in most of the states a woman has no legal existence. Woman has a natural right to accumulate property by the learned professions or otherwise, to the pursuit of happiness and the emoluments of office, but she is constantly beset with restrictions and hindrances on account of her sex. It is true that men, as a rule, are better than the laws, but why not make the laws just and equal for both sexes?

I do not suppose that the enfranchisement of women will either revolutionize the world or entirely substantiate the moral law. It was tried without deleterious results for seventeen years in Utah as a territory, and for several years in Washington. It has been tried in Kansas in municipal elections, and in several instances the entire control of municipalities have passed into the hands of the women with beneficent and salutary effect.

Women have had the ballot for many years in the state of Wyoming, including the ballot for electors, and successive governors of that state have commended it. Women have also been sent as electors from that state to several nominating conventions. The women of Colorado have been voting on all questions for the past two years, and two women are now sitting as members of her legislature.

In the new state of Utah women go into the primaries and assist in making the nominations, and one of her new senators, the Hon. Frank Cannon, says: "It is their desire that every state in the Union shall now admit women to the ballot." The experiment seems to have been fairly tried, so that it should not at this day seem to be an innovation.

The effect thus far of increasing the responsibility of women by imposing upon them the affairs of state has been an increased desire to acquire knowledge, to inform themselves on parliamentary and municipal laws, and to have these studies introduced into schools and women's clubs.

As criminal statistics show that the average of criminals is about one woman to twenty men, the list of criminals is more likely to be diminished than increased by putting the ballot in the hands of women. Heretofore women have hardly known the letter of the law, to say nothing of its spirit, so far as either crime or property is concerned. The girl of the past has been educated for matrimony instead of citizenship.

The question should be, not what the result will be—results are with God—but is it right? Is woman a natural person, and as such entitled to equal rights with men?

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

As long as the ballot is the only outward sign that has any potency of expression for an individual, inherent belief, women without this right of franchise are mere ciphers in politics; they are taxed without representation, they have the proceeds of their property voted away for the payment of public debts, contracted without their consent, and often in a manner exactly in opposition to their conscientious convictions of what is right or just.

As an illustration of this latter statement, women who advocate that all war should be abolished object to the payment of any sum that is taken for military taxes; and women who advocate that prohibition should be enforced are strongly adverse to being taxed to sustain the salaries of hired officials for the criminal prosecutions of those whom "license" has made drunkards.

A bright young woman lawyer in New York not long ago said: "As women have not the ballot, all the legal rights that they may possess are in the form of a license, and, therefore, revocable at will." The right to decide what the law

shall be is greater than any revoking that the law can grant.

It may justly be argued that the reason that women should have the ballot is that such has been, and still continues to be, the law in the majority of states, that, had it not been for the chivalrous concessions conceded to them by men, in exact opposition to the written law, the position of women would have been quite as pitiable as that of the slave of the South before the shackles were stricken off.

In the District of Columbia, under the shadow of the Capitol, on whose dome is the Statue of Liberty (in the form of a woman) holding the scales of justice, the law is such that the father alone is recognized as the natural guardian of the children, and he has the power, by his will, that is indisputable (as far as the law is concerned), to give away even an unborn child to an entire stranger, in utter disregard to the divine right of motherhood, and the right that every child has to enjoy the love and the devotion of the one being in the world who for his sake approaches near the river of death; and whose love is the ever acknowledged highest type of human affection. In the plan of redemption has not motherhood approached nearer to divinity and made the womanhood of humanity have a higher claim than the other half of the human race can ever justly aver to be their own?

One of Christ's last sayings on the cross was a message of solicitude for the care of his mother, consigning her to the guardianship of his beloved disciple John.

O strange inconsistency! the objection is often made as a reason why women should not vote that by so doing they would neglect the duties of wifehood and of motherhood, and yet, while this is being said, there are thirty-six states in the Union where the women are tacitly avowed, by the letter of the law, to be incompetent, to such an extent that they are not able to have the charge of their own children, and do not even own the little ones that God Almighty (by making them mothers) has consigned to them, thus giving them one of the highest missions on earth—namely, the care of children. There are only eight states in the United States where mothers, by the law, are

recognized as the joint guardians with the fathers of their children.

Be we Americans, boasting our liberty, and suffer such things?

To show the insecure tenure by which women, as a disfranchised class, hold any rights whatever, an illustration can be given in New York State, where, in 1863, through the pleadings of women suffragists, a law was passed, by the male vote, whereby a father could not give away his child without the consent of the mother. In 1875 a provision was substituted by which the father could give the child to whomsoever he pleased, even before its birth. Three years ago this was again changed to its original status.

The law of the Hindoos, allowing infants to be thrown in the Ganges, to be devoured by the alligators, is not more cruel! This latter custom was practiced in the darkness of heathendom; the former in the light of the illuminated intelligence of Christendom. There is an additional claim made, why women should not vote, that the polls are too corrupt places for women to visit as they would thus be contaminated by blending with the associations needed for the casting of their votes.

I would ask, must women go there to exercise the right of franchise? Cannot places be adapted to them that are separate? and cannot these be established where all the environments of the most cultured refinement predominate?

Women vote now in their social organizations, without contamination, can they not exercise the same function in the exercise of political franchise without any serious detriment?

Women are most efficient clerks in offices. There are but few professions or vocations where they have not already entered and given the greatest satisfaction; and they stand the peers of men in all save the ballot. It is worthy of note that women, in places of trust, are seldom found to be defaulters, and they exercise much more patience than men. In the four states where women have the franchise it is an acknowledged fact that they have lost none of their refinement. In Kansas they have been voting upon all municipal questions for nine years. In Colorado they have had full suffrage for three years. They

are admitted to the primaries and two women are members of the legislature. In Wyoming they have had the ballot for twenty-seven years. In Kansas, as the proof of the beneficial effect that woman has on the civil administration, when she is trusted with power, it is shown that, in one of the towns where there was a woman mayor the city was at once externally cleaned and *morally reconstructed.* Liquor saloons were banished, licenses were not granted, and every other evil that the enforcement of law could expunge was thus most summarily exorcised.

Women who are desirous of doing good can only (until the ballot is given them) temporize with evil, and implore legislators to introduce "memorials," "bills," and "resolutions" for them in Congress.

They can, in the mean time, see their sisters of humanity working at starvation prices for syndicates who make it possible for Hood's poem of "Stitch, stitch, stitch" to be daily enacted, and yet they are powerless to help them. Many of the victims go down in the maelstrom of life who by these oppressive conditions are driven to suicide, destitution, or something worse.

Seventy-five thousand women in New York City alone are working for less than $3.00 per week, out of which they support themselves, and sometimes others of their family. If women had the ballot they could control such matters by at least giving an outward sign of their intense disapprobation that such conditions should exist in this glorious republic. They could, with their vote, have some influence in the management of municipal affairs, so that the lives of helpless women would not thus be crushed out by syndicates composed of heartless monopolists. The Juggernaut car of plutocracy would cease to crush under its wheels the principles of true democracy and the brotherhood of humanity.

It is argued that women will neglect their homes if given the ballot. Does it take so long to drop a vote that this unfortunate state of affairs in domestic economy would ensue?

Does it take men such a length of time to go and deposit their

votes that they neglect their counting house, their stock exchange, their factory, or their workshop? Oh, no, the wheels of activity rotate just as smoothly on election day as they do on others, and why? The spirit is gladdened with the song of freedom, and the humblest man feels his importance as a component part of the so-called "body politic" when he casts his vote in the ballot-box.

There is in every one an inherent love of liberty, a satisfying consciousness of the unit power that makes him one of this great consensus of public opinion, which is evidenced each time one has a right to vote.

The ballot power is a lever so mighty that it sways the destinies of nations, and any one who does not possess it is only a cipher in the government of the nation in which he lives.

The humblest, most uneducated, and most degraded of men have, in nearly all the United States, what is denied to the most intelligent, most highly educated, most capable public-spirited or philanthropic women—in fact, women are now ranked, according to law, with criminals, idiots, lunatics, and Indians. I ask, and all women ask, is this right? It is a matter of some surprise to our sisters across the seas, who have enjoyed more municipal rights than the women of this country for many years and yet they hear this spoken of as the land of freedom. Women in England had municipal suffrage in 1869, and six years later they had the same in Scotland.

The municipal ballot has been conferred upon the women of Ireland and other parts of the British Empire from time to time until now, in that vast domain, there is scarcely a province or an island of the sea in which the right of women to vote at municipal elections is not recognized. The right to vote for members of the county councils and for elective offices, save the members of Parliament, has been given to women in the Isle of Man, New Zealand, and Australia.

From New Zealand, from the pen of J. B. Connolly, United States consul at Auckland, comes this expression of his sentiments in regard to the recent elections in New Zealand, in which women were allowed the privilege of voting. I quote his exact

words: "The late election refutes the charges made by the opponents of female franchise that women are incapable, owing to their inexperience in political affairs, to exercise the privilege intelligently; they have fully demonstrated their unmistakable capacity in this respect beyond the possibility of a doubt by their keen appreciation of the issues involved and the sensible discrimination they have displayed in their selection of candidates."

Governor Francis E. Warren of Wyoming said: "I have seen much of the workings of women suffrage; I have yet to hear of the first case of domestic discord therefrom."

Chief Justice Joseph W. Fisher gives this statement: "I have seen the effect of woman suffrage. Instead of encouraging fraud and corruption, it tends greatly to purify elections."

In 1879, Speaker of the House Hon. N. L. Andrews, a Democrat, ratified what the Republicans said before him, and publicly announced his opinions: "I came to the territory strongly prejudiced against woman suffrage. It has produced much good and no evil that I can discern. In my opinion, the real health-giving remedy that would *counteract political degeneracy* would be the ballot in the hands of woman in every state and territory."

These are only some of the sentiments that could be appended to this article proving that women could be trusted with the right of franchise.

I am not, however, arguing that all women are educated in brain and heart so that they would be righteous voters, but the same can be said concerning men. There should, in my estimation, be certain qualifications required before any one, man or woman, should wield such an important lever of good government as a VOTE, but the demands for both should be the same.

Sex should not be the barrier that keeps women from the gift, and the sole qualification required of the genus masculine for the attainment of this privilege.

There should be equal suffrage to all women as well as men.

The *Free Lance for Woman Suffrage* says: "Is it not a startling fact that from the earliest times the human race has admitted the qualification of woman to rule a state, but still pre-

tends to doubt her capacity of deciding questions of municipal or educational importance by a vote, or of holding minor offices? The British Empire, on whose vast possessions the sun never sets, is ruled by a woman whose mental gifts have left their imprint in the history of our time. Spain, to whom this country owes its discovery, and Holland, to whom our city of New York owes its origin, are both at the present time ruled by queen-regents, to whom those countries not only confide present cares of state, but also the education of their future sovereigns. To maintain, therefore, in our country of vaunted good education, that woman is unqualified to vote on questions involving her highest interests is the antithesis of our boasted freedom."

Woman was last at the cross and first at the sepulcher. Christ said to her: "Go tell my brethren." Women are most active in all "reforms," but will always labor under a disadvantage as to the accomplishment of all the good they desire by reason of their disfranchisement.

MARY FROST ORMSBY.

BIMETALLISM A COMPROMISE.—IS IT A SOLUTION?

BY DANIEL STRANGE.

IN the midst of an era of activity, enterprise, and industry such as the world has never before known, with inventions and appliances for the production of wealth which surpass the tales of Aladdin's lamp, with such a conquest of the forces of nature as exceeds the dreams of the wildest visionary, after such an era of profound peace and production as was never before known, when we ought to be rolling in a wealth of luxurious acquisition, we find an almost universal complaint that the times are sadly out of joint. Without magnifying the ills or elaborating the complaints, it is sufficient to say that nearly all are agreed there is something wrong with modern monetary systems. Within the last quarter of a century many of the leading nations have modified or changed their systems with results which are now the subject of serious controversy. It is generally conceded that the very wealthy are now gaining in wealth more rapidly than ever before, and this, too, at the expense of the industrial classes. It is often charged that the wealthy seek to enact or perpetuate laws that aid this result. It is charged that the modern legal monetary changes are adding enormously to the gains of the millionaire money changers. Bimetallism in some form is the declared hope of nearly all who speak or write upon the subject. While monometallism is the present practice of nearly every nation; that is, they are basing their values upon gold alone or, as is the case of a very few inferior nations, upon silver alone; but no nation is at the present time basing values upon both, or using both under free coinage or like restrictions on both.

BIMETALLISM BY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT

is the dream of many and the hope of some. Its possibility and its desirability are generally conceded by economists, but that the leading nations of the world, with all their conservatism,

can be led to adopt it in time to bring relief to the present generation can scarcely be hoped.

BIMETALLISM UPON A GOLD BASIS

is the desire of some. To this it is objected that it is practically gold monometallism with all its disadvantages and none of the advantages of true bimetallism. It is even argued that it is more expensive and less satisfactory than simple gold monometallism, since all values are based upon gold, and the use of silver for token dollars is believed by many to be a simple waste of material. If dollars are to be issued by the government which depend for their value entirely upon the government's ability and determination to redeem them or receive them as equivalent to gold, it does seem a useless waste to put fifty cents' worth of material in the thing when a fiftieth part of a cent in material would answer every purpose to which it can be put as money.

Money, we were taught, has several functions. Chief among them it is a *medium* of exchange and a *measure* of values. If the former were once the most important it can scarcely be so regarded now. With so many cheaper and better substitutes, as bills, checks, drafts, orders, credits, etc., money is no longer used as the medium of exchange except in a very small percentage of our business transactions, and if the money of the world should be quadrupled, we should simply use four times as much in each transaction where it is used, or write our checks for four times as large a sum; so as a medium of exchange nothing would be gained thereby; but it is as a measure of values, and especially of deferred payments, that money is all important, and this function of money overshadows all else, and either compels justice or the grossest injustice in all deferred payments. It is charged that

GOLD

alone has ceased to be an equitable measure of values because its production no longer keeps pace with the production of commodities, and its own value is rapidly appreciating. Numerous and extensive tables have been prepared by able statisticians

showing the relation of gold to all products of toil and labor in its many applications. Conclusions are not unanimous save in this: All agree that upon a gold basis we pay upon an obligation of ten years ago much more in commodities than the equivalent of what was borrowed, but if compared with labor, gold has maintained a comparatively constant ratio. Adam Smith is often quoted as saying that labor, rather than commodities, is the ultimate standard of equity. But he wrote one hundred years ago, when manual labor was almost the only force in production. Horse power was scarcely utilized and steam and electricity were unknown. To-day twenty per cent only of the price of manufactures is paid for labor. The balance is due to machinery, while by superior appliances it is claimed the efficiency of labor is multiplied by every number from two to one hundred. Why, then, if I gave my note ten years ago for $100, the equivalent of a light work horse, of 100 bushels of wheat, of four barrels of sugar, of 1,200 yards of calico; why, I say, should I now be required by a new monetary system to pay $100, the equivalent of three horses, of 200 bushels of wheat, of twelve barrels of sugar, or of 2,500 yards of calico? The only answer the goldite can attempt is because the $100 is still the equivalent of 100 days' labor the same as before. But we do not pay our debts directly by days' works, but by the sale of our products. Neither does our creditor want his money to buy labor, but to buy commodities, or in the exceptional case he does want to buy labor. But the 100 days' labor he now buys is from two to 100 times more efficient than 100 days' work a score of years ago. Why give to the lender of money, who has done nothing to bring about the improved processes, the entire benefit from their use? Would not he be abundantly, liberally paid if we divide this difference somewhere, and pay him a half more in commodities and a third less in labor? Certain it is that this constantly accelerating payment in commodities, which the debtor has of late years been compelled to pay, has had a tendency to check industry, to discourage enterprise, to compel idleness, to impoverish debtors, and to enrich unjustly long-time creditors. The appreciation of gold as compared with

commodities is not denied by any. Compared with commodities silver has been much more stable. The depreciation of silver is pointed to to prove its unfitness as a measure of values, but it is only by comparing with gold that its depreciation is apparent. And may it not be that the divergence between the two is due fully as much to the abnormal appreciation of gold? It is often claimed that the depreciation of silver since 1870 is due to the enormous quantity mined. That such is not the case is abundantly proved by the following table:

[Reprinted from the Coinage Laws of the United States, 1792 to 1894. See United States Senate Report No. 235, page 442. The figures for 1661-1882, both years inclusive, are Soetbeer's; those of 1882-1891 are from the reports of the director of the mint.]

Period.	*Mean Annual Product.* *Gold. Kilos.*	*Silver. Kilos.*	*Ratio of Silver to Gold. (Weight.)*	*Ratio of Value Gold to Silver.*
1661-1680	9,260	337,000	36.4	15.
1681-1700	10,765	341,900	31.8	14.97
1701-1720	12,820	355,600	27.7	15.21
1721-1740	19,080	431,200	22.6	15.08
1741-1760	24,610	533,145	21.7	14.75
1761-1780	20,705	652,710	31.5	14.73
1781-1800	17,790	879,060	49.4	15.09
1801-1810	17,778	894,150	50.3	15.61
1811-1820	11,445	540,770	47.2	15.51
1821-1830	14,216	460,560	32.4	15.80
1831-1840	20,289	596,450	29.4	15.75
1841-1850	54,759	780,415	14.3	15.83
1851-1855	193,388	886,115	4.4	15.41
1856-1860	201,750	904,990	4.5	15.29
1861-1865	185,057	1,101,150	5.9	15.41
1866-1870	185,026	1,339,085	6.9	15.50
1871-1875	173,904	1,969,425	11.3	15.98
1876	165,956	2,323,779	14.0	17.88
1877	179,445	2,388,612	13.3	17.22
1878	185,847	2,551,364	13.7	17.94
1879	167,307	2,507,507	15.0	18.40
1880	163,515	2,479,998	15.2	18.05
1881	158,864	2,592,639	16.3	18.16
1882	148,475	2,769,065	18.6	18.19
1883	144,727	2,746,123	19.0	18.64
1884	153,193	2,788,727	18.2	18.57
1885	159,289	2,993,805	18.8	19.41
1886	159,741	2,902,471	18.2	20.78
1887	159,155	2,990,398	18.8	21.13
1888	159,809	3,388,606	21.2	21.99
1889	185,809	3,901,809	21.0	22.09
1890	181,256	4,180,532	23.1	19.76
1891	189,824	4,479,649	23.6	20.92
June, 1893 (average)			18.6	30.18

[The ratio here given is the commercial ratio, not the coinage ratio.]

It is thus seen that for 190 years, from 1660 to 1850, we produced about thirty tons of silver to one of gold, or 3,485,470 kilos of gold to 103,335,750 of silver, or in value two dollars in silver to one of gold, while the ratio remained nearly constant. Then for twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, we produced three dollars in gold to one in silver, or by weight 3,826,105 kilos of gold to 21,156,700 of silver, only five and one half to one in weight, and still no marked fluctuation in their ratio of value. While since 1870 in twenty-one years we have produced of gold 3,531,732 kilos and of silver 57,832,209, *i. e.*, by weight sixteen and one third times more of silver, but by bullion value a little more of gold than of silver, while their ratio of value has changed as never before and now stands at about 32 to 1.

Can any one doubt that this is due primarily to the demonetization of silver, and to the fact that the leading nations have ceased to coin it, thus putting a double burden upon gold, increasing the demand for it, and doubling its value as compared with silver or other commodities?

BIMETALLISM ON A SILVER BASIS.

Thousands demand that our laws shall offer free coinage to both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, making both full legal tender, and call this bimetallism, although the more intelligent of them are aware that it would result in deporting our gold and leaving us upon a par with Mexico with a silver basis only. They know that no man would take $10,000 in gold bullion to the mint to have it coined if he could sell it and buy silver to coin more than 10,000 legal tender dollars, or having it already coined, they know no man would use his gold as money if he could sell it for more than its money value. They ignore the fact that all recent indebtedness is contracted upon the present basis and they would work the grossest injustice by making legal payment with dollars which they habitually boast shall be the equivalent of but a bushel of wheat. Laboring men clamor for it, forgetting that their labor contracts now call for the best of dollars, and under the new *régime* their money would buy but half as much. Insured men and savings-bank and building and

loan depositors ask for the change, forgetting that every dollar they collect will be less valuable than now. Farmers demand it because it will advance prices, but they forget that all other prices advance long before farm products take an upward turn, forgetting that when all values become finally adjusted they gained nothing but the handling of two inconvenient dollars where they now handle one. Men owing mortgages past due clamor for it, thinking they can more easily make payment, forgetting that thereby they offer the strongest possible provocation to the immediate foreclosure before the cheaper money shall be forthcoming. Thoughtless men ask it, saying we call for both gold and silver, forgetting we tried it for eighty years and never had but one metal at a time and that always the cheapest. Inflationists demand it, thinking thereby we shall have two dollars where we now have one, forgetting that its first effect will be to contract our currency by the whole amount of our present gold and gold certificates, a larger amount than the present capacity of our mints could coin of silver in fifteen years. Silver men demand it, saying "if gold can't take care of itself let it go," forgetting that wealthy men will take care of the gold and leave us with naught to care for. Debtors ask for it to give them an unfair advantage, forgetting that nearly every law ever enacted to give advantage to debtors has been turned against them, having an opposite effect from that intended. Small tradesmen ask for it, knowing it will work rapid fluctuations in prices, but forgetting that with fluctuations in price, if they are not the first to suffer, they are the first to go to the wall. Wrong men ask for it, saying, "they have taken the advantage of us for twenty-five years, and now we want a chance to get even," forgetting that they who have been in position to take advantage of them from fluctuations in currency are still in position to take a double advantage of them again. Poor men ask for it, forgetting Daniel Webster's assurance that of all devices for cheating the poor and the laboring men there is none so efficient as a fluctuating currency. Others demand it, knowing that a silver basis will nominally give us twice as much money for all we sell as now, but for-

getting the inevitable contraction that must first precipitate such a panic as America has never yet known.

Where then is the escape from a constantly appreciating basis working constant injustice or a rapid unsettling of values with violent injustice? May it not be found, where truth is ever found, midway between the extremes? Is it not to be found in a

REAL BIMETALLISM,

which may be established by our nation without waiting for any other? Why not make gold and silver jointly the basis of all values, treating both metals alike, discriminating against neither, and insuring the use of both at all times, as both together are subject to less fluctuations at all times than either separately? Coin both upon precisely the same conditions for whosoever brings both to the mint. Let the government lead in the policy of paying both, half and half, on all her obligations to pay "coin of present weight and fineness," and whenever she receives coin receive both metals, half and half. Enact that the legal tender in the payment of all debts shall be gold and silver, half and half (allowing for little variations from this in making change), or United States notes or certificates which are themselves redeemable in coin, half and half.

EQUITY

would be more nearly established by this than by any other plan yet suggested. A large proportion of our indebtedness, national, municipal, or individual, was incurred upon a basis of value vastly below that in which we would pay. All obligations in "coin of present weight and fineness" were understood to be paid in the cheaper metal at our option. It has been the invariable practice of individuals and of nations to pay in the cheaper. We did pay in the cheaper while gold remained the cheaper and would without doubt have changed to silver when it became cheaper in 1876 if it had not been that, in some way, the silver dollar was unknown to our laws for five years, from 1873 to 1878. So eminent a goldite as Secretary Carlisle is reported to have said he believed it would have been a better policy from the first to pay in the cheaper metal, although he

thinks it would be disastrous to make that change at this time. Abundant equity, in fact, great liberality, will be shown those early creditors if the balance of those long-time obligations are paid half in each metal or its equivalent. Millions of other obligations have been incurred upon a gold basis of nearly its present value, but not with the pledge or agreement that the basis shall be forever appreciating and the obligation forever increasing. Fluctuations in value from the adoption of the new scheme can be neither great nor rapid, and it is believed it will offer a more equitable payment than any other yet suggested. Not the least merit of the proposed scheme is its

PRACTICABILITY.

Its adoption could occasion not a flutter or ripple in our business transactions. No recoinage or calling in of money is necessary, and no hoarding of gold or paying with a cheaper money is possible. Every dollar in circulation would continue in circulation and still be "good as any other dollar." Gold and silver certificates could be received as their equivalents in coin and cancelled and *coin* certificates issued in their stead. Any one taking bullion to the mint could receive certificates therefor and government could coin and retain the coin, holding for ultimate redemption as large a percentage as is thought necessary. We now have in this country and in the world, and are producing annually about sixteen times as much silver as gold by weight or by value, half and half. The adoption of this scheme would occasion a less demand for gold bullion and a greater demand for silver and tend to bring their bullion value to a parity, but for this we care but little. When coined their parity is absolute and by requiring the bullion dealer to bring half of each to the mint, justice is done alike to all producers. Has not this scheme all the advantages claimed for either the gold basis or the alternating basis without the disadvantages and inequities of either?

DANIEL STRANGE.

LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

BY WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

IF there is one thing above another which the average politician has confidence in, it is the permanence of his party's existence, and coördinately therewith the necessity of such existence. We have seen parties exalted and practically deified by their very loyal adherents until the most independent of us are apt to feel at times a sense of loneliness in such independence. One gets to regard party organization and discipline as something of almost miraculous meaning. The churchman places it almost side by side with his breviary or prayer-book. The merchant balances his accounts and the chances of party success almost in the same thought. The feeling, always intense with very many, enters even into family circles, to say nothing of ordinary social intercourse in neighborhoods. There are some men who consider their party as sacred as the Constitution, the Union, and the flag. Nowhere on earth is party feeling stronger than in this, or "these," United States; and as an apt illustration of its intensity and bitterness I have but to note that the two adjectives which I have just quoted—poor little, inoffensive, peaceful things!—have been supposed in the connection in which I have just used them to mark the essential difference in thought and temper between the Republican and Democratic parties respectively—just as the printer capitalized the N of "Nation," or adhered to his beloved "lower case," according as he was setting up for a Republican or Democratic office.

I do not wish here to make any invidious distinctions in favor of either of these great parties, for it is not at all necessary to the object in my mind, and in fact might be prejudicial. The idea is simply this: that neither of these two great parties, nor any which may subsequently arise on the ruins of either, will ever be able to hold or greatly hamper the independent vote;

and further to emphasize, if such emphasis be needed, the fact that this independent vote is the country's greatest possible safeguard.

This postulate will be accepted by many as a thing of axiomatic truth, so why the use of argument? But it is the melancholy experience of too many that what we accept in theory we do not always vigorously fight for in practice, and, as a matter of fact, the tyranny of party opinion and party constraint was never stronger in this country than at the present time, when the independent vote seems most determined to assert itself. There is a numerous class of men—very good men, most of them—who seem determined to carry the axioms of ordinary business into politics and to set facts before ideas. Accustomed to system in business, they respect anything that has the air and appearance of a system in politics. To these therefore the campaign headquarters, the names of the parties and of the leading men—old political hacks, perhaps—the badges, brass bands, and other paraphernalia of the early struggle, have a loftier meaning than the ideas involved themselves, and they readily subscribe to the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils. Out of such material it is very hard to make independent voters, and I do not know that the game would be worth the candle. Yet it is well to understand them and see them as they are, in order that we may the better work on those who are not thus hidebound; for independence in politics is what we emphatically need.

The regular partisan is not necessarily a man of obscure or undetermined convictions on cardinal theories. He may be an ultra-protectionist or an out-and-out free trader—a "gold-bug" or "silverite" of virulent type. Perhaps most frequently he is, although this extreme quality of opinion is none the more to his credit except in so far as it may seem to indicate a certain kind of political honesty and sincerity of devotion. But first of all, taken with reference to his attitude in ward or township affairs, he is a firm believer in practical politics. He will vote for the nominees straight through just as if he were obeying a legislative or congressional caucus mandate. Besides this he accepts party

ideas and decisions as an ultimate rule of faith and practice, and carries the tone and feeling of the caucus or the primary into his daily political habit of thought. Such a man has great reverence for the dictum of party chiefs and regards such men, especially if they be particularly successful, very much as the peasant of European lands looks up to king or noble. This personal hero-worship is a strong American trait, and while it has its romantic and chivalrous side it has a burlesque and indeed grotesque side also—that unreasoning idolatry which exalts frequently mediocre, perhaps corrupt men, to the plane of high political eminence.

The practical politician looks to immediate results and is terribly downcast over defeat. The man who votes from conviction and independently has sufficient faith in the justice of his cause to believe that it will ultimately triumph, but whether it is destined to triumph in his day or not, and whether it is destined to triumph at all, it is the path which he should pursue, for in this country we imperatively need ideals rather than special men, and we need the exercise of the highest aims and the play of the highest motives in politics.

I do not believe in this shibboleth of universal political corruption. It is not so. Our politicians are not all hopelessly corrupt; in fact, there are very few comparatively who come under this category. Water rises as high as its own level, and to admit that we are like Diogenes hunting with a candle for an honest man in politics is to admit practically that we could not fill the bill if we offered our own selves in the breach. If our neighbors who run for office are all rascals, the likelihood is that we have some of the undesirable quality also. For this reason I would deprecate that tiresome and monotonous cry of political corruption to which so many give such credulous assent. We shall not purify politics by fighting windmills or assuming Pecksiffian airs. What we do need is to form our own opinions and vote on them in each and every instance fearlessly and faithfully as long as God shall give us strength to go to the polls. And to this intent we must study—not merely long tiresome tables of the tariff, or of gold and silver statistics and

theories as the signs of the times—the general conclusions adduced by terse and vigorous editorial and magazine critics—and also to hear the spoken words of intelligent and thoughtful men in our own communities. Of course there cannot be a separate ticket at the polls for every hue and shade of political divergence from the standards of the two great parties. From my point of view, for one, we shall do more effective work this fall by voting for one or the other of these, because it is likely that unless the election is thrown into the House of Representatives one or the other of these parties will clearly decide the issue and a vote for a third or fourth party is apt to be practically no vote at all except as an additional encouragement. Besides, the issues of the tariff or of a further revision and of monometallism or bimetallism are up in this campaign, and these are momentous business issues.

This independent vote is medicine that each of these great parties needs and needs badly. Just so surely as you reward either at the polls in a national election by a large majority you will live to regret it. They act as if the minority had no rights, and let this be set down as almost gospel truth—that the business of the independent contingent is to look out, among other things, for the rights of this very minority. What is a minority to-day is a majority to-morrow, and as we have no means in our constitution of appealing directly to the country at any great crisis, but must for a year or two or more let the virtual minority rule, so we must be up and ready with our votes to make that minority a majority at the earliest possible opportunity if we think it has swung around again to the right. What a grand thing it is to thus vote—not at the dictation of a few self-constituted bosses, but in each case as one's conscience and political judgment dictate. It is that spirit and practice which shall twine new bays of moral victory around the blue field and bright stars and gleaming stripes of our glorious flag. Let us not be weary in such well-doing. The independent vote is the greatest safeguard of the honor and success of the United States as earth's greatest and noblest republic.

WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

AN AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF STATESMANSHIP.

BY W. T. TREDWAY, ESQ.

NO man requires more strength of mind, none a keener sight, than he who pilots the ship of state. Never has statesmanship been confronted with such difficult problems as at present. Never in the political world was there such a call for systematic study, thought, and investigation.

The statesman's responsibility is great; his power for weal or woe to a nation incalculable. It does not require an opera-glass to see the part which he plays on the world's stage. In the drama of state he is the hero or star-performer. His part well played may cover a multitude of defects in the minor characters; poorly played, embarrasses all. Upon the shoulders of our statesmen rests the weight of this mighty nation.

My plea, then, is in behalf of educated statesmen; in behalf of a school of politics; in behalf of an institute of statesmanship, in which law, ethics, and history, political economy and the science of government shall be given a more careful, prolonged, and systematic study; an institution in which men shall rise by their merit, and not by their trickery; an institution which shall place our congressmen and representatives on a higher and more equal footing.

The solution of difficult problems requires time and thought. It is a weakness of our form of government that we have to rely upon selfish private individuals for the solution of the great problems of state or be content with their *extempore* solution in Congress. The sessions of Congress are but the recital of local experiences and local wants. They are experiments with dangerous chemicals of which the majority of the experimenters have no previous knowledge. It requires a term or two for members to fit themselves for making laws. How much time and money are thus annually frittered away. Congress is not

the place for experiments. Respect for law lies in its stability. Its frequent change is suicidal to itself, a bane to humanity. The forced and hurried enactment is too frequently followed by the speedy repeal.

It is impossible for water to rise above its source. If we would have an educated nation, we must set the example at headquarters. The great boons to humanity have ever been the offspring of scientific investigation and thought. And if it has solved such *mirabile dictu* problems in other fields, why not focus its light in some of the great problems of state, which as a nation we must solve soon or never?

Governments seem never to have grasped the maxim that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." If millions of dollars can be spent annually in support of a standing army and navy, why can we not expediently spend a few dollars in an institute of statesmanship? What might have been the condition of this country to-day but for the West Point drill of Ulysses S. Grant? His was a drill for emergencies in time of war. There are emergencies in the political arena which must be fought "out on this line if it takes all summer." Nowhere is "a little knowledge" such "a dangerous thing" as in our statesmen. Their order of intelligence, though fair, is not up to the attainable. The law-maker must be able to meet the demands of this striding age; and, by his sagacity, the emergencies of the future. Our forefathers had only the plain arithmetic of government; we have the algebra; but the future American statesman will have the integral calculus. "Coming events cast their shadows"; now we have a complication, an overlapping of shadows; in short, a *camera obscura*, in which the western sun is painting some dreadful pictures. The people of the lower Mississippi, when they hear of heavy rainfalls at the source of that great stream, take every precaution to save themselves and their property from the inundation to follow. The governmental stream is flowing smoothly, but its waters are already discolored by heavy rains in the uplands. The flood is coming. The question is, shall we build levees; or shall we, in American haste to get rich, forget the rising waters and

suddenly be washed out into mid-ocean—there to sink as so many nations of the past?

Statesmanship must be a vocation, not an avocation. We must have thinkers in government, as well as workers in other spheres. Is it urged that such an institution would lead to class legislation? How can it be worse to have the rule of the educated than that of the unscrupulous wealthy? Would it lead to the centralization of power? How can we approach nearer to an oligarchy than at present, when a few shrewd and reëlected statesmen take the lead and the initiates follow? There is a point in the political compass where the plutarchy and the oligarchy join. Toward this point we are tending.

No; if a man can add ten years to the efficiency of his life's work by a college education; if the lawyer, the minister, or the physician can accomplish more and do it better by taking a special postgraduate course, why cannot the powers of statesmanship be enhanced by a special study? The theological seminary, the medical college, and the law school ennobled and purified their respective professions, and sounded the death knell to impostors, quacks, and shysters. A parallel institute of statesmanship would bring about a much-needed reformation in politics. It would ennoble the profession and make it attractive to more talented and able men. It would give us better public servants; we would need fewer of them and could pay them better. It would give us more unity of policy, fewer changes in law, and more respect for it; more assurance and less stagnation in business circles. Labor and capital would shake hands, liberty and law would be wedded, strikes, riots, and mobs would give headings to chapters of history instead of leaders in the daily press. It would ring out corruption and ring in an era of prosperity and contentment such as no age or race has ever seen. Such an institution would bind the North and the South, the East and the West, by cords never to be broken. It would inspire patriotism, loyalty to rulers, and every public virtue. It would be the ineffable glory of our own land, the admiration of the world.

W. T. TREDWAY.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN ITS BEARINGS UPON THE INTERESTS OF WORKINGMEN.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

WHEN Mazzini, the great Italian patriot, addressed the workingmen of his country in 1844 he chose as the title of his essay "The Duties of Man," in sharp antithesis to the great cry which heralded the French Revolution—"The Rights of Man." No reformer, certainly, was more sensitive than he to the rights of man, in the recognition of which liberty was cradled, but with true religious intuition he perceived that rights were an empty possession even to the freest of us, unless the heart that rejoiced in them was alive to the obligations they conferred, unless the mind which discerned and demanded them humbly recognized them as the mother of duties. Mazzini pointed out to his fellow countrymen how barren to the world had been the possession of rights gained by the Revolution, where the advance was followed by no recognition of duties to one's self and one's fellows. The recognition of individual rights must be followed by a universal obligation. He appealed to his hearers with a breadth and simplicity which must have at once erased the line which separates the workingman from man, and have reached the hearts of his hearers at a bound, for the heart leaps artificial dividing-lines. "I intend to speak to you according to the dictates of my heart," he said, "of the holiest things we know—of God, of humanity, of the fatherland, and the family." And so in speaking to-day to workingmen of the appeal which civil service reform should make to them, I do it with these four great human relationships enumerated by Mazzini firm in my mind: God, humanity, the fatherland, and family. But not so much to workingmen as men of a separate and distinct class do I speak, as to them as members of the great human family. This nobler point of view will not exclude the consideration of

those especial ways in which civil service reform is of peculiar benefit to wage-earners.

The true American workingman and the true American, of whatever trade or work in life he be, are one in this, that both desire the full benefits of American institutions, both wish to see the government of the United States stand for liberty, for equal laws, under which men may not be tempted to change their conceptions of God as a just and loving Father, of humanity as the great family of mankind, in which some day may be realized the idea of universal brotherhood, and under which the family may become a holy and true relationship, the fountain of domestic virtue, the support of the state, which I for one believe that it was ordained to be. We are one, workingman and other man, in desiring that America shall be a nation in which these ideas that appeal to all hearts shall be nurtured and have sway. I take it that the real American workingman will be quite content if the government under which we live be honest and true, if it truly be guided by great principles of liberty and justice to rich and poor alike, to obtain which its great founders gave their life, and to preserve its entirety and its integrity, to prevent a rupture that would have been fatal to the realization of its ideals, its saviors of thirty years back shed their patriot blood.

If I mistake not, at the bottom of industrial discontent, whose mutterings and moanings create at times vague uneasiness and concern in the business of the country, flashing out into revolt, showing fierce tooth and claw, as at Homestead or Chicago, is the feeling that there exists to-day some dangerous dislocation between a real Christianity and American political ideals on the one hand, and existing American Christianity and existing politics on the other. A more or less vague idea exists in the minds of American workingmen that capital and wealth have influence with the political machinery of the country, with legislatures and executives, that plain citizens do not possess; that monopolies and great corporations can by corrupt and dishonest methods so control the conditions of wealth-getting that enormous and unjust profits often accrue to them, which are out of all

proportion to their merits, and with total disregard of the rights of those who are dependent upon their pleasure for daily bread. The workingman feels that more and more is capital organizing itself into trusts and monopolies, by which the necessaries and the luxuries of life are put at a price which will bring enormous wealth to the beneficiaries of the monopoly and a corresponding heavy burden upon the people. Believing this, is it to be wondered at that the American workingmen organize in self-defense, and that they form trades unions and labor organizations of various kinds, for operations, offensive and defensive, against those whom they believe to be hostile or indifferent to their liberties and their rights? Or is it marvelous that the method by which the workingman defends himself against corporate enemies should often lack in wisdom, that it should be sometimes violent or even criminal; therein being akin in spirit to the methods which have been more than once adopted by his opponents? Truly the workingman would be much less than human if he never shared in human folly. The question for the American citizen to ask, as he witnesses the growth of this gigantic conflict, should not be, "Is the American workingman always justifiable in his choice of weapons?"—he is by no means so; we know that neither he nor his foe is always scrupulous in this regard—but "Has he any just ground of complaint?" If so, let us, who have had especial time for thought and study of these questions, show him if we know any rational, safe means for reaching the root of the trouble.

To those American workingmen who care to know, I make the plainest possible confession of my political faith, the simplest statement of those principles and methods which are wholly American in spirit, and which need especially to be enunciated and practiced at this crisis, principles of which we all have equal need for the preservation of our rights, for the right-working of the great national institutions which we enjoy by inheritance.

This is the era in the United States of a great movement to secure honest and sound administration. This era began when the Civil War closed; when it will end we cannot say—not, at

least, until what we seek be attained. But that the agitation for sound administration, observable throughout the country, is spreading and strengthening, we feel assured. What we want to secure is a perfectly sound political fabric, not a rotten, worm-eaten one which will not bear the strain of the fierce storms that may come upon it. In our legislatures, national, state, municipal, we need honest and wise men; men faithful to the people who elected them; not corrupt or foolish men who can be bought by the highest bidder or who change their course with every wind. We need strong men in power, so that American institutions may resist the attacks made upon them by those tempted to lawlessness in times of civil commotion, who think they see in law, which should be their protection, and in the representatives of law, enemies to liberty and instruments of oppression. At these supposed enemies they would strike with blind and savage fury. With such anarchists the American workingman has neither part nor lot, for his wages and welfare depend upon stable capital and public security. These cannot even exist where the red flag floats. Law, liberty, and security are the indispensable conditions of commercial prosperity, and commercial timidity and commercial disaster touch with their blight the wage-earner first. His sails are struck first and fiercest by the ill-wind of financial storm. But there is another form of anarchy with which we, as a nation, are much more likely to be threatened than that which shouts its challenge to our civilization from ignorant and imbruted minds, and for the most part in foreign tongues. The anarchy which threw its bombs at the police in Chicago seems but juvenile, malicious mischief compared to that which pictured its purpose and methods in the famous, or infamous, oil monopoly of Cleveland, by immoral and illegal secret compact with great railways controlling the highways from the oil regions to the markets of the world, stifling an industry on which the prosperity of communities rested, driving towns and cities to desperation, in gaining for itself such wealth as imagination can scarcely compute. The oil monopoly, with its merciless destruction of industry in that especial department of business, is but an example of numerous

other monopolies which tend to pursue similar purposes by similar methods in every branch of business. Their wealth is so great, running up into untold millions, their advance is so remorseless, uncontrolled by conscience or scruple, that laws, legislatures, courts, colleges, and church are threatened by them. I ask not alone workingmen, but all men who believe in the unreserved application of moral principle, of justice, and righteousness to all affairs of life, whether the republic has faced so strong an enemy since slavery fell, if, indeed, in that institution she faced one so dangerous? Examine the evidence piled up in the reports of state and federal investigating committees, of the practices and results of the great monopolies—whisky trusts, oil trusts, and the like—which has been so effectively marshaled in a recent notable publication, Lloyd's "Wealth Versus Commonwealth," and tell me whether in this shameless and audacious history we have not sufficient evidence of a force for evil in the present business world which in subtle sagacity, in breadth of operations, in the ramifications of its influence, and in the infernal splendor of its designs, is truly an industrial Lucifer of the first magnitude. It stands to-day as the most astute and majestic enemy of the republic, already subjecting our institutions to their severest test, as it is testing the gold of an individual and national character by the severest analysis in its fiery crucible. It has debauched our politics from the primary to the Senate. It has so long had our legislatures in its pay that their servility has ceased to astonish us. It has swayed our courts, and its shadow still rests upon some of them. Its operations have infused moral malaria into the atmosphere of our entire business world, making men listless and nerveless in the presence of crimes which, if committed by individuals or in other spheres of life, would have roused them to swift activity. But recently we have seen the demand for investigation of corruption charged upon a member of the Senate of the United States voted down under the influence of one great trust; we have seen in that body party interests betrayed openly and shamelessly under the influence of another, exciting apparently but little public indignation. Turn to nearly any of the great cities of the country—

to New York, Chicago, to Philadelphia, New Orleans, Baltimore, or others—and you will find the most flagrant violations of all rules of honesty and sound government plotted, executed, and persisted in by a corrupt combination of great corporations, great monopolies, and a political machine manned by mercenary politicians and commanded by mercenary bosses. We see corrupt councilmen and aldermen, corrupt police departments, ill-enforced or unenforced laws, places of prostitution and liquor saloons, in known alliance with the very authorities that should suppress them. We see public franchises of enormous value sold for a song, or given away, to these corporations by men whom we know to be their creatures, bought with their money. Many of these monopolies have a curious illusive double nature: they play the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde rôle to perfection. Often their presidents and directors are our leading and influential men, prominent in our best society, in our churches, trustees of our hospitals, colleges, and charities. But they have a man, or men, well adapted for the purely practical part of their business, who know how to "see" to good purpose legislators and councilmen who have legislative favors to grant. These prominent railroad men, these captains of industry, do not believe in mixing politics and religion, nor do they believe in allowing their ministers to mix religion with politics. They believe in what they call "a pure Gospel," which means impure politics. They do not believe in the simple application of ethics to daily business and political life. If our colleges will not teach such application rigorously, if they will not question the methods by which much of their patrons' wealth has been obtained, they will enormously endow institutions of learning; if the pulpit will keep silence upon the eccentricities and irregularities of their business methods, they will endow churches and support charities by liberal gifts, and send their ministers and their families on excursions at home or abroad. If cities and society will courteously receive them and not look too curiously at the foundations of their fortunes, they will raise statues to great men, enrich art galleries, and beautify parks; and in all, perhaps, but one vital respect play the part of the generous pa-

tron and citizen. Anarchy means confusion, chaos, unrepressed violation of law, the overturning of law. Is not, then, this conspiracy between corrupt business and corrupt politics, notwithstanding its elegant veneer, a death's head hidden beneath gems? Is not this to the impartial judgment—anarchy? Is it not, moreover, the most potent provoker of the conventional anarchy with which we are so familiar? Have not wage-earners, workingmen, and all other true Americans reason to fear it? Is there any David, with shepherd's sling and smooth stone out of the brook, who dare meet this Goliath? I believe that such a champion will be found in civil service reform.

I believe that the spirit of civil service reform, and its practical application to our politics by reasonable methods, will prove the most effectual corrective for the evils of which we complain. Civil service reform is the name which covers a great principle; that principle is honesty and sound sense in the use of non-political appointive offices. Civil service reform rules are the embodiment of that principle in politics. Civil service reformers ask a very simple thing: that every non-political appointive office in the Union, whether in the federal, state, or municipal service, should be filled in accordance with principles of rigid honesty. This reform asserts that all such offices are not concerned with carrying out party policy, but only with an honest and efficient performance of duty in the interest of the entire body of citizens for whom that duty is done. To effect this purpose, these reformers say, a proper and reasonable test should be applied to every applicant for such office; which test should be open and competitive and fitted to show whether the applicant really possessed the required qualifications or not. Thus, for example, to a person seeking a position, the duties of which were astronomical in their nature, questions in astronomy and mathematics would be applied. Whereas to one seeking a humble position, we will suppose in the labor service of a great city, would be given the most simple and rudimentary form of examination possible; an examination, possibly, which would not embrace any form of book learning, even writing, but which would simply relate to the applicant's physical strength,

his experience, and his character. Such an examination might give the applicant a certain preference over others if he had served his country in the army or navy, and if he had a family to support. I mention these differences in the character of examinations to show their complete adaptability to differing circumstances, and to meet the criticism often made that they cannot really test practical fitness. Persons who have passed such an examination at the hands of an impartial commission, whether national, state, or municipal, would then have their names registered on a list called the eligible list—the list from which men may be chosen—then the appointing officer, whether the head of a great national department or the head of a city bureau, when he had a vacant place to be filled, would have the right to choose one from the three highest names on this list to fill it. Then, if for any reason the person chosen, after due trial, proved unsuited to his work, he would be removed and the next on the list substituted, and so on until the right man was found. See how simple and reasonable this plan is, how wide its application, how great the advantages flowing from it! First, it affords an orderly and systematic way of doing business, instead of a disorderly, slipshod way; second, it relieves the appointing officer of the intolerable pressure for appointment to which he is subjected by a crowd of importunate, and often perfectly unsuitable, office-seekers; third, and most important of all, it stops the greatest source of political corruption. We know how great this pressure often is at Washington, upon the beginning of a new administration, so that the president and his cabinet are nearly distracted by it. They have no time for their real duties. Under the tyranny of this selfish system, these, the highest executive officers of the government, whose time and energies should be devoted to the consideration of the serious national problems which confront them—questions of finance, of administration, of foreign policy—have been obliged to fritter away much of their time in the ignoble and corrupting practice of dispensing offices; and to do this, moreover, under conditions which usually forbid any full inquiry into the rival claim of applicants; compelling a

favorable decision mainly by clamor or by force of partisan service. Do you not see how this system is not alone foolish and unsatisfactory, but that it is at the bottom false and dishonest? Its falseness and dishonesty infused themselves into the entire fabric of American politics, not in one sphere alone, but in all. Honest men, men who have strict ideas regarding public duty and public work, have been more and more put to a disadvantage by it. They have found the public service distasteful to them, and, indeed, that it was becoming harder and harder to enter it. Proper protection and rewards are not held out to duty; the sacrifice of conscience, character, and independence is too great under the spoils system. Reasonable and honorable party organizations, honorable and inspiring party leadership, such as were observable in the early days of the republic, give way to the unscrupulous machine, the unscrupulous boss. These were the conditions, these the men that naturally invited the alliance of great trusts and monopolies, whose gigantic operations and enormous fortunes, often swiftly and dishonorably gained, have alarmed thoughtful men. It was the existence of such evils as these, that had buried their roots deep in the soil of the spoils system, drawing their main power and sustenance from it, that led, some twenty-five years ago, Mr. George William Curtis, the purest of American patriots, and with him a corporal's guard of like-minded men, drawn from both parties and from different states, to become aggressive champions of civil service reform. Their weapon against this giant of corruption was apparently as insignificant as the sling of the Hebrew youth. They said simply, make American government perfectly honest in its beginnings, and it will become honest in its ends. Lessen the chances for bad men to control politics by stopping their control of spoils, and good men, finding their work both more inviting and easier to perform, will begin to make their wholesome influence felt in public life. Make the machinery which creates executives and legislatures, by controlling nominations, true and right, and corruption will of necessity be driven out of executive chambers and legislative halls. Remove from the itching fingers of the

political boss the great bribery chest which contains approximately 200,000 salaried federal offices—not counting the vast number of state and municipal offices—and we shall largely destroy his power for evil. We shall cut off the motive power which drives his machine.

Through long years of popular indifference and misunderstanding, and in the face of contempt, ridicule, and of the open and secret opposition of politicians, Mr. Curtis and his friends fought the good fight. A Federal Civil Service Bill was passed, a commission to superintend the details of its enforcement was created. Group after group of appointive offices were brought under the restraining sway of the law. These offices were rescued from the brutal ravage of political spoilsmen and restored to the honorable possession of the entire people. Offices are ceasing to be coin in the purses of powerful senators, of party bosses, to be thrown to a relative, a favorite, or a vassal: under fair competition they have become open to the use of all. To-day approximately 82,000 out of the 200,000 federal appointive offices are covered by the civil service rules. It is but a question of time, and of not very long time, when the entire number will be covered, and when one of the most serious elements of the corruption of American politics will no longer exist. I ask every thoughtful, intelligent workingman if that is not a consideration that he, and every other lover of country, must desire?

But civil service reform has another application which is only now beginning to be seriously considered.

Our great American cities, in which, for various causes not necessary now to discuss, vast populations are centering, where wealth, intelligence, enterprise, commerce, and manufactures, the homes of the rich and the poor, are focused, most need civil service reform. Here every question affecting human life and happiness—questions of sanitation, of sewerage, of water supply, of transportation, of public parks and libraries, of taxation, of the care of the poor—assume accentuated importance. To deal intelligently, honestly, and economically with these questions requires intelligence, honesty, and experience on

the part of the public men, the mayors, the heads of departments to whom they are committed. Every citizen's interests, his health, and his happiness, and that of those near and dear to him, are bound up in the right handling of these matters; but above all others will the workingman, the wage-earner, the man of slender means, of hand-to-mouth existence, be sensitive to the excellence or folly of the government of the great city in which he lives. A few cents' difference in his car fare may be sufficient to unbalance his small account at the end of the year. A very small rise in the rate of taxation, due to municipal extravagance, mismanagement, or dishonesty, will be keenly felt by him; while public advantages, such as free libraries, public parks, and the like, to the poor man mean much. The man of ample means is virtually independent of them. The sanitary conditions of the city, of which the rich man is measurably independent, by his ability to go elsewhere during the summer, or obtain at all times a protection which is impossible to the poor man, to the latter are matters of vital import. But how is the city to be well governed if the boss and the machine control it, whose interests are selfish; who, by an invariable law of their being, will be as selfish and dishonest in their government of the city as the relative indifference and partisanship of its citizens will permit? How can the city be well governed, I ask intelligent workingmen, whose interests in this question are the interests of us all, only doubly, trebly accentuated, if the 10,000 or 15,000 or 20,000 offices of the city are to be filled by boss and machine, not on proved merit, and held not for faithful performance of duty, but as partisan rewards? How, I ask sensible workingmen, can an intelligent and satisfactory city government be conducted on these corrupt and foolish lines? And for the folly of all this, for the pickings and stealings, the losses and blunders, for the costly, unfulfilled contracts, the man who pays most is the workingman. These were the principles which gave us the Tweed Ring in New York with its $15,000,000 to $17,000,000 direct theft, its debauched judiciary, its carnival of spoils. It was the spoils system which made Tweed and his fellow conspirators possible.

Cannot the workingmen of America see how, for every good and honorable purpose which they have in view, their influence should be concentrated to establish this reform in all its practical details in the administrations of our great cities; in whose slums, in whose saloons, in whose brothels, in all those foes to the family life and welfare, the roots of corrupt politics find their nourishment? Let them insist upon the passage of a good civil service law in every state legislature, where one does not already exist. Let them apply it to every city in the state, that every smallest office may be removed from the curse of boss patronage, and so that it shall be filled by suitable test. See that a State Civil Service Commission exists in every state to superintend the practical application of the law—a commission with such men upon it as Theodore Roosevelt and his coadjutors and successors have proved themselves to be on the Federal Commission, honest, experienced, courageous men, who will see that under that law the humblest, least protected applicant gets his rights and a fair chance to show what is in him. See that every city of your state has the same great American principle of justice and fair play, as opposed to privilege, applied to its labor service, just as to-day is in successful operation in the city of Boston, in Cambridge and New Bedford, in New York and Brooklyn. The same labor system has won the approval of naval officers of high rank in the federal service.

Let us set to work, then, promptly, practically, to correct the evils of our city government, as of our broader politics, at their source, remembering that "the corruption of the city is the menace of the state." Let us, in approaching this great work, understand that even its details can best be mastered by taking first a broad view of its entirety. Let us rest our eyes, tired with watching only the complex machinery under our fingers, for a moment on the peaceful blue of a broad horizon! We must go to this great work of American political reform, catching the grand inspiration of its ultimate purpose. It is to make America strong for her future work—a larger work than we now surmise. As Mazzini, a weary exile in a foreign land, wrote, reminding the workingmen of Italy, we must not be con-

tent with asserting our rights; we must also remember that we have duties to perform—duties to God, to humanity, to the family, and to ourselves. I emphasize duty in antithesis to rights, not with the intention of trying to persuade any workingman within this land who asserts rights that he thinks have been withheld from him to refrain in all lawful ways from demanding their recognition; indeed, I have fully admitted in the opening part of this paper that I think wrongs of a most serious nature have been perpetrated by unscrupulous capital, acting in conjunction with unscrupulous political machines, on us all; wrongs which should be opened to the full light of day, carefully scrutinized, and fully righted. But I believe the most effective way to secure these rights and to cure these wrongs is to approach the whole question from the point of view of duty; to recognize the wrong which is perpetrated upon our entire country, upon the humanity which it embraces. We must recognize evils, not as inflicted by one class upon another, which will lead us to divide into warring and embittered factions, but we must regard them, if we would be both just and strong, as the product of bad men and bad methods, which do not spring from any one class, and which inflict their injury upon all men and upon a common country. Against an anarchy springing partly from beneath, from ignorant or perverse men, who would overthrow all law to obtain what they call their rights, and against that anarchy which comes from above, which would draw to itself all wealth by corrupting public life—against these twin foes of the republic we must unite, not in the spirit of hate, but of love and of duty, on the basis of uncorrupted law and sound political life, with the consciousness of a divine purpose guiding us and of an unselfish labor to perform. Our keenest weapon in the conflict is the spirit of civil service reform, and its practical application throughout the range of our public service. Our battle-ground lies in the great cities of America.

HERBERT WELSH.

THE CONDUCT OF THE CIVIC LIFE.

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, PH D.

THE moral character of man manifested in the civic life is one of the most important subjects of contemplation for all persons interested in the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind. The moral character of the individual finds an expression in society and in the state. Man is just as responsible to the state for his civic conduct as he is to his Creator for the performance of his religious duties. If this great truth could only be impressed on all the millions over this broad land, political life would have a purer tone, and the mighty problems of municipal and national government would find an easy solution.

Man's moral obligations to the state are inalienable. In war, every citizen is an enemy to the foreign foe, and although he does not buckle on the sword, the army is just as much his army as if he contended in the ranks; in peace, a thousand associations and obligations hold him morally responsible for the welfare of the state. The justice of her laws, the administration of government, the spread of civilization, and the elevation of mankind are all hastened or retarded by the individual will.

Among the greatest of all civic virtues, I would designate obedience to the laws. The law is about us everywhere, giving us security in walking on the street, and surrounding us like an armor of defense. It is invisible and yet in operation everywhere. Whatever man touches, he brings under the domain of law; to obey its mandates is to place ourselves in harmonious relations with society and the state, and to win the confidence of the world in our political institutions. To make and obey laws is one of the highest duties of man. The noblest expression to commemorate the devotion of the faithful band of Leonidas at Thermopylæ was: "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmo-

nians that we lie here in obedience to their laws." We, whose happy lot it is to be born in a free country, and joint heirs to the laws of liberty, should weigh well this inscription, for it conveys a lesson to every one who cherishes freedom and who loves the sacred institutions of his country. To make and obey laws is one of the highest duties of man. Every individual needs to adopt rules of private conduct to guide him in his ordinary duties. Washington and Jefferson adopted rules of this kind in their early life, and their careers are noble examples of lives conformed to wholesome rules. They were not carried away with every gust of passion, and yet they lived in stormy times. Their steadiness of character attracted their fellow countrymen, and their ascent to fame was rapid and honorable. I believe there is one vital defect in all moral instruction to-day. We are too apt to simply hold up the examples of historic heroes for the emulation of the youth. But I think that every youth should be urged to adopt and follow wholesome rules of conduct, instead of simply having visions of great men before him. He would soon acquire steady habits and system in his industry worth a fortune to him. If rules of private conduct are so important, how much greater is the value of general laws for the regulation of society and the state. Obedience to these laws is one of the highest prerogatives of reason.

In his memorial oration in Philadelphia, in 1887, Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court said: "The Anglo-Saxon race, from whom we inherit so much that is valuable in our character, as well as our institutions, has been remarkable in all its history for a love of law and order. While other peoples, equally cultivated, have paid their devotion to the man in power, as representative of the law which he enforces, the English people and we, their descendants, have venerated the law itself, looking past its administrators, and giving our allegiance and obedience to the principles which govern organized society. I but repeat the language of the Supreme Court of the United States when I say that in this country the law is supreme. No man is so high as to be above the law. No officer of the government may disobey it with impunity. To this in-

born and native regard for law, as a governing power, we are largely indebted for the wonderful success and prosperity of our people, for the security of our rights; and when the highest law to which we pay this homage is the Constitution of the United States, the history of the world has furnished no such wonder of a prosperous, happy, civilized government.

"Let me urge upon my fellow countrymen, and especially upon the rising generation of them, to examine with careful scrutiny all new theories of government, and of social life, and if they do not rest upon a foundation of veneration and respect for law as the bond of social existence, let them distrust them as inimical to human happiness."

And yet disobedience to the laws is a frequent occurrence. Is not William Penn's theory correct? He said: "Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined, too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil to their turn."

It is equally important to correct wrong ideas of the organization of society and the state. The toils and woes of the human species led men at a very early date to imagine a period when plenty rendered labor unnecessary, and universal content prevented contest and clash of private interests. Poets dwell with satisfaction upon this agreeable dream. The more trouble and misery and vice there were in the world, the more vividly was this state of pristine happiness depicted. But it was forgotten that there is no ready-made happiness for man. He must gain by exertion and conquer all that is necessary for him. This golden dream of original happiness was coupled with another equally erroneous view. Man saw the perfect laws of nature on one hand, and the many real or supposed imperfections of human institutions on the other; it was concluded, therefore, that all was owing to his abandoning or counteracting nature. Such conditions led to Rousseau's theories. But neither in the dreams of

the golden age nor in the speculations of Rousseau is to be found the panacea for the weakness in human institutions. It is to be found in the announcement of the great truth by Adam Smith, that labor is the source of all the nation's wealth. This doctrine should be inscribed in every temple of learning and preached from every pulpit, for the parable of the ten talents justifies the statement that the curse of God rests upon the man who does not engage in honest toil.

The hope of a higher plane of civic conduct lies to a great extent in the American schools. And yet the public schools have omitted moral instruction, and devoted themselves to the intellectual side of life. This is the danger and the snare of our public schools. It is a common belief that morals cannot be taught in the schools without encroaching on sectarianism; but this is an erroneous view. In the schools of which I have charge, I almost daily give moral instruction in some of the following subjects: the ethical nature of man, the character of a law, the moral basis of property, patriotism, the relation of right and obligation, ambition, education, obedience to the laws, etc. A few days ago, I gave a lesson on the moral basis of punishment by the state, and a world of thought opened to the students, who up to that time had an erroneous view of the nature of punishment. American education is sadly defective from the fact the schools send out a lot of boys who are about to become citizens, and who have not received a single lesson in civic virtues. It is true that most of our schools teach the pupils the Constitution of the United States, but a few questions and answers in government do not constitute instruction in civic virtue and morality. The kind of instruction that I mean consists of a number of practical lessons, showing the moral basis of society, the moral nature of man, the basis of property, the nature of right and duty, and the elements of citizenship. Thousands of teachers are criminally guilty for neglecting this duty. We have endeavored to teach the children patriotism, by illustrating the height of our mountains, the length of our rivers, the broad expanse of our lakes, the majesty of our forests, the fertility of our prairies, our bound-

less wealth and population. But this is not true teaching of patriotism, for some of the most despotic nations of the world possessed all these sources of material wealth, and yet their star of glory has sunk below the horizon of time. To reach the ends that I suggest, it is necessary to look beyond literature, beyond art, beyond culture, into that domain which includes questions of government, questions of civic responsibility, how and why governments are made, how they can be kept pure, and how the various agencies can be regulated and controlled.

The hope of a higher plane of civic conduct depends also upon religion carried into citizenship. Unless Christianity makes better citizens of those who enlist under its banner than are others, it has partly failed to accomplish its proper work among men. It is true, occasionally, many communities are affected with temporary spasms of political virtue, but it is as fickle and uncertain as the weather of an April day; and political virtue, like Christian virtue, is so apt to wander into forbidden paths and to become assimilated with the evil forces of corrupt society.

Every citizen should have an ideal in mind for society. Never until some ideal takes possession of us can we have the most noble conduct of the civic life. Man must have something to believe in, to love, to be loyal to, to fight for. Patrick Henry and James Otis plead for the ideal nation, and Washington, Greene, Putnam, and Marion fought for it. We to-day are living and working for an ideal nation, but how high is our ideal placed? When we think of it as becoming more and more a great organization bound together by human sympathies and interests, with a character to develop and a destiny to fulfill, moving steadily forward, enlarging liberty, promoting happiness, and embracing all that the term humanity implies, then will we have an ideal to stimulate the loftiest patriotism and civic virtue.

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES.—The eleventh annual meeting of the Institute's trustees convened in Washington in one of the committee rooms of the United States Senate, Friday, May 8.

Senator Hawley presided, occupying the chair made vacant by the death of the venerable ex-Justice William Strong of the United States Supreme Court, whose presence was greatly missed. Dr. George Brown Goode was delegated to prepare an appropriate memorial of Justice Strong for entry on the minutes of the board.

Among those in attendance was Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, editor of the *American Monthly*, the official organ of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who is the first woman admitted to membership in the board, and who received a cordial greeting.

Certain vacancies in the board by resolution were left open for the election of other representative women at an adjourned meeting.

Elections to fill the places occupied by retiring members were proceeded with, and the board as now constituted is as follows:

Officers: Mr. Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, United States Supreme Court, chairman; Cephas Brainerd, Esq., 47 Cedar Street, New York, vice-chairman; Dr. Henry R. Waite, 38 Park Row, New York, secretary; Col. Charles H. Denison, 38 Park Row, New York, treasurer; Dr. Cornelius N. Hoagland, 410 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., auditor.

Executive Committee: W. H. DePuy, chairman; H. H. Adams, W. H. Arnoux, Cephas Brainerd, C. H. Denison, E. E. Hitchcock, C. N. Hoagland, H. R. Waite.

Members—Term expiring 1899: Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, LL. D., United States Supreme Court, Washington, D. C., elected 1889; J. M. Toner, M. D., 1445 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C., elected 1893; Hon. Oswald Ottendorfer, LL. D., Publisher *Staats Zeitung*, New York City, elected 1894; Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, LL. D., United States senator from Connecticut, Hartford, Conn., elected 1887; Hon. Justin S. Morrill, LL. D., United States senator from Vermont, Strafford, Vt., elected 1887; Hon. Ainsworth R. Spofford, LL. D. librarian of Congress, Washington, D. C., elected 1887; James Stokes, Esq., 47 Cedar Street, New York City, elected 1890; Charles H. Deni-

son, 38 Park Row, New York City, elected 1894; Judge William H. Arnoux, LL.D., 18 Wall Street, New York City, elected 1894; E. E. Hitchcock, 28 West Eighty-fifth Street, New York City, elected 1895.

Term expiring 1898: Hon. E. B. Sherman, LL.D., Monadnock Building, Chicago, Ill., elected 1894; W. H. DePuy, D.D., LL.D., 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, elected 1887; Merrill Edward Gates, Ph.D., LL.D., president Amherst College, Amherst, Mass, elected 1887; Rev. John F. Hurst, bishop M. E. Church, Washington D. C., elected 1895; Gen. Henry B. Carrington, LL.D., United States Army, Hyde Park, Mass., elected 1885; Col. Henry Herschel Adams, 177 Broadway, New York, elected 1895; Hon. James A. Beaver, LL.D., ex-governor of Pennsylvania, Bellefonte, Pa., elected 1892; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary National Municipal League, 514 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., elected 1895; Hon. Marriott Brosius, member Congress, Lancaster, Pa., elected 1892; Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, editor *American Magazine*, Washington, D. C., elected 1895.

Term expiring 1897: Hon. William Preston Johnston, LL.D., president Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La., elected 1886; Cephas Brainerd, Esq., 47 Cedar Street, New York City, elected 1890; George Brown Goode, Ph.D., LL.D., Washington, D. C., elected 1893; Hon. W. W. Scarborough, Cincinnati, O., elected 1888; Henry Fitch Blount, Esq., "The Oaks," Washington, D. C., elected 1893; Gen. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, United States Army, Washington, D. C., elected 1894; Henry Randall Waite, Ph.D., 38 Park Row, New York City, elected 1885; Cornelius N. Hoagland, M.D., 410 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., elected 1894; Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., 1736 M Street, Washington, D. C., elected 1894.

The report of the Institute's president, Dr. Henry Randall Waite, was in substance as follows:

The Institute, at the end of the eleventh year of its patriotic, and it may be added altruistic, activities, is permitted, notwithstanding the depressing effects of the long continued financial disturbances, to present, with a single exception, an encouraging report. The deficit which has been standing for some years has not been cancelled as expected; but it has been reduced from the amount of about $860 in July last to the sum of about $600 at this date; and this result, due to a voluntary increase in their annual gifts on the part of the various members, has not prevented the expenditures necessary for the regular continuance of the Institute's activities.

As has been true of every year since its foundation, the Institute's opportunities for usefulness have been far in excess of the provisions for their improvement.

The Department for the Extension of Studies and Activities Promotive of Good Citizenship has been directed as formerly by Mr. Hughes De C. Slater, with the assistance of Miss Anna Pierce, and the coöperation of the well-known and widely circulated weekly periodical, *Public Opinion*, which maintains a special department devoted to the promotion of the work of the Institute. More than forty of the

most distinguished of American writers on affairs of civics have coöperated in giving usefulness to this department during the year, and their contributions to the literature of the subject have been widely copied and commented on by the press. The number of local organizations, such as Current Topic Clubs, Present Day Clubs, and other Civic Associations of youths and adults brought into coöperation with the department, has increased to an encouraging extent. An indication of the interest in civics which is being awakened through the Institute's efforts in this direction is the issue, by the Current Topic Club, of the Anderson, Ind., high school, of a handsomely printed illustrated American Institute of Civics edition of the magazine published under its auspices. The contents were chiefly composed of exceedingly creditable original articles relating to affairs of government and citizenship, prepared by members of the high school. This is a particularly notable instance of numerous local undertakings in which both youths and adults have coöperated with the Extension Department.

In the Department of Educational Institutions, there has been no material change in the number (about 250) of higher institutions of learning in whose faculties representatives of the Institute (associate members of its faculty) are steadily and efficiently promoting adequate attention to studies essentially important in order to the right use, in civic affairs, of the powers and opportunities of educated Americans. Through the efforts of one of the Institute's trustees, Colonel Henry Herschel Adams, acting as Special Aide to the Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, a movement has been inaugurated which promises to secure the coöperation of all veterans of the Civil War in efforts to promote greater attention to "Instruction in Patriotism and Civics" in public schools throughout the country. An increased number of public school officers and teachers has applied to the Institute for suggestions as to the best methods for efficient instruction in civics, and the demand for addresses before schools and educational assemblies by members of the Institute's Corps of Lecturers has largely increased.

In the Publication Department, the Institute's efficient organ, THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, has represented its objects with an increasing degree of success, as evidenced by the commendatory words of Institute members, citizens generally, and (a matter of special encouragement) the unqualified praise which the magazine has received from newspapers representing all parties.

In the Department of Legislation and Christian Citizenship, members of the Institute have labored efficiently in the promotion of salutary legislation, the enforcement of wholesome laws, and the creating of the public sentiment necessary to the success of such labors.

One of the features of the Institute's work which has in a measure detracted from its ability to present a full summary of the results due to its efforts, is the fact that its members and others when incited to useful activities through its instrumentality often fail to report to the Institute the results of their efforts.

Many factors have contributed to the widely extended civic awakening, and the correspondingly hopeful activities, now manifest in communities in every state. Without claiming an undue part in the promotion of these gratifying conditions, the Institute, whose unceasing labors for the promotion of precisely such conditions have for eleven years been put forth in numerous communities in every state, may justly be credited with having contributed more than any other one influence to the present extended renaissance of public virtue and real patriotism.

In the beginning of its work the Institute stood practically alone. No national or state efficiency of corresponding character was then in existence. Local organizations specially devoted to its objects were almost unknown. These facts in contrast with the facts of to-day are full of significance. The change is as encouraging as it is noteworthy; and in the accomplishment of results already so incalculable in their importance, no one who is conversant with the facts will deny to this institution the large measure of credit so justly its due.

While there are now numerous local and state and several national organizations, devoted to the realization of some of the specific objects sought by the American Institute of Civics, it still retains its unique position as the only institutional undertaking of a national and permanent character, wholly devoted to the accomplishment of the objects which led to its foundation. Other organizations with purposes more or less like its own have come and gone since its establishment. This will be true of many civic associations now full of usefulness, and which are not calculated to exist permanently. While these organizations fulfill the purpose of the hour, and disappear, this institution has a sacred mission to the accomplishment of which it is, we may believe, divinely called, and to which it was intended to be, and let us hope will be, devoted for all time.

The present number enrolled as members of the Institute's National Body of Councilors, by whose coöperation its activities are carried on, is about 2,700. The members of the committee of this body appointed to coöperate in special work in cities and towns, one for each, number nearly 400; the associate members of the Institute's faculty, who are members of faculties in colleges, universities, and professional schools, number 248; the number of those who are enrolled as members of the Institute's National Corps of Lecturers is 238.

All of the conditions attending the work of the Institute are hopeful. Its usefulness thus far has been great. Its opportunities for usefulness in the future are open and unlimited.

It wants only the assurance of stability afforded by suitable endowments; and to secure these it waits for that appreciation, by patriotic citizens of wealth, of the important place which it already occupies, and the more important place which it may occupy as one of the noblest of American institutions.

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Hon. Marriott Brosius, M. C., of the Institute's Board of Trus-

tees, delivered an address at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Association of Pennsylvania, held April 16, in the rooms of the Lawyers' Club, in the Betz Building, upon "The Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Merit System in the Civil Service of the United States." The Rev. Dr. J. Andrews Harris presided.

Congressman Brosius went back to the very beginning of civil service reform, which, he said, some writers found in Magna Charta. In the fourteenth century, he said, there were kept in a tower in London six horseshoes and sixty-one nails, which, by an ancient custom, the sheriffs of London were compelled to count when they were sworn into office. The ability to do so was regarded as proof of education sufficient for the office, as only an educated man could count up to sixty-one. Later on in the century an act of Parliament was passed providing that none should be made officers of the king for any gift, brokerage, favor, or affection, but upon desert. These are the historical beginnings of civil service reform among English-speaking people.

"The merit system in this country," said the speaker, "as well as in England, has developed according to the law of history. High level of political rectitude and official duty and purity prevailed in the United States for a generation after the government under the present constitution went into operation. For more than three quarters of a century little restrictive legislation was invoked to suppress the abuses and promote efficiency in the public service. In the early part of that period so high was the sense of official honor and rectitude, and such fidelity to duty was practiced in the conduct of public functions, that no legislative coercion was needed.

"The present state of the civil service law and practice under it, while it is an immense improvement over former conditions, is not quite satisfactory. The portals of the civil service are well guarded. Over admissions to the service political influences can have little play. But once in the service, an employee is about as much subject to the caprice, the favor, or the vengeance of an appointing officer as he ever was under the spoils system. Of course, the motive for removals in order to appoint political or personal friends is greatly diminished by the fact that no one knows who will fill the vacancy, as he must be taken from the head of the eligible list, but there is still much room for abuse and injustice in the removals and reductions of faithful public servants by appointing officers who, for any reason, may have taken a dislike to appointees under them.

"These abuses might be suppressed by some alterations in the existing law, either by making them penal offenses or in giving to every discharged person the right to a hearing and an appeal to some impartial tribunal when he thinks injustice has been done him. When these alterations are made in the law our civil service system will be as near satisfactory as we can hope to have it, and if the executive, the civil service commissioners, and appointing officers will be as good as the law we will have a system which will successfully guard the civil

service of the country and prevent any one gaining admission to it excepting upon the passport of merit and personal worth."

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PROF. E. P. BEMIS, of the A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers, spoke before the students of Brown University, May 5, on "Municipal Monopolies."

Professor Bemis said the idea prevails that monopolies are something odious, yet he did not think they were necessarily so. There might be some degree of odium attached to some of the methods of the monopolist, where, for example, he tries to bribe the city council and to unduly control public opinion by muzzling the press.

The question is, How shall we control these monopolies? The problem cannot always be solved simply by suggesting public ownership. These different cases must be taken up and tried by themselves. Competition has proven a failure as a means of regulating. The only competition that has been of any value is where it has been between electric lighting and gas companies, or some such case. The speaker said people were accustomed to praise competition as giving them better efficiency, developing new inventions and bringing to the service the best engineers and undertakers of business. But this is falling of its own weight. It is not, therefore, a question of public ownership. It is a question between monopoly in private hands and monopoly in public hands. The question can be considered in a narrower sense as a monopoly in public hands *versus* a regulated monopoly in private hands.

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WILBUR F. CRAFTS, D.D., of the A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers, recently gave an address on "Citizenship from a Christian Standpoint" before a large audience in Wheeling. "The powers that be," he said, "are ordained of God. To a Christian nation that ought not to seem a new doctrine, but when Rev. Dr. W. J. Robinson stood with me in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in defense of the state Sabbath law, and, with the solemnity of a bishop addressing a group of young ministers, reminded the legislators before him that they were civil ministers 'ordained of God,' called to serve him and humanity by applying the law of Christ to civil affairs, it was manifestly to them, and even to some Christians present, a novel view of politics.

"When a United States senator declared that 'Politics owes no allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule,' the indignant public retired him from politics to prove that the law of Christ had not been so retired. Many who think it unimportant to acknowledge the supremacy of the divine law in the national constitution, were outraged by the denial of that supremacy.

"One of the most serious perils of our republic is the neglect of politics by reputable and even Christian men, which is no doubt largely due to the fact that such men do not recognize that both patriotism and piety call them to the polls and primaries as loudly as patriotism ever called to war or piety to prayer. This neglect by Christians of political

duties is due partly to the preachers, who should brand as a vice neglect to vote, save in cases of conscience.

"As to specific political issues, a preacher should aim not at cowardly neutrality but at judicial impartiality, discussing in his pulpit only principles of supreme moral importance, while on lesser matters using his liberty as a citizen to speak through the press and on the platform.

"We believe it the preacher's duty as a Christian citizen to attend the primaries. Until he does, his exhortation to his members to do so as a Christian duty will seem to be contradicted in his own practice."

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PROF. EDWARD H. BOYER, principal of one of the most important grammar schools in New York City, was the originator of the Columbian Guard movement, referred to elsewhere. The success of Professor Boyer's plans for the training of the boys in his school in patriotism and civics has led to the extension of the movement to other schools in New York; and now, under the direction of Colonel Adams, to schools in other parts of the country. The results of Professor Boyer's efforts to promote the objects represented by the American Institute of Civics, of which he is a councilor, give promise of an importance probably beyond his anticipation. The feature of military drill to which objections are urged by many friends of the schools will, we are confident, meet with little criticism when introduced in accordance with Professor Boyer's methods. In his school this feature is entirely voluntary; and the comparatively brief time devoted to drill does not infringe on school hours. An interest has been awakened among the boys in all affairs relating to good citizenship and the necessity of adequate preparation therefor which could not easily have been secured otherwise; and the lessons which it is found easy to impart to them in pursuance of the plans adopted cannot fail to be of incalculable benefit in their influence upon the members of the battalion in their future relations as citizens.

As to the expenses attending the organization, it may be said that they are hardly appreciable. Under special arrangements, the handsome and durable uniforms provided cost really less than would be paid for clothing of less value. Any tendency to unduly develop the spirit of militarism is counter-balanced by the wholesome instruction in civics with which the movement is attended, while the spirit of manliness, improvement in deportment and especially in respect for authority, are results worthy of all commendation. The officers of the Institute of Civics regard the plans adopted by Professor Boyer as calculated to secure results so highly beneficial as to warrant coöperation in efforts for the extension of the movement on the part of his fellow-members of the Institute in communities throughout the country.

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THE AMERICAN GUARDS.

COL. HENRY HERSCHEL ADAMS, of the Institute's Board of Trustess, late commander of Lafayette Post, G. A. R., New York City, has been succeeded in that position by Admiral Meade, U. S. N. Few members of the

Institute are more interested in the realization of its aims than Colonel Adams, who, as commander of this post, has presented them eloquently on many occasions before Grand Army members, various meetings of adults, and youths in attendance on the public schools. As Special Aid to the Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, Colonel Adams is now at the head of a movement intended to secure more adequate attention to instruction in civics and patriotism in public schools throughout the country. Veterans of the Civil War are in thorough sympathy with this movement, and will everywhere give it their cordial aid. Military drill will be introduced in this connection where school officers, teachers, and pupils desire it, but this feature of the work, while it promises to be very attractive and helpful, will be optional and subsidiary to the larger purpose announced. The youths organized in accordance with the plans above outlined will constitute battalions of the "American Guards"—a worthy name for those who are to be thus banded together in a movement intended to promote the security of American institutions. This important undertaking is calculated to successfully realize the principal features of the "Columbian Guard" organization proposed by the Institute four years ago, the plans for which were not carried into execution for want of a leader prepared to make the undertaking his special care. The present movement is to be congratulated upon having as its promoter and director one so admirably equipped with the qualifications which command success.

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GOOD GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.—The second annual meeting of the National Municipal League was held in Baltimore, May 6, 7, and 8, 1896, in connection with the Fourth National Conference for Good City Government. The temptation is great to give in detail all that was done, but space will not permit. Suffice it to say that the program was most thoroughly representative and exhibited much wisdom in the selection of speakers. Besides a number of papers on subjects of general interest, such as the "Year's Work in Municipal Reform," by Clinton Rogers Woodruff (A. I. C.), the secretary of the league; "The Necessity of Excluding Politics from Municipal Business," by Col. George E. Waring (A. I. C.), chief of the Bureau of Street Cleaning in New York; "State Boards of Municipal Control," by Frederick W. Holls (A. I. C., New York), and a number of other important papers of similar nature, there was a general review of the municipal condition of various cities, given by men from those cities, most competent to present a reliable opinion on the subject. The cities thus represented were Baltimore, Chas. Morris Howard; Chicago, Merritt Starr; Richmond, Va., Virginius Newton; Charleston, S. C., Frank R. Frost; Atlanta, Ga., A. H. Davis; Nashville, Tenn., A. V. S. Lindsley; Memphis, Tenn., James H. Malone; Georgia, Arthur Dasher; Springfield, Mass., George A. Dennison; Albany, N. Y., Hon. John Boyd Thatcher; Pittsburg, Pa., Geo. W. Guthrie.

Other papers read were "Work of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce," Thomas L. Johnson; "Municipal Ownership of Street Railways," in the negative by Frank M. Loomis, Buffalo, N. Y., and in the positive by Charles Richardson, Philadelphia, a paper which gave rise to an interesting discussion; "Public Control of Franchises," by Hon. Hazen S. Pingree; "The Relation of a Municipality to a Quasi-Corporation enjoying Municipal Franchise," Wm. M. Salter, Philadelphia; "Reform of Municipal Councils," H. W. Williams, Baltimore; "Should Municipal Legislators Receive a Salary?" James W. Pryor, New York; "Shall We Have One or Two Legislative Chambers?" Samuel B. Capen and John A. Butler, and "Christian Citizenship Unions," Rev. Albert G. Lawson, Camden, N. J.

There remain several distinct impressions in the mind of the reporter, among them the fact that the papers all had a very decided tone; that the writer in each case knew what he wanted to say, and said it; another, that there were certain ideas distinct in the minds of all present, namely, that state and national politics should be most decidedly separated from the affairs of municipal government; that a municipality should be managed in exactly the same way as any other corporation doing legitimate business; that the methods of civil service reform should be extended as far as possible into the affairs of municipalities; that the granting of franchises to private corporations should come under the control of municipalities in such a way as to be virtually equivalent to municipal ownership of these franchises, where such ownership is not an actual fact.

Several other points rest in the reporter's mind in pleasant colors. Among them an address by Mr. James C. Carter, the president of the league, an able effort, well directed, and well received by a large audience; a banquet at the Hotel Rennert, where amid the most delightful surroundings, under the exquisitely graceful chairmanship of Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte (A. I. C.), there were speeches, and toasts, and happy delegates. Two unusual features should be mentioned in this connection: one, the fact that ladies were present, and the other, the fact that in a vigorously worded speech Gen. W. A. Aiken, of Norwich, Conn., suggested that the recent action of President Cleveland in extending civil service reform throughout all branches of government employ be cordially endorsed by the league as one of the most important and far-reaching actions of this administration. A rousing "aye" greeted this speech. And last, there is the recollection of a beautifully arranged garden party under the auspices of the ladies of the Arundell Club at the "Evergreens," an occasion of great pleasure to all who had the privilege of attending.—*Adolph Roeder, A. I. C.*

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CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

A DAY OF TRIUMPH.—May 8 may well be regarded as a red-letter day in the history of political reform undertakings. On this date President Cleveland performed one of the most notable and commendable acts of his administration by issuing an order which brings all appointive

employees of the federal government not already under the civil service law under its provisions.

The only positions now left outside of the civil service laws are the chief executive ones and those requiring presidential nomination and confirmation by the Senate. The order goes into effect immediately.

This triumph of righteous principles in their application to the administration of public affairs may well be regarded with pride and rejoicing by the members of the Civil Service Reform League, as well as by the members of the American Institute of Civics. The trustees of the latter institute (whose members have labored for eleven years to promote this great reform) were, by a happy coincidence, in session in one of the Senate committee rooms of the national capital when this memorable order of the president was announced.

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AFTER VICTORY, VIGILANCE.—Civil service reform, in federal affairs, because of the order which secures the final victory of the principles involved, is not, however, to be regarded as an accomplished fact, or as something which may hereafter be left to take care of itself. The labors hitherto expended in securing the legal accomplishment of the reform are now required in order to prevent evasions of the law, and, what is of equal importance, the averting of a new and imminent peril growing out of organized undertakings on the part of various classes of public servants, who manifest a disposition to effect, under the protection of the law, organization inimical to its spirit. The federal service, reformed, is now to be protected and made fruitful in good results. Liberty here, as elsewhere, demands "eternal vigilance."

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GAINS AND LOSSES.—Civil service reform in the several states had its gains as well as its losses during the past month. On the side of gain may be counted the action of the Maryland Senate before adjournment in passing the House Bill which will submit the merit system to the vote of the people under a constitutional amendment in November, 1897. The Senate of Massachusetts has also made a move in the right direction by passing a bill applying the civil service rules in the employment of laborers in cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants, and in other cities at the option of the city government. Among the losses may be counted the failure of Governor Morton, of New York, to place the "confidential agents" to be appointed under the Raines Excise Law under the operation of civil service rules. The strongest objection made to the Raines Law is that it creates a great "political machine" in the state, and the recent conduct of Governor Morton and State Commissioner Lyman in the matter of appointments under the law has gone far to sustain that objection.

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GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

ILLINOIS: *Chicago.*—Some idea of the corrupt elements whose mighty power has been broken at least temporarily by the recent victory of the Civic Federation and allied reform elements in Chicago, is indicated

by the statement of the election commissioners of that city that of 370,000 registrations for the recent spring elections, 45,000 were fraudulent. This number is larger, the commissioners point out, than the total vote cast in the states of Montana, North Dakota, Delaware, Florida, and Nevada.

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LOUISIANA: *New Orleans.*—New Orleans has a Citizens' League which has commenced work in earnest to displace the present corrupt officials, some of whom are now under indictment and some convicted of grave malfeasance in office. An effort is also making to secure the separation of municipal from state elections, and the Australian ballot. To this latter work the Louisiana Ballot Reform League is bending its energies. The good citizens of Galveston, Texas, won a decisive victory last year, electing eleven out of twelve of the Good Government Club candidates. This was largely accomplished through the club's efforts and the activity of its officers. It proposes to keep up the fight.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Work in favor of better municipal government is being vigorously prosecuted at the national capital under the leadership chiefly of the Civic Center. Ex-Civil Service Commissioner John M. Gregory is president of the Center, which hopes to better the physical, mental, and moral condition of the city through educational methods. Its membership is composed of active and well-known members of other organizations which they represent in the Center as delegates. The Christian Endeavor Societies of Washington through an active good citizenship committee, are also taking a deep interest in the subject.

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RHODE ISLAND: *Providence.*—In response to the call of a committee consisting of Thomas W. Bicknell (A. I. C.), John M. Rounds, and E. W. Clarke, a number of citizens met April 28 to form a municipal league on non-partisan lines. Mr. Bicknell was elected chairman, and James A. Williams secretary.

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CALIFORNIA: *San Francisco.*—In a recent address before the Civic Federation (which is in affiliation with the A. I. C.), President Jordan of Stanford University said:

"The fight for liberty made by our forefathers involved a great principle, which was that the governing power resided of right in the people.

"The result of this principle was that we tried to weaken tyranny by weakening government, to make officials harmless by making them powerless. We succeeded in displacing individual tyranny by organized tyranny, official tyranny by non-official tyranny. . . . . .

"The authority conferred must be commensurate with the service required. There must be strict accountability for its proper exercise. To this end, the authority for specific acts must be attributable to spe-

cific individuals. It follows that one individual should be responsible for the whole of one transaction. If the responsibility for integral operations is divided between several persons, they may prevent efficient action on the one hand, or if they agree on wrong action, they may avoid personal responsibility. . . .

"Villages can be ruled by the people, but large cities require a governmental *régime* which will force and oblige public servants to do their duty. If we are to have a mayor, let him be something more than a figure-head at meetings and banquets.

"Let us hold him responsible for the right exercise of the ruling power which the people confide in him. This man, thus kept before the public eye, would be better than the mysterious political boss."

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YOUNG MEN'S CLUB OF CIVICS.—The Young Men's Club of Civics, of San Francisco, says the *Record Union*, is now wrestling with the problem that President Jordan has thus touched upon. It has decided thrice that in the case of a mayor it is safer and better for the people that he be held directly responsible to them for his appointments, without the intervention of the legislative body of the city. Ex-President Harrison in a recent essay declared that his examination of the question convinced him that the general drift in all municipal government is toward this fixing of responsibility in the municipal executive, and the keeping of the judicial, legislative, and executive sharply, distinctly, and relentlessly apart.

The administration of the affairs of a city should move upon much the same plane as those of a large business. In each case it is a question of economic government and of fixed responsibility, and in neither case should there be any possible evasion of responsibility by the declaration of one that another shared in it, or prevented better action by non-concurrence.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, which is the journal of the American Institute of Civics, has discussed this question for several months, and some of the ablest men and most experienced in municipal government have debated it in those columns. The burden of opinion expressed has been in favor of the complete separation of the responsibilities of municipal legislatures and municipal executives.

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OHIO: *Dayton.*—The Present Day Club is a vigorous organization largely devoted to the discussion of affairs of civics. It meets twice a month (a collation being provided) at the Hotel Altas. A. D. Wilt is secretary. Dr. Carlos Martyn, of the A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers, addressed the citizens of Dayton in the Y. M. C. A. Star Course, Friday, March 27, on American Citizenship. His lecture was highly appreciated by a large audience.

Ivorydale.—Proctor & Gamble, the world-famed soap manufacturers, not only believe in, but have put in successful practice, greatly to the benefit of all concerned, the principle of profit-sharing. In the interest of good citizenship, they recently procured the delivery, before their

numerous employees, of admirable addresses by Dr. Washington Gladden and Hon. Benjamin Butterworth.

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NEW JERSEY: *East Orange.*—The Civics Club recently celebrated its first anniversary with a large attendance and much enthusiasm. It is successfully accomplishing its objects by arousing the interest of its members, as well as others, in neglected affairs of public importance.

Trenton.—Linton Satterthwait, in a letter to the editors of this magazine, writes as follows:

"For a number of years past Trenton has had an excise board under the control of the liquor interest. It is composed of five members and the law provides that each voter can vote for three only. Hence with three named by each political party, one only can be defeated. A combination against the best of the six is, therefore, the natural result. This year as usual the brewery interest secured the nomination of its henchmen by both parties. In anticipation of this action, a number of citizens organized a movement to nominate and elect three members of the excise board independent of the regular parties. After much difficulty three men were found willing to sacrifice their personal comfort and time to serve the people as a license court. They were ex-Mayor A. A. Skirm, Edward B. Skellenger, and Thomas Royle. Their names were announced before the regular nominations and a canvass was entered upon to secure their election on a platform of the enforcement of the excise law, without any attempt at radical reform. Official ballots of either party with the names of the independent candidates pasted on them were mailed to every voter in the city. The result was the election of the independent or reform ticket over both the party tickets.

"In poll of about 12,000 votes the independent candidates received an average plurality over the Republican candidates of more than 700 and over the Democratic candidates a plurality of more than 1,100. The result is very pleasing to the law-abiding elements of the city, for the license mill has ground out saloons in utter disregard of public interests or public decency. It is especially gratifying as proving the possibility of successful campaigns by citizens' movements.

"I might add that the cost of this popular victory—including the purchase from the city clerk of over 30,000 official ballots of the regular parties and $135 for postage—was $350. This was a cheap victory for the people in a city of 65,000 inhabitants."

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THE SOUTHERN STATES.—Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, trustee A. I. C., secretary of the National Municipal League, contributes a valuable article to *The Evening Post*, of New York City, reviewing the progress and present status of municipal reform in the South. His review, on the whole, is highly encouraging. He describes the organization and work of municipal reform bodies in Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, Jacksonville, Louisville, Memphis, St. Louis, New Orleans, Galveston, and some smaller towns. Baltimore leads

the way in the number of its civic reform organizations and in the measure of good work already accomplished. Foremost among these societies is the Union for Public Good, of which Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte (A. I. C.) is president. The union aims to secure useful and prevent injurious legislation; to correct public scandals, grievances, and abuses, and to restrain all forms of vice and immorality. It is composed of delegates from churches and humanitarian and benevolent bodies. It has been successful in securing some much-needed legislation; but its most conspicuous success is the formation of a series of Good Government Clubs in the various legislative districts of Baltimore.

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CONNECTICUT: *Middletown.*—In a recent address before the students of Wesleyan University, Postmaster-General Wilson gave some wise and timely counsel on the subject of "Politics as a Duty." What the students of to-day should assiduously labor for, he said, is to create an intelligent sentiment for the support of good men, who are beyond the influence of the demagogue in the rear. "The educated men of this country, or, to be more explicit, the college men, must learn politics only as a duty, and maintain a special high moral sentiment toward the support of men who are not afraid to do right."

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MINNESOTA: *Minneapolis.*—This city has a number of organizations actively engaged in promoting good government and better citizenship. At their instigation Mayor Pratt is pushing a crusade against the gambling houses of the city and, at the earnest solicitation of the Congregational ministers, he has revoked the theatrical licenses of two prominent low playhouses. The leading daily paper is making a strong fight against the hitherto lax enforcement of municipal laws, and popular clamor against the city council's questionable methods promises a radical change in city affairs in the near future.

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NEW YORK CITY.—*Centenary of Washington's Farewell.* In accordance with the suggestion presented by the Institute in the March number of this magazine, its members residing in New York City, in conjunction with representatives of the Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars, Founders and Patriots of America, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Daughters of the Revolution, Patria Club, National Society of New England Women, New York Historical Society, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and other well-known civic and patriotic societies, had a conference and dinner in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of Washington's Farewell at the St. Denis Hotel, Tuesday evening, May 12. Among the members of the committee of arrangements were: Hon. Gilbert Ray Hawes, chairman; Edward Hagaman Hall, Col. William Irwin Martin, James Cruikshank, LL.D., E. E. Hitchcock, Arthur B. Woodford, Ph.D., Rev. J. C. Allen, and Walter S. Logan.

Henry Randall Waite, president of the Institute, was introduced as the chairman of the evening, and fittingly presented the objects of the meeting, and the several speakers. Eloquent and appropriate addresses, chiefly upon themes selected from the Farewell Address, were made by Rev. Charles L. Thompson, D.D., General Horace Porter (president of the Union League Club, and of the Sons of the American Revolution), and Mrs. Donald McLean (regent of the New York chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution). Rev. Cortland Meyers, of Brooklyn, was also among the speakers, and Walter S. Logan, in a few happy remarks, referred to the excellent objects represented by the Institute of Civics, and the fortunate and pleasing fact that it was an organization whose membership is composed of representatives of the leading civic and patriotic societies, and therefore affords to all of these a common meeting place on occasions like this, and at all times opportunities for a union of efforts in the promotion of the highest object which can concern American citizens. Margherita Arlina Hamm read an ode especially prepared for the occasion, the excellence of which will be evident to the readers of this magazine, in which it will appear in full. The excellent reading of extracts from the Farewell Address by Gilbert Ray Hawes was a pleasing feature of the occasion.

A committee on further observance was moved, in appropriate words, by Walter S. Logan, and unanimously appointed.

* * * *

CIVICS IN GENERAL.

DEBASING THE SUFFRAGE.—The bill introduced in Congress providing that immigrants must live in the United States fifteen years before they are given the right of suffrage has much to commend it. It is a step toward a much-needed reform in respect to the privilege of voting. One of the most prolific sources of the evils in American political life at the present time is a debased and cheapened suffrage. This debasement has come about partly through the weakness of our naturalization laws whereby the privilege of voting is conferred upon aliens long before they are qualified to discharge such an important trust, and partly through the workings of the American principle of free and universal suffrage. By means of the former an enormous number of men of foreign birth and training are constantly being added to the body of American citizenship, many of them grossly illiterate and wholly unfitted in their ideas and principles to exercise the right of suffrage properly and intelligently. Many of these aliens are inducted into citizenship under circumstances which cannot fail to give them at the very outset false and vicious ideas concerning the practical working of our political system. They are herded together in the courts by political heelers and "pullers in," and put through the process of naturalization with indecent and scandalous haste, and then bundled off to do the bidding of their political masters at the polls. The proceedings are often accompanied also by fraud, bribery, intimidation, and other crimes against the franchise. The saloon comes to the front here also as a potent factor in the situation. It is the school where the alien often takes his first lessons in

American citizenship. Here he is taught all the low arts and cunning trickeries whereby the ballot-box is defiled and the will of the people defeated. Under such influences and with such instruction it is not surprising that many naturalized citizens hold false and perverted views of the right of suffrage and easily drift into the ways of intrigue and corruption.

But raw and ignorant aliens are not the only persons who have cheapened and debased what should be the highest and most sacred privilege of American citizenship. The right has been conferred upon many Americans who do not deserve it and are not fit to exercise it. In theory the principle of unlimited and universal suffrage is grand and noble; in practice it is dangerous and disastrous. In an ideal state where all the people are intelligent, virtuous, and industrious, an unlimited suffrage could not fail to result in clean and honest government; in many communities under existing conditions it means practically the rule of the base, the ignoble, and the incompetent. This is what it has meant for New York and Chicago in years past, and what it means to-day for many other cities and communities throughout the land. The respectable, thrifty, and industrious elements of the population, the home-keepers, the tax-payers, and the solid men of business are outvoted and overborne by the idle, shiftless, vicious, and irresponsible classes, who willingly lend themselves to the uses of the professional politicians for the promotion of low and selfish ends. Hence comes the strength of the "boss" in politics and the sure and abiding support of the demagogues and bar-room legislators. The loafer and the tramp are as "good as any one" at the polls and a great deal better than intelligent and honest men in the eyes of unscrupulous office-seekers who are looking for votes to buy. Men in politics with honorable motives and honorable ambitions, and respectable citizens seeking the furtherance of high public interests, find it difficult and often impossible to contend against the shiftless and irresponsible elements that mass themselves at primaries and at the polls. These elements resort to methods for accomplishing their purposes which honorable men cannot adopt nor endorse. But these things are a part of the price we must pay for teaching and upholding what some are pleased to consider as the wise and beneficent American doctrine of free and universal suffrage. In theory, as we have said, this doctrine is very fine, but in practice its results have been evil and evil only.

But whatever we may think of universal suffrage as a working principle in practical life, it is here to stay and we must make the best of it. The imposition of any material qualifications upon the right of voting at general elections would be considered a backward step and it cannot be taken. It is everlastingly too late to throw up that bulwark. If such a proposition were seriously made in any quarter it would raise a shriek from the demagogues of the country that would tingle to the very stars. It would be construed as a treasonable suggestion, as a blow at the fundamental principles of American government, as an attempt to establish an aristocracy, as an insidious and base endeavor to

curtail the political privileges of "the poor man" whose interests are always so dear to demagogues and rum-shop politicians. Precisely such a clamor as this was raised when a proposition for a qualified suffrage was actually made in a magazine article a few years ago by a noted college president. The feeling aroused was strong enough and lasting enough to secure the instant suppression of this same college president's name when he was subsequently proposed as a candidate for gubernatorial honors in his state. The politicians dared not hitch their fortunes to such a candidate. Nevertheless the college president was wholly right in his proposals, as all men of intelligent and independent thought freely admitted at the time. But the incident showed the utter hopelessness of any attempt to establish a qualified suffrage. It is a satisfaction to know that provisions of the Australian ballot system, now generally adopted, have actually imposed some limitations on the right of suffrage, especially in the case of illiterates and imbeciles. Under the Massachusetts ballot law, for example, it is practically impossible for men to vote who, for any reason, are not in full possession of their mental faculties. Beyond such helps and safeguards as these, the only hope for a purer and more intelligent suffrage lies through the religious and moral elevation of the masses and the extension of popular education. Only by means like these can the many grave and threatening perils arising from an ignorant and vicious ballot be averted from the republic.

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THE PROBLEM OF CRIME.—In a recent address on "The Problem of High Crime in the United States," before the Patria Club of New York, a flourishing organization chiefly composed of members of the A. I. C., Dr. Andrew D. White, of the Venezuelan Commission, presented some startling statistics showing that the crime of murder is increasing. The homicides in 1889 in this country numbered 3,567, and in 1895 10,500. The executions in these same years averaged, respectively, one in forty-five convictions. He said if the murderers for the last six years were in prison there would be 40,000 of them. The eleventh census shows that there are but 7,351 in prison. Dr. White bitterly denounced the sympathy expressed for criminals, a striking example of which was furnished in the "Bat" Shea case, where 3,000 people followed the body to the grave and $600 was spent in floral offerings. Dr. White assigned as particular causes for increase in crime the widespread criminal education of children, by means of dime novels, sensational newspapers, posters, and melodrama, and the fact that old and young are confined together in the prisons. He suggested as remedies attention to simple elementary moral instruction in schools, the preaching in pulpits of righteousness, cleaner journalism, remodelling of prisons, laws against vicious books and pamphlets, and laws providing for habitual criminals. He also suggested the passing of laws for speedier punishments, and that state courts should sit frequently to receive statements regarding change or mitigation of punishments. Referring to the same subject the New York *Commercial Advertiser* says: "The proper way to re-

gard these phenomena of crime is to look upon them as warnings of the weak spots in our civilization. And what they point to particularly is the cool, indifferent, contemptuous view that classes of society take of the social compact, which is crystallized in the one word, law. The progress of events, as it appears in the panorama of the daily press, shows a waning, not a waxing, respect for law."

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REFORM LEGISLATION IN OHIO.—Several bills of more than usual interest and importance have recently passed the Ohio Legislature. One known as the "Anti-Lynching Law" makes any county whose officials permit a lynching to occur liable to the family of the victim for damages. Another bill provides that electricity shall be the means employed in inflicting the death penalty after July 1. A third bill amends the new ballot law of the state by providing that no voter can hereafter receive assistance in marking his ballot except those who are physically unable to do so, such as blind persons and those who have lost their hands, etc. This amendment virtually adds an educational qualification to the right to vote, since no man who cannot read can mark the complicated ballot so that it can be intelligently counted. A similar provision is made in the ballot law of Massachusetts and other states.

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PUBLIC BATHS.—A good suggestion for those who are laboring to better the conditions of living in crowded tenement districts comes from Manchester, England, a city which has led the way in a good many reforms in recent years. The present suggestion relates to provisions for promoting cleanliness. It seemed clear that the costly public baths provided by the corporation did not meet the real need of extremely poor and densely crowded neighborhoods. It is therefore proposed to try the experiment of fitting up "cottage" bathing rooms for the benefit of women and children. The fee for a bath is to be a penny, as it is wisely thought that the privilege will be more valued by those who make use of it, and produce better results, if it does not carry the appearance of a mere charity.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF LIGHTING PLANTS.—In order that a more intelligent understanding may be arrived at on the subject of the municipal ownership of gas and electric light plants it is proposed that a joint investigation of this subject shall be conducted by the National Department of Labor and the Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the several states. Every electric and gas-lighting plant in the United States which is owned by the municipality will be reported upon, and a sufficient number of private establishments to afford a basis of comparison between the two classes. Full statistics of the cost of plant, the interest on plant, the cost of materials, the wages paid, the cost of superintendents, and the quality of lighting will be given. The balance sheet for public and private establishments, indicating whether the public establishments pay a real profit, make up a deficiency from

taxation, or pay a nominal profit by ignoring the cost of plant and bonded indebtedness incurred for its establishment, will be presented in each case. These results, tabulated according to uniform methods, will be sent to the National Department of Labor, according to the plans of the executive committee, and will there be consolidated into a complete report covering the entire United States. It is believed by those conversant with the subject that this inquiry will furnish convincing evidence of the feasibility of municipal ownership not only of gas and electric light plants but of other public conveniences. Dr. Albert Shaw, the leading authority on municipal government, favors the principle of municipal ownership, the only doubt in his mind being as to the wisdom of placing larger powers and opportunities in the hands of men of the character of those constituting the governing boards of many American cities. With honest and competent public officials municipal ownership of public works would undoubtedly insure increased economy and efficiency of service; with political rings in control, such as have cursed many of our large cities in recent years, the ownership and control of gas plants, street railways, etc., would only mean more places for spoilsmen and larger opportunities for theft and fraud.

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BALLOT REFORM IN MARYLAND.—Among the provisions of the election law of Maryland designed to protect the purity of the ballot is one requiring that every person when registering shall state whether or not he can read and write, and if he can write he must sign his name on the registering book. This will aid in identifying voters on election day, and in preventing that evasion of the secrecy of the Australian ballot law which the voter could do by asking for assistance in preparing his ballot on the plea that he could not read.

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CORRUPT PRACTICE ACTS.—A number of states have already enacted what are known as "corrupt practice acts," designed to prevent the improper use of money in political campaigns by committees and candidates for office. The Ohio Legislature has recently passed a bill of this kind, introduced by James A. Garfield, a son of President Garfield. This bill limits the amount of money to be spent by any candidate in securing an office, and compels him to answer under oath the amount he has spent. If he refuses, his commission will be withheld. This is excellent as far as it goes. But laws of this kind have been found ineffectual for remedying the abuses aimed at unless they contain a provision compelling campaign committees to make a strict accounting of their expenditures also. The absence of such a provision is the weakness of the present corrupt practice acts in New York, Connecticut, and other states. Campaign committees generally are more responsible for the corrupt use of money for political purposes than individual candidates, and the law should require them to make a full and itemized statement of the expenses. This has been

the practice in England for several years and the results have been highly satisfactory.

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AMERICAN YOUTH AT PATRIOTIC SHRINES.—The First Battalion of the American Guards of New York City (composed of boys in the public schools), under arrangements made by Col. H. H. Adams, trustee A. I. C., and staff of the Commander in Chief of the G. A. R., is to visit Washington, May 15, 16, and 17. The program includes a reception by the Corcoran Cadets of Washington, visits under intelligent guidance to government buildings and departments, a special reception with an address by the president, and a visit to the home and tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, where it is hoped that fitting words will duly commemorate the centenary of the year in which at this place the "foremost man of the ages" addressed his farewell words to his fellow countrymen. Good results cannot fail to attend patriotic pilgrimages of this character, through the inspiring of high ideals and noble purposes. It is expected that the example set by the American Guards of New York will be followed by many similar pilgrimages from other places.

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SCHOOL OF APPLIED ETHICS.—The annual summer meeting of this school, much to the regret of many, will be omitted this season. Meanwhile plans for enlarged usefulness are in contemplation, and a session as usual is promised in 1897. Desired information may be obtained by addressing S. Burns Weston, secretary, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

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